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Introduction

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The International Socialist Review





THE FREE PRESS FIGHT AT NEW CASTLE—By FRED D. WARREN

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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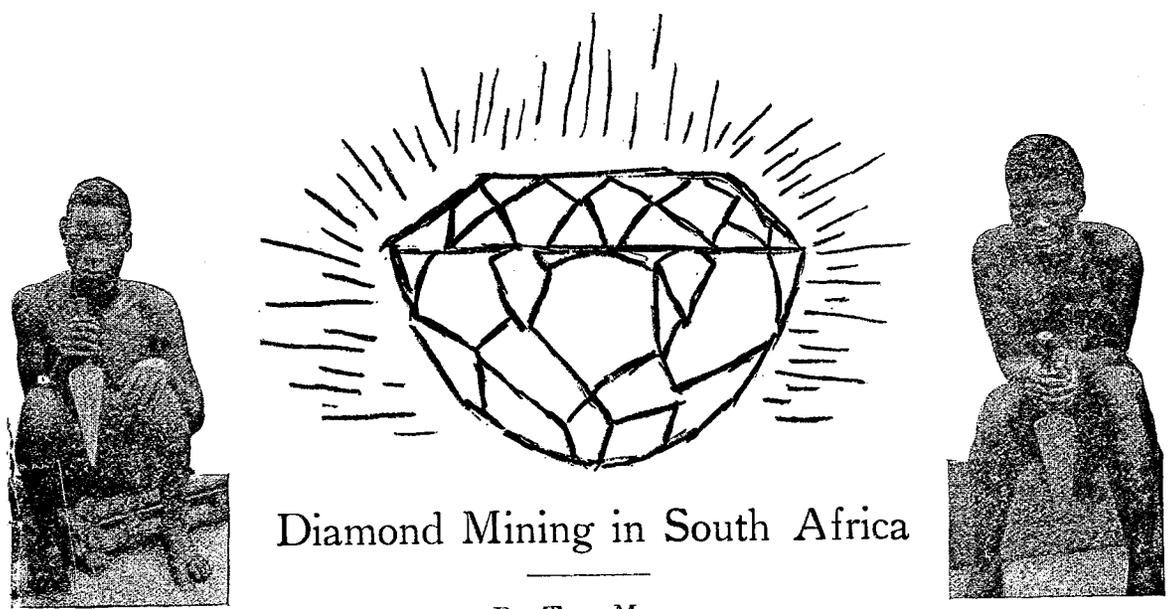
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Diamond Mining in South Africa

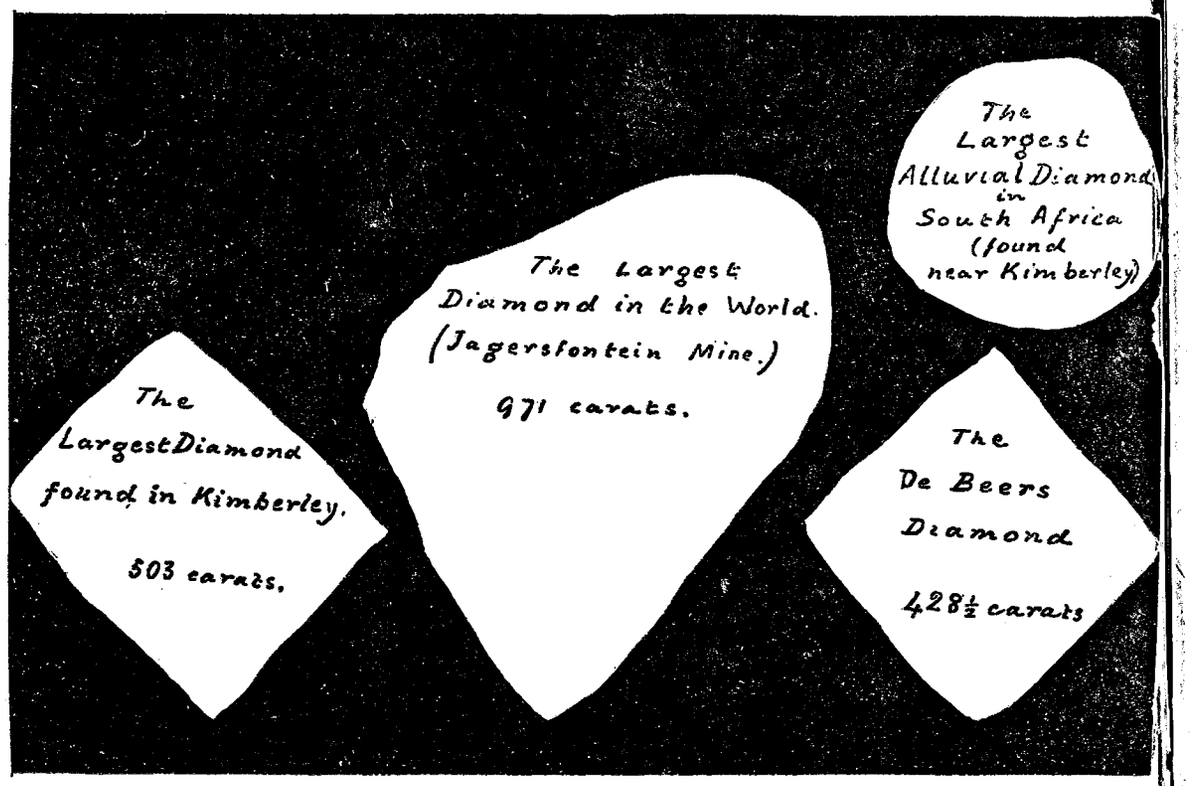
By TOM MANN

IT may interest the readers of the I. S. Review to know of the industrial and social conditions of South Africa. Since leaving Australia three months ago I have been studying the economic conditions of this country and find them full of interest and more than usually complex.

Industrially the principal centre is Johannesburg in the Transvaal. The gold Reef there known as the Witwaters rand, usually termed the Rand, is fully fifty miles in extent, with the town of Johannesburg in the centre. On this reef there are seventy companies, controlling as many groups of mines. There are over four hundred shafts at work; and the labour of the mines is done by 23,000 white men and 170,000 Kaffirs, i. e. African natives. These are never referred to as "Colored" men here, but as "natives" or "Kaffirs"; the term "colored" being used exclusively to denote those who have some white blood in them, but, of course, not the "Whites."

These Kaffirs are a serious economic factor, and add very considerably to the difficulties of the labor problem. All skilled mechanical work is done by white men on and about the mines, but the actual mining is done by the natives supervised by white men.

Because the payment given to Kaffirs is so trifling they are plentifully used as laborers and helpers to the white man; the latter, as mechanic, has several natives attending him, tool fetching, heavy lift-



"Nowhere in the world does the hidden wealth of the soil and the element of chance in its discovery strike one so forcibly as here, where you are shown a piece of ground a few acres in extent, and are told, "Out of this pit diamonds of the value of more than $60,000,000 have been taken."

"Kimberly, the city of diamonds, has had a curious history. In 1869-70 the precious crystals, first found in 1867 near the Orange River, were discovered here in considerable quantities. A sudden rush of adventurers from all parts of South Africa, as well as Europe, gave it in three or four years, a population of many thousands. The mining claims were then and for some years afterward, in the hands of a large number of persons and companies, who had opened them or purchased them. The competition of these independent mine workers was bringing down the price of the stones, and the waste or leakage arising from the theft of stones by the native work-people, who sold them to European illicit diamond-buyers, seriously reduced the profits of mining. It was soon seen that the consolidation of the various concerns would effect enormous savings and form the only means of keeping up the price of diamonds . . . . Since the amalgamation, the great corporation, called the De Beers Consolidated Mining Co., has reduced the output of diamonds to just such an annual output as experience has proved that Europe and America—the United States is the chief market—are able to take at a price high enough to leave a large profit."

—Impressions of South Africa, by James Bryce, pages 201-204.

ing, etc., etc., and the white man usually bosses the black man as a most superior and lordly personage.

In mining, where the machine drills are used, the white man is responsible for the machines being properly fixed, and for handling the explosives, and doing the firing. Outside of this he does no work, but, as in some instances he is responsible for five or six drills, his responsibility is heavy enough and he is required in attendance at one or other of them for most of his time. Usually he contracts with the management at so much per fathom and takes all risks with no fixed minimum.

The wages are paid monthly and the wages of the contracting miner range anywhere from twenty to sixty pounds a month, with an average of about thirty-five pounds a month; this is not allowing for lost time which may be put down at two months in twelve.

It will be seen that this wage is received at the expense of the Native Kaffir, not at the expense of the profit receiver, when it is realised that the Kaffir receives from two shillings to three shillings and sixpence a day; the average being about fifty shillings a month. In addition to this wage the natives are fed and lodged in compounds on the mines. The cost of feeding a Kaffir is only about four pounds a year. He gets "mealy pap" and for a change, beans. Twice a week they get meat.

In the slopes where hammer-men work, and not the machine rock drills, all the hammering is done by the Kaffirs, a day's work being put at a three feet hole, and more than this the Kaffir refuses to do, albeit by degrees, they succeed in demanding a three feet six inch hole.

The Kaffirs usually are contracted for, for six months, sometimes for twelve months. During all this period they must live in the compounds and be inside the compounds by nine o'clock at night. As a rule the Kaffir has no food before starting work in the morning, and takes nothing all day whilst at work, which means the average Kaffir has one meal a day only, while working in the mines; and that meal consists almost solely of corn, or "Mealies"as Maize is termed locally.

The working hours are usually eight but frequently nine per shift, and in some instances ten. The trade unions of the Rand are for the most part very poorly organized, the exceptions being, the Amalgamated Engineers (Machinists) and the Engine Drivers. The Miners have not more than two thousand members, and including all sections not more than five thousand are organized, out of a total white adult male population of thirty thousand. Worse than this, the suicidal sectional unionism that has prevailed hitherto, is of the too well known type; thus two years ago the miners decided to attempt to redress certain grievances, and hoped for the help of the other unions, the most important being the drivers of the hauling engines; all certificated men. The miners struck, the engine drivers remained at their posts. Of the five thousand white miners, three thousand five hundred struck work, but getting no backing from other unionists they utterly failed to achieve their ends and the struggle ended in their defeat.

As the result of an organizing campaign recently conducted, with myself as one of the propagandists, a considerable stimulus has been given, not only to organization, but also to the wisdom of and the necessity of industrial unionism.

It was found on the Rand that of the thirty thousand white workers the existing unions could not embrace more than half, and so, the Rand Industrial Union has been formed, to enroll all others who do not belong to any union, and for whom no union has made provision until now, but it is held to be fundamental and vital that the existing unions shall so modify their rules as speedily as possible, to admit of the unification of each and every union for industrial organization, making avowedly and definitely for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The workers here would at this stage be very glad to know the present hour attitude of the weightiest men in America as to the best means of dealing with the existing trade unions, and they would be glad to get in closer touch with socialists and unionists of the United States. A few here are bitterly attacking all existing unions and unionists, but are not evidencing any capacity to organize the mass not affected by existing unionists. Of course a strong case can be made out

against the existing trade unions for the poverty of ideal, the selfishness of many officials and the inability of the rank and file to appreciate the true class conscious spirit; and if this view covers the whole situation , then it, were wise to look upon existing unions as obstacles to be removed and this should be done deliberately and speedily. For myself I have declared that this is not the case, far from it. I claim to know the economic organizations well enough to warrant me in declaring that a quite healthy percentage of the members are honest and diligent students of the social problems, and are courageous enough to attempt to bring the existing unions into right relationship with the real spirit and practice of "industrial unionism." It will necessitate an alteration in rules of many organizations, and the separation of the funds subscribed for economic or industrial purposes, from the funds subscribed for friendly society purposes or pensions for old age, but it will be easier and quicker done than their destruction and entire reconstruction could be accomplished; besides when the worst has been said against existing unions, it remains the fact that in the days of dense economic ignorance the best of the workmen joined them and through them and by means of them they waged the class war, guided generally by instinct and without the inspiration afforded by a clearly conceived ideal. Still they fought, and allowing for their environment, they fought exceedingly well. Although the unions in recent years have been astonishingly slow to perceive and to act on intelligent class conscious lines; have even entered upon struggles with weapons as antiquated as the old blunderbus, to engage with an enemy bearing machine guns, aye, and are still respecting this absurd behavior, even so, they are not hopeless, certainly less hopeless than the hordes of unorganized who have refused to listen to the appeals of the organizers, or to toe the line with workmates struggling to raise the standard of life.

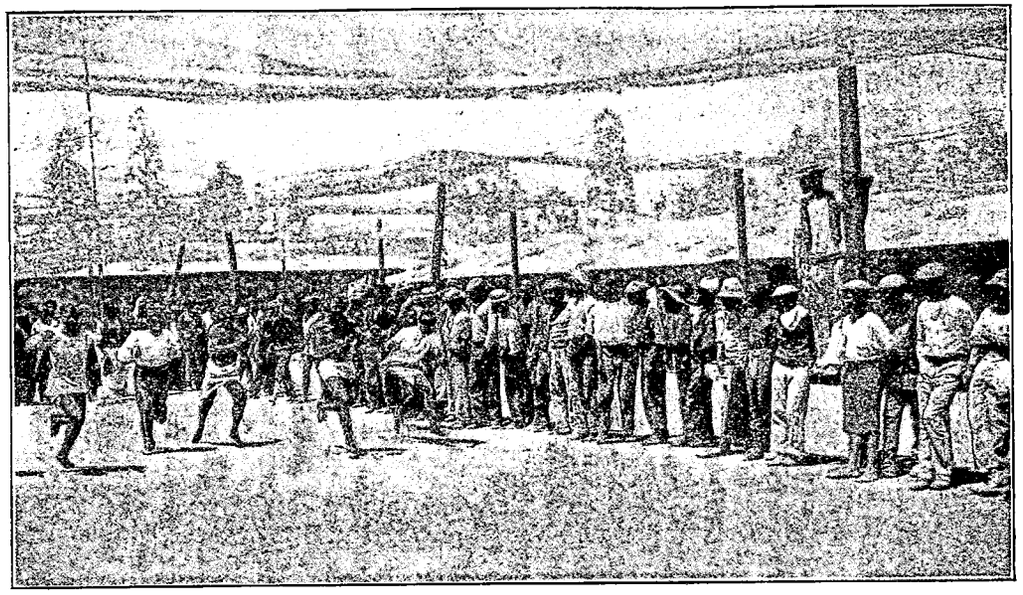
So I have encouraged the members of existing unions to use their infiuence, not to destroy existing organizations, but to get them into line with revolutionary unionism and am hopeful of great changes taking place in this connection.

A brief account of my visit to the Premier Diamond Mine in the Transvaal may be of interest. It is situated some twenty miles from the capital, Pretoria, and is isolated from any other mines or industrial pursuits. The mine is only seven years old. It has yielded enormously; there are now seven hundred and fifty white men working there and thirteen thousand natives. The mine is an open cut one hundred and fifty feet deep, no shaft required as yet. It is three quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide, and one can get a view of three thousand Kaffirs all engaged at "punching" holes with drills eight feet long; all the drilling or punching is done from the surface level, two Kaffirs to each drill. It is not solid rock that contains the diamonds but blue ground, a kind of softish stone. Every six hours two thousand five hundred dynamite and gelatine shots are fired in less than two minutes. The largest diamond ever found was obtained from this mine a short time ago, now known as the famous "Cullinan" diamond, named after the managing director. It was too large to be of commercial value. No one wished to purchase it so the Transvaal government gave £200,000 for it and made a present of it to Queen Alexandria, probably as an advertisement.

The Kaffirs live in compounds fenced in by high wire fence and are not alowed to go out except when their time has expired and they go back to their people. These Kaffirs are recruited by agents who bargain with the chiefs for a money consideration per head. The Kaffir on returning to his tribe has to make the chief a present out of his earnings, usually a cow or the equivalent in sheep, etc.

The Kaffir pays his poll tax out of his earnings and with the balance buys wives, i. e. he gives several cows for a wife and then he gets cows himself and the wives look after the mealie patch (maize) on which they live. The object of a Kaffir's heart is to become possessed of several wives each of whom will work for him and live peacefully.

At Johannesburg the ventilation in most of the mines is very faulty, the rock is particularly hard and some of the mines are five thousand feet deep; miners' phthisis is a common complaint. The



The most striking sight at Kimberly, and one unique in the world, is furnished by the two so-called "compounds" in which the natives who work in the mines are housed, and confined. They are huge inclosures, unroofed, but covered with a wire netting to prevent anything from being thrown out of them over the walls and with a subterranean entrance to the adjoining mines. Every entrance is strictly guarded, and no visitors, white or natives, are permitted, all supplies being obtained from the store within, kept by the company. Punishment for theft of diamonds is very severe.

white miner, supervising the machine drills, lasts only seven and a half years on the average. A young miner arrives from England or Australia physically fit in all respects and, say, twenty-one years of age. The chances are that he will be dead by the time he is twenty-eight, but the Kaffirs die off much more rapidly. They last only about four years, but disease lays hold of them in less than half that time and thousands of them return after a few years at the mines hoping to get wives and cattle, but they die off in a year or so, and no notice is taken of it.

At the cemetery at Braumfontein near Johannesburg rows of graves are kept ready made for the whites. Deaths are numerous and sudden, and in the cemetery a portion of the ground is set aside for Kaffir burials; here also rows of ready dug graves are to be seen at any time, notwithstanding the fact that Kaffirs are buried four in each grave, without any coffin; a blanket is thrown over them and they are dumped in without any ceremony.

I am writing this at Kimberly, Cape Colony. The only industry here is diamond mining. There are five large mines, all owned by the world famous De Beers Co. The area given by a two and a half mile radius from where I sit is the richest in the world, and in many senses the poorest also. The celebrated Kimberly mine situated half a mile from where I write, was formerly worked by several companies. Then came the amalgamation of these companies with the accompanying reorganization of mining methods, and usual result, enormously increased out-put. This still left competing companies, controlling the other adjacent mines. Laterly each of these has been swallowed up by the De Beers and now only one set of capitalist interests obtain. Of course they are like their kind in all other countries, ever retrenching, cutting down working expenses, reducing the staff required by the application of labor saving methods. The number employed in these mines is three thousand white men and sixteen thousand natives. In the town and district there

are some four thousand five hundred white men including the miners already mentioned and the total number of unionists is less than two hundred.

Such are the conditions and instead of grappling with them courageously and organizing industrially in true working class solidarity, the more active look to political and parliamentary methods to bring about changes for the better.

But even here, desperate as the case is, there is a new class of plucky comrades daring to stand out boldly and face the consequences, and I wish to name a good comrade, a Cornish man, a member of the Typographical Union, Councillor Jan Trembath, who has fought magnificently and scored well on behalf of his fellows. Jan is on the Kimberly Municipal Council, not only is he the only working class representative on this council, he is the only socialist councillor in the whole of Cape Colony. As yet Councillor Trembath is not fully assured of the far reachnig importance of industrial unionism but this I believe will be altered for the better by and by.

At Johannesburg there is a Socialist Party, also at Cape Town, and systematic propaganda work for revolutionary socialism is kept up, and now that the country is fairly settled after the effects of the late war, and a United South African Parliament is about to be elected the comrades are preparing to extend their propagandist efforts commensurate with the needs of the case.

The South African Labor Party is the name of the organization to which most of the workers belong who are at all active politically. Some of these are Socialists and they have a Socialist Objective but for the most part, as might be supposed, they are sheltering under a vague indefiniteness, mainly because they attach too much importance to political action and too little to industrial action, guided by intelligence. This however will right itself ere long and I have on the whole found South Africa more advanced in ideas than I had expected. Naturally they look to Britain, Australia and America for a pattern and they will travel as quickly as their comrades in these lands notwithstanding that they are at present handicapped by the colored and native problem.

I send greetings and congratulations to the stalwarts keeping the Socialist flag flying in the United States and particularly do I congratulate the editor and staff of the I. S. Review.

Yes, savagery, barbarism, civilization called upon woman and child to share in life's struggles; but it remained for the age of machinery, the age of "society," the age of the billionaire, the age of general suffrage and democratic governments, the age of triumphant science and free public schools, the age of marvelous inventions—marvelous means of production—to enslave them body and soul. It remained for this age of progress to reduce millions of them to a servitude in which they may well envy the condition of the mediaeval serf or the black slave of the southland.—From Industrial Problems, by N. A. Richardson.



Where Bread is Made.

The Bakers' Strike vs. The Bread Trust

BY

CARRIE W. ALLEN

REBELLING against oppressively long hours, indescribably filthy conditions, and pitifully low wages, the bakers in the big New York factories and many of the small shops, on May Day went out on strike.

"We can't speed it up such long hours any more. It knocks us out. We want a nine-hour day. It's only a little to you, but it would mean a lot to us."

This had been the burden of the plea they had made to their bosses.

"Do you know what a nine-hour day would cost me?" thundered a big boss baker. "It would cost me $8,000 a year."

He was thinking in terms of money. The bakers were thinking in terms of life.

They were thinking of the long sizzling summer nights with the heat of the bakeries ranging from 105 to 115 degrees. Stifling nights when the weak would drop from exhaustion, and the strong would be sapped of all their strength.

The furious pressure of the work, added to the cruelly long hours, sucked all strength from the bakers' muscles and all stamina from their nerves.

Many of the bakers had never heard of a union. Some of the older men remembered the beginning of the struggle, when in 1879, George Block first attempted to

organize the bakers. At that time, the wages in the baking industry averaged $4. a week and poor compulsory board with the employer. The hours were eighteen daily, and twenty-four on Saturday, often running to twenty-six.

Out of the 6,300 bakers in New York, only twelve were married, and they kept this fact a secret from their masters. Children did not know their fathers and cried at their approach.

The insufficient hours of sleep, long hours in the heated atmosphere, and low standard of life engendered by the sweating system, resulted in the physical and moral degeneracy of the men.

Determined to lift the bakers out of the mire which all but engulfed them, two heroic men, George Block and Charles Iffland, went steadily on with their work of education and organization.

The first effective strike occurred in 1886, when a war was successfully waged against the boarding system. As a result of this strke, all the bakeries in New York were unionized, the hours reduced to twelve daily and fourteen on Saturday, with wages ranging from $12. to $16. a week.

The big boss bakers became alarmed at the increasing self-respect of the bakers, who were marrying and establishing little homes. The shorter work-day meant less profits, and in 1889 the same men who are fighting the union today, threw every union man out of the shops, and sought to re-establish old conditions.

By 1909, conditions in the Jewish and Slavonic bake-shops were as bad as they had been in 1884, with wages ranging from $12. to $20 a month and never-ending hours. Charles Iffland, now International Organizer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, with Max Kazimirsky and other union men, went into these shops, and said to the toil-degraded bakers, "You shall not drag the bakers trade in the mire like this. You shall not work under these intolerable conditions." They threw them out of the shops, they compelled them to go on strike. It was heroic work. It was righteous work.

During the nine long weeks of the general strike on the East side, the bakers were clubbed and beaten, they were arrested and sent to the Island, their meetings were broken up, they were denied the right of free assemblage and free speech. Despite all this, the solidarity of these hitherto unorganized workers remained unbroken until the strike was won, and every shop was unionized.

The Jewish bakers had begged the men in the big up-town factories to come and help them in their struggle, and had been refused. These men had been exploited until they had no hope of ever bettering their condition. Why rebel, when it was evidently intended that all of a baker's life energy should go into the making of bread.

But now, a year had passed, and rumors were abroad that the Jewish bakers had won great things through their union. A nine-hour day instead of eighteen daily and twenty-four on Saturday. Wages ranging from $14. to $24. a week instead of $12. to $20. a month. And above all, the prospect of establishing little homes, with happy wives and children.

With courage born of hope, the up-town bakers formulated and made their demands.

Of course the bosses were amazed. Had not the bakers worked for years in their dens like slaves? And whoever heard of slaves demanding a shorter work day? Did not these bakers know that less hours of work for them meant less profits for the bosses?

The demands of the bakers grew more insistent. A nine-hour day, $1. a week more wages all along the line, better sanitary conditions, and recognition of the union.

Not more than six hundred of the bakers were members of the union, but the spirit of revolt spread from shop to shop. The mechanism of capitalist production had united the bakers. They had worked together, and suffered together. They made their demands together and on May Day, more than 2,000 group-conscious bakers, went out on strike together.

At once the shops of Jersey City and Hoboken were called upon to supply the customers of the struck New York shops. Rather than be used to supply the scab firms with bread, the Jersey bakers walked out. The Yonkers and Brooklyn bakers also joined the strike, and by the 2nd of May, the shops controlled by the

Bread Trust were so badly crippled that they were turning out no rolls and very little bread.

"Conditions in the big shops are much worse than we knew before the strike," said Organizer Iffland. The men have worked twelve and thirteen hours straight, and fifteen and sixteen on Saturday. Wages of the oven men in some of the largest places have been $16. a week, kneaders $13. and $14., and helpers $9. and $10. a week. Some of the helpers, the men who fire the ovens, have been compelled to work sixteen and seventeen hours daily.

In many bakeries, no overtime was allowed. As one baker put it, "We had to pull a time-keeper when we went in, but never when we went out, and it was mostly twelve and thirteen hours straight." "Straight" means without time for lunch.

Before the formation of the Bread Trust, in some of the bakeries, the men only worked ten hours straight, and were paid for overtime. After the big boss bakers had organized their union, they said to the bakers, "No more overtime. Hereafter you work as long as there is work to do."

Because of the extreme sharpness of the knives in the scaling machines, accidents are frequent in the bakeries. A moment off guard, a moment of weariness, means the loss of a finger or a hand. In one bake-shop, no less than seven fingers were sacrificed within two years. Since the beginning of the strike, several of the scabs have been injured. One poor unfortunate working in Schultz's bakery, lost his entire hand in the scaling machine, the machine that cuts the loaves of bread.

Toughs recruited from the slum districts of near-by cities have been brought under promise of big wages to break the strike. These scabs are not bakers, they are of the lowest order of men, they know nothing of cleanliness, and yet they are being used by the respectable master bakers to furnish the people with bread.

The scabs working in the bakeries are lodged and fed on the premises. As there are no conveniences for lodging



Comrade Allen Speaking at Strike Meeting.

men, conditions are unsanitary and indecent. In Fleischmann's "model" shop, men sleep in the room which contains the bags of flour. The Board of Health told the committee of bakers who went to make a complaint, that nothing could be done about it, and that they would not be used as a cat's paw to help the bakers win their strike.

When the stable men were ordered to make up the beds, they flatly refused, saying, "We are not here to make beds, especially for scabs." The proprietor of the famous Fleischmann bread-line hearing this, said, "It is not enough that the dogs of bakers outside are giving me trouble, but you dogs must make trouble for me also."

Some of the old men who have worked long years helping to build up the fortune of the charitable Fleischmann family, say they will never under any circumstances, go back to work for a man who after all those years of faithful service, would call them "dogs of bakers."

Many people ask why the drivers are not out, as the Bakery and Confectionery Workers are organized along industrial lines. The answer is easy. In addition to a respectable wage, they are given a commission on sales. Cushman's drivers are given stock in the shops as well. The drivers are petty bosses, they fancy they belong to the capitalist class, and of course they have nothing in common with the working class.

The union organizers asked the engineers to come out, but they could not do so without receiving orders from their officials. In this, as in other strikes, we have the shameful spectacle of union engineers furnishing power for scab labor. And they talk of the solidarity of labor. If there was any real solidarity of labor, it would not take long to settle a strike. Many of the union men wear scab clothes, scab hats, scab shoes, and they are now eating scab bread. In the division of the workers lies the weakness of the workers.

The strike of the bakers is marked by all of the incidents of other strikes. Hired Pinkerton thugs beat and club the pickets, and unlawful arrests are constantly made. In spite of all this, a fine spirit of solidarity is manifest among the strikers. They will never return to work without the recognition of the union.

Realizing the necessity of arousing the public, about the middle of May a group of women were organized for the purpose of carrying on a house to house campaign.

The wives of the bakers have done valiant work on the upper East side, persuading the delicatessen and grocery stores to carry union-made bread, and distributing literature among the people. Another group of Socialist and Trade Union League women have concentrated on the upper West side, and for weeks have gone from one apartment to another urging the women to buy only union label bread.

Thousands of leaflets bearing the caption "Are You Eating Unclean Bread?" have been distributed. Committees of bakers have followed up the work by flooding the districts with hundreds of thousands of their "Appeal to the Public."

More than 15,000 of a special strike edition of The Call were sold on May 21st by the bakers and their wives, a committee of women taking charge of the sale. Demonstrations have been held in Union Square by the bakers, and open-air meetings in the crowded thoroughfares by the women.

Women's auxiliaries have also been organized in the Bronx, in Jersey City, and in Brooklyn.

As a direct result of all this agitation, orders are pouring in for union-made bread. The small shops have settled, and with extra men, are scarcely able to meet the demand for bread bearing the union label.

The factories controlled by the Bread Trust are crippled. Many of them are turning out sour bread. Wagons return to the factories laden with scab-made bread which the people refuse to buy. The strike is costing the master bakers thousands of dollars a day. Sooner or later they must settle, but each one dreads to be the first.

The struggle is on between the masters of the bread, and the makers of the bread. To the public, this strike is a question of clean bread. To the bakers, it means a chance for life. The men who have stood long weary hours making our bread, are now fighting for prestige. They want to elevate the trade of bread making into a respectable clean trade. The enemy that they fight is the Bread Trust.

Working Men and Women

By

Mary E. Marcy

WE are only working mules, my friend. All over the whole world we are toiling and sweating to make the wheels go round.

We build mansions and palaces and we live in garrets and basements. We sow the fields and reap the harvests—for somebody else to enjoy. We feed the world; we clothe the world; we house the world—and if we are out of a job for one week—we are broke, we are hunting for another master—another boss again.

When we grow so weak and tired and desperate with struggling continually that we are impelled to throw down the whole burden of our lives and pull society about our ears, the Reformers, with loud voices appear.

These Reformers promise us many things. Sometimes they come beneath a Republican banner and again in the Democratic band-wagon. The flag of any movement or organization, dear to you and me, they will float in order to get us to join their ranks.

O yes, they promise many things. Some of these they do not intend to give us; and all they may grant will only render them more secure in their position upon our backs.

Do you remember our philanthropic friend, the New York millionaire, who bought up the land immediately adjoining a great factory and built model tenements for us? Do you remember the rents he charged us were only half as high as the rents we had been paying?

And you remember what happened then? The men who had been laid off offered to take our jobs at lower wages BECAUSE THEY KNEW THEY could LIVE ON LESS, since the RENTS had been reduced. And the boss told us if we refused to accept a reduction in wages, he would have to give our jobs to these men.

So the cheap rents did not help us at all. But they DID HELP the BOSS who was able to cut wages because the cost of living had been lowered.

That is the way reforms turn out. They look like something good for the workers but they always end by benefitting the capitalists.

Low rents, Cheap food, 3 cent car fares—all these the Reformers offer us. But when WE GET them, the COMPETITION for JOBS between the wage-workers themselves brings wages down low enough to take away all we think we have gained—and the BOSS GETS CHEAP MEN in the FACTORY.

Low rents and cheap living means that wages will go down; the price of wage slaves is lowered and the BOSS GETS THE BENEFIT.

There is only one thing that is starving, sweating and killing you and me. That thing is wage-slavery. Do not waste any time boosting reformers. Do not waste any energy making a fat job for the other fellow. Nothing can help you and me permanently as long as a few men own the factories, the mills and the mines.

We MAKE ALL the great and beautiful things in the world and the boss says

these things are His. He pays us only enough to feed ourselves, to get us a few cheap hand-me-downs and a shelter in some cheap lodging house.

But supposing we continued to MAKE all the useful and beautiful things we make now and KEPT THEM ourselves or received equal value for them! The only reason you and I work for the boss is because the BOSS owns the MILL. Suppose WE OWNED THE MILL—you and I and thousands of our fellow workers. Suppose we COLLECTIVELY owned the factories and the mines. You know we would never dig up all the things we made and the value we created to hand over to somebody who didn't work.

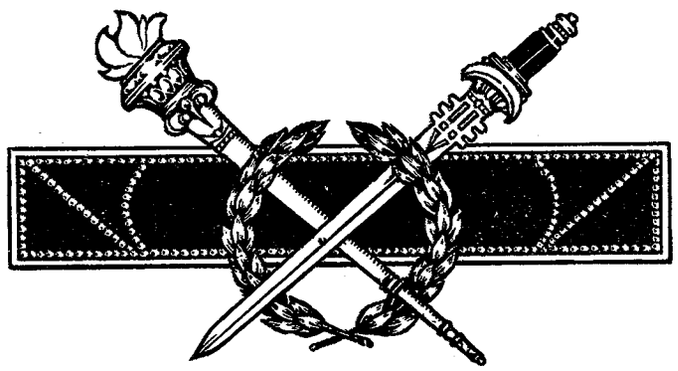
Socialism means the collective ownership BY the WORKERS of the MINES, the MILLS, the FACTORIES and the LAND, to be used FOR the benefit of the WORKERS.

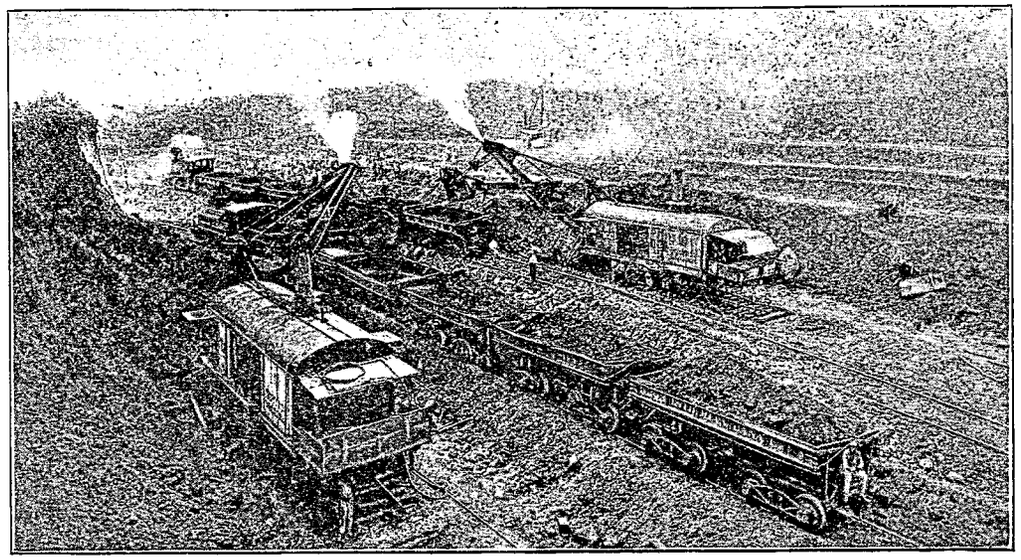
Think this over. Socialism means the value of the things made in the factory FOR the MEN who work in the factory. It means nothing left for the old boss unless he takes a job beside you and PRODUCES something.

Join the socialist party—the international organization of the working class for the abolition of capitalism. There are ten of us workers to one boss. If we unite, we can own the whole world. Division alone can defeat us.

Think it over. Study up on the subject. You CAN'T lose by becoming a socialist unless you are a capitalist—and the socialists propose to give the capitalists JOBS—so even HE will GAIN SOMETHING.

Unite with your fellow-workers into one great organization of the workers. Alone we can accomplish nothing; united the world is ours!





The Spillway Gatum, Showing Steam Shovels at Work.

The Isthmian Canal Today

By A COMRADE

WHO HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN THE WORK FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS.

THE position occupied today by the mere handful of officers and employees working on the Panama Canal, once a "deadly and much dreaded territory" is most interesting.

The unequalled progress already made in the construction work of this gigantic undertaking is already transforming the lives of the natives of the Zone.

Everybody knows the Isthmian Canal is the greatest engineering feat of modern times, and the work is progressing with ginger, snap and zeal. The men employed on this great task are sturdy men, who are enduring hardships and sacrifices to give the world an open way, an open water-way around the globe. They are thus bringing the Orient thousands of miles nearer the Occident for our great ships, materially aiding foreign commerce. And it is commerce that has awakened the nations of the far East into a desire to adopt capitalistic methods of production. It is capitalistic production that produces a wage-working class of men and women. And it is these men and women who become the revolutionists that will one day arise to make the world a world of, for and by the workers themselves.

The Isthmian Canal will be a great civilizer of the Eastern nations, and it is Civilization (?) that produces socialists.

When I landed in Colon early in the fall of 1906, I was detailed to work at Gorgona, at that time a small town 29 miles in the interior—from Christobal on the Atlantic side. Here are located the main I. C. C. shops which employ 1,000 men. At this point the construction gangs work both ways, making Gorgona the third most important city on the Zone.

Out of 118, sixty were detailed to

that town. We were assigned headquarters in an old French building one story high. It was covered with a corrugated iron roof, so full of holes that we were able, through them, to count the stars, when they appeared some six weeks later.

For a full month after our arrival it rained every day—night and day. During all that time we wore wet clothes constantly. Sixty of us were packed into this building about 24 x 80 feet. The floor was almost as full of holes as the roof but we strewed pieces of boxes about over the holes to keep from falling through. Each of us was given a cot to sleep on, but we had no covering of any kind. We arranged the cots on either side of the house in rows, pulled off our shoes and for two months slept with our clothes on. I happened to possess a heavy pair of rubber boots, which I doubled up at night and used as a pillow. The other boys used coats or jumpers.

The quartermaster advised us that we should have better shelter as soon as we built more houses. Two smoky lanterns were given us at night in the hope of encouraging us a little, and every night we worked ourselves in edgewise to retire.

Unfortunately we did not occupy the house all by ourselves. A large rickety attic teetered over our heads in spots, inhabited by bats, centipedes and poisonous vermin. The songs and quarrels of the bats were weird enough to make the shivers run down our backs and our hair stand on end, if not too wet from the rain. And the crawlings of the other attic guests as they encountered our bodies on their journeys, was anything but pleasant for us.

During the first two months, as the rain dripped from our clothes we thought of the comfortable homes we had left in the states and discoursed upon patriotism in unmistakable and unprintable language. It is not surprising that three-fourths of the band turned homeward on the first pay-day.

At this time unrest and a lack of confidence was almost universal among the men. The locomotive engineers, firemen, trainmen, conductors, steam-shovel men, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, molders, marine workers and all others



A Native Hut.

had grievances. When the men sent committees to headquarters to ask for an adjustment, they were informed that we "must settle our differences with the heads of our departments." Generally the difficulty lay with some foreman who was trying to make a record for himself at the expense of the workers.

When J. F. Stevens, chief-engineer, retired from the Commission and sailed for the U. S. there was no organization of any kind among the men.

Then came the agitation to build the canal by contract. Naturally a very large majority of the employees opposed this method. The announcement that Oliver and Bongs had secured the contract added still further to the discontent and general disappointment. The skilled workers began to leave the Isthmus, or prepared to leave.

But the reports were not true and a cablegram from Washington stating that the work had been detailed to a Board of Engineers with Geo. W. Goethas, U. S. A. as Chairman and Chief Engineer. The workers began to hope their jobs might become possible after all. At any rate most of them stayed to give the new administration a chance.

The new Commission had its hands full. There were sanitary problems to be solved—vital to the lives of the whole working force, labor questions to be met,

the housing of great gangs of workmen, who meant to be well-housed, and a whole bundle of chaos to be straightened out.

Engineer Goethas and his assistants arrived upon the Zone unheralded and without pomp and they quietly assumed the management of the canal construction. At a banquet given a short time after his arrival, Mr. Goethas said to us workingmen, "My office will always be open to hear of your difficulties." And his office HAS been open to us, and this explains the cause of the progress and success of the work under the new Commission.

The work of the new Sanitary Department in overcoming almost impossible conditions due to the climate cannot be too highly commended. At present we are all well housed, well fed and an effort is made to satisfactorily adjust working difficulties.

The new Commission under Col. Goethas is not a hard task-master. The incomes of the men in charge of the Isthmian Canal construction do not depend upon making slaves of us, and we are really one of the happiest bunches of workingmen in the world.

Here the government owns a steamship line, 400 miles of railroad, a cold storage plant, for the benefit of the employees, a bakery, laundry (the largest and most complete in the world), an ice plant, dairy, soap factory, barber-shops, musical instrument stores, theatres, water and electric light plants and scores of other institutions that lack of space will not permit me to describe here.

They have made it so pleasant to live on the Zone that most of us want to stay here. We feel as though we had temporarily escaped the driving lash of Capitalism and the Profit-System and are enjoying a fore-taste of what life will be for all the workers in the Wonderful Days A-Coming.



Native Banana Pickers.

A Letter from Debs

on

Immigration

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This letter was written to Comrade Brewer of Kansas while the Socialist Congress was in session. It would have been read to the Congress but for the fact that the writer's permission was received too late. Fortunately the committee's Majority Report was rejected. Comrade Debs' letter should be read by every socialist in the United States and we believe it will do much to prevent any such proposition from coming up again in any future convention.

My Dear Brewer:—

Have just read the majority report of the Committee on Immigration. It is utterly unsocialistic, reactionary and in truth outrageous, and I hope you will oppose with all your power. The plea that certain races are to be excluded because of tactical expediencey would be entirely consistent in a bourgeois convention of self-seekers, but should have no place in a proletariat gathering under the auspices of an international movement that is calling on the oppressed and exploited workers of all the world to unite for their emancipation. . . . .

Away with the "tactics" which require the exclusion of the oppressed and suffering slaves who seek these shores with the hope of bettering their wretched condition and are driven back under the cruel lash of expediency by those who call themselves Socialists in the name of a movement whose proud boast it is that it stands uncompromisingly for the oppressed and down-trodden of all the earth. These poor slaves have just as good a right to enter here as even the authors of this report who now seek to exclude them. The only difference is that the latter had the advantage of a little education and had not been so cruelly ground and oppressed, but in point of principle there is no difference, the motive of all being precisely the same, and if the convention which meets in the name of Socialism should discriminate at all it should be in favor of the miserable races who have borne the heaviest burdens and are most nearly crushed to the earth.

Upon this vital proposition I would take my stand against the world and no specious argument of subtle and sophistical defenders of the civic federation unionism, who do not hesitate to sacrifice principle for numbers and jeopardise ultimate success for immediate gain, could move me to turn my back upon the oppressed, brutalized and despairing victims of the old world, who are lured to these shores by some faint glimmer of hope that here their crushing burdens may be lightened, and some star of promise rise in their darkened skies.

The alleged advantages that would come to the Socialist movement because of such heartless exclusion would all be swept away a thousand times by the sacrifice of a cardinal principle of the international socialist movement, for well might the good faith of such a movement be questioned by intelligent workers if it placed itself upon record as barring its doors against the very races most in need of relief, and extinguishing their hope,

and leaving them in dark despair at the very time their ears were first attuned to the international call and their hearts were beginning to throb responsive to the solidarity of the oppressed of all lands and all climes beneath the skies.

In this attitude there is nothing of maudlin sentimentality, but simply a rigid adherence to the fundamental principles of the International proletarian movement. If Socialism, international, revolutionary Socialism, does not stand staunchly, unflinchingly, and uncompromisingly for the working class and for the exploited and oppressed masses of all lands, then it stands for none and its claim is a false pretense and its profession a delusion and a snare.

Let those desert us who will because we refuse to shut the international door in the faces of their own brethren; we will be none the weaker but all the stronger for their going, for they evidently have no clear conception of the international solidarity, are wholly lacking in the revolutionary spirit, and have no proper place in the Socialist movement while they entertain such aristocratic notions of their own assumed superiority.

Let us stand squarely on our revolutionary, working class principles and make our fight openly and uncompromisingly against all our enemies, adopting no cowardly tactics and holding out no false hopes, and our movement will then inspire the faith, arouse the spirit, and develop the fibre that will prevail against the world.

Yours without compromise,

Eugene V. Debs.

The British Labor Party

By

H. Quelch

IN the May number of the "International Socialist Review" appears an article under the above heading by Keir Hardie, which is my excuse for troubling you with this. Here in England, as in other countries, we Social-Democrats have to fight out our own differences with our trimmers on the one hand and impossibilities on the other, and we cannot expect to interest our comrades of other countries greatly with our troubles. At the same time, it is well, on their own behalf, that our fellow Socialists in America should know the actual position of affairs in this country, and when we are confronted with such misrepresentations as appear in Hardie's article, which are calculated to give an entirely erroneous impression of the situation here, it is necessary that an answer should be forthcoming.

Hardie begins by a reference to a statement by Comrade William E. Bohn, to the effect that "The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage." Personally I, too, should be inclined to demur to this statement of Comrade Bohn's. I do not think the Labor Party has sold its birthright. It has simply given it away! And that is not my opinion alone. Mr. Frank Rose, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who was himself a candidate of the Labor Party in the last general election, has said the same thing in a series of articles he has contributed to a Manchester paper, and has said it in

stronger and more damnatory language than I have ever employed towards the Party of which Mr. Rose was for long a prominent member, and on whose behalf he was at one time a regular contributor to the columns of the "Labor Leader."

There was not only the implicit compact with the Liberals at the general election. For four years the Labor members of Parliament had been stumping the country in "independent" support of the Liberal Government and in praise of the Ministerial policy and its most reactionary legislative measures. Mr. Philip Snowden, Labor member for Blackburn, a professed Socialist and a member of the I. L. P., declared, in an article in the "Christian Commonwealth" that Mr. Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister the man who was responsible for the massacre of miners at Featherstone in 1893, was "in earnest" in pursuit of reform, that he was the "most honest politician" and that he was worthy of the support of the Labor Party! Nearly every member of the Parliamentary group of the Labor Party extolled Lloyd George's Budget as a Socialistic piece of legislation, and were louder and more enthusiastic in its support than even some members of the Liberal cabinet.

The result of all this, even if there had been no compact, overt or implied, between the Labor Party and the Liberals at the election, was the bulk of the working-class electorate could see no difference between them, and no reason why they should vote for the Labor candidate in preference to the Liberal—seeing that the latter was so good—where the Liberals thought fit to oppose a Labor man.

As a consequence, not a single Labor candidate was elected who was opposed by the Liberals!

That is a fact that Keir Hardie omits to state. Indeed, his article is mainly concerned with the suppresion of disagreeable facts. He says that in "nearly every case" their "new candidates were fighting three-cornered contests." That is perfectly true. But he omits to state that none of these—whether a new or an old candidate—was elected, and that, in several cases, prominent members of the Labor Party, candidates in the neighboring constituencies, issued an appeal to the electors to vote for the Liberal and against the Labor candidate where such three-cornered contests were being fought.

Hardie says that he himself had a Liberal opponent. That is only true in the letter. Not in the spirit. The constituency for which Hardie is elected returns two members. Previous to Hardie's election in 1900 these were both Liberals. But one of them went "jingo" over the Boer war, and the Liberals withdrew their official support from him in 1900. The result of that election was the return of one "pro-Boer" Liberal and Keir Hardie; the jingo Liberal being defeated. In the last election, again, the official Liberal and Hardie were both elected. The Liberal, whom Hardie speaks of as being his "opponent" was the same jingo whom the Liberals rejected in 1900. He ran entirely "on his own" and had no official Liberal backing, so it was no wonder that he was defeated. Had this man received the same support as the other Liberal candidate there is little doubt that he would have been elected and Hardie defeated. The outstanding fact of the elections, so far as the Labor Party is concerned, is that every one of their men who is in the House of Commons is there by the goodwill of the Liberals.

It may be asked how it came about in these circumstances, that in many cases Liberals and Labor men were to be found opposing each other. The answer is simple. Such opposition was due, almost entirely, to the action of the local organizations, on one side or the other, or on both, which refused to be controlled by the expressed wish of their own leaders and forced a fight against that expressed wish.

Hardie's statement that there was any attempt at compromise with the Liberals on our part is absolutely untrue. Northampton, for which I stood, is a double barreled constituency, as is that represented by Hardie, by Snowden, by Macdonald, and several other members of the Labor Party. In each of these cases the Labor men share the representation with the Liberals. Northampton is, and was, represented by two Liberals. Over three years ago I was selected by our local branch as their candidate. When the crisis with the House of Lords came, the

Liberals, who had only selected one candidate for Northampton, appealed, there as elsewhere, for the unity of "all progressive forces" against the House of Lords. Our reply was that it was for them to show their sincerity in a practical fashion by not opposing my candidature. We asked for no assistance from them nor promised them any. We only pointed to the fact that I was in the field and that if they did not want to be fighting us they could easily refrain from doing so. That appeared to me to be a perfectly legitimate position to take up. That it did not present itself to the Liberals as any kind of compromise may be gathered from their action. They had openly and publicly professed their willingness to put up only one man—**if only I were withdrawn and a man of whom they approved were put forward on our behalf!**

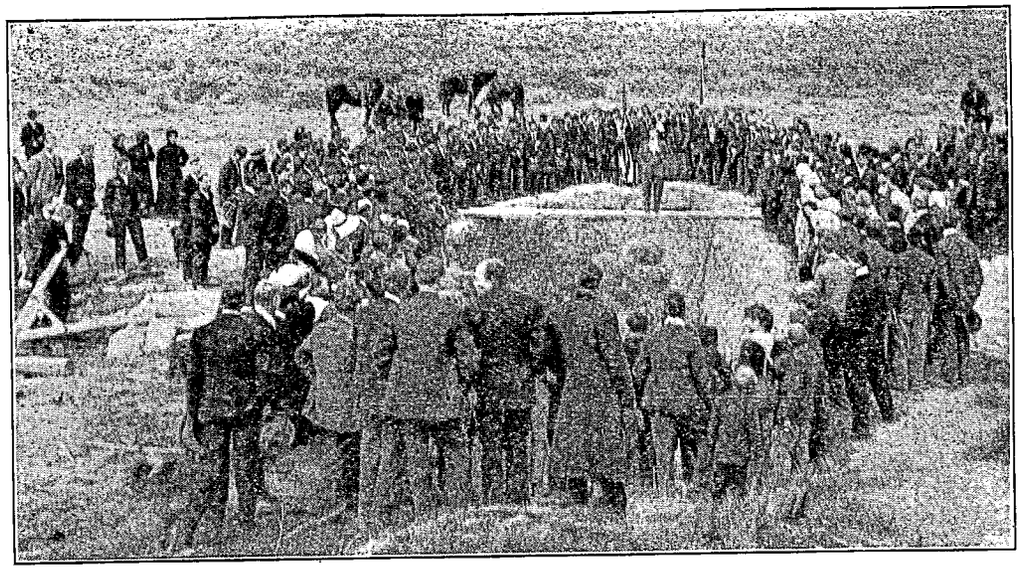
Those are the facts. It will be seen, therefore, that, so far from being an attempt at a compromise, the contest at Northampton was a refusal to compromise. Had we done there the same as the Labor Party did elsewhere, bowed the knee to the Liberals; had I been withdrawn and a man whom the Liberals approved of been put forward, we should have won one of the two seats in precisely the same fashion as the Labor Party has won one of the two seats in each of the constituencies to which I have referred. But we refused to do anything of the kind. Better not to win seats than to hold them at the goodwill of our enemies. And so, instead of withdrawing from the contest or submitting our nominee to their approval we put up a second man and fought for the two seats. Of course we were defeated. But better be defeated a thousand times than win a fictitious victory by previously surrendering to the enemy.

I have nothing to say to Hardie's apology for the Labor Party's support of the Budget. After the Budget had passed the House of Commons, and was the bone of contention between the Commons and the Lords, the Labor Party might have well supported it as against the latter. But to have given it their unqualified and enthusiastic support all through and to claim for it that it was a "Socialistic" Budget was to show how far removed are our Labor Party from the most elementary knowledge of the mere A B C of Socialist economics.

All that, however, can be readily understood when it is borne in mind that the Labor Party has no declared policy, no programme, and no principles, and that its policy in the House of Commons is determined by the Parliamentary Group, the forty members of the Party who have been elected to Parliament, twentysix of whom are, avowedly, Liberals.

It is quite manifest that the policy and action of a Group so composed will be in support of the Liberals. The majority must rule, and if the fourteen professed Socialists in the group were as clear about their Socialism as they are often the reverse, and as persistently hostile to the Government as they are frequently friendly, they would still, being the minority, be outvoted every time in the interests of the Liberals.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—HIM AND HIM ALONE HAVE WE TO FEAR.—Wilhelm Liebknecht in No Compromise.



Memorial Service Over Murdered Miners.

One Wyoming Mining Town

By

Anna A. Maley

HANNA, WYOMING is a coal mining town of 1300 population. The mines around which the town is centered are Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the Union Pacific Coal Company.

Ten years ago the branch of the Union Pacific railroad upon which Hanna was located became the main line. Already in possession of the mines, the jobs upon which the whole male population of the town depended, the company promptly proceeded to get control of the homes of the miners as well. Ownership of the jobs was the club used by the company to enforce the sale of the property in the town. The Union Pacific Coal Company now owns every foot of ground and every home and business building within the town limits.

Six-room cottages rent for $18.00 per month, so that a miner living in one of these cottages pays back to the company for rent about one week's wages. Four rooms rent for $14.25 and three rooms for $10.75. Close to the room in which I write nine persons live in a three room cottage.

The town has a water system but no adequate sewer. For the second time this season the drains are out of repair. All the buildings on the main street today have an accumulation of foul water in the cellars and the stench is so vile that the residents are using carbolic acid and other disinfectants to kill the smell. There is an epidemic of smallpox in the neighborhood.

Two of the company's men who came some time ago to inspect the drainage, pumped out the rotten water but did not

repair the drain because of the expense. It is time that the working class of Hanna should say with our friend in "The Servant in the House,"—"I'm the drain-man!"

Practically all of the miners here belong to the United Mine Workers of America including one hundred and twenty Japanese, who are furnished to the Union Pacific Coal Company by the Wakimoto-Nishimura Company, Japanese labor-contractors of Cheyenne. Their jobs cost these Japanese workers $1.50 per month each, commission to the contractors, besides the slight bonus of five-sixths of the product of their labor paid to the Union Pacific Coal Company.

The Finnish miners are the backbone of the union here and also of the socialist movement. They have a local of two hundred and seventy-five, in which the women are as active as the men. Our Finnish locals are uniformly strong and efficient. While two conditions existing together are not necessarily mutually dependent, it is worthy of note that the strength and efficiency of our Finnish locals goes hand in hand with a large woman's membershrip.

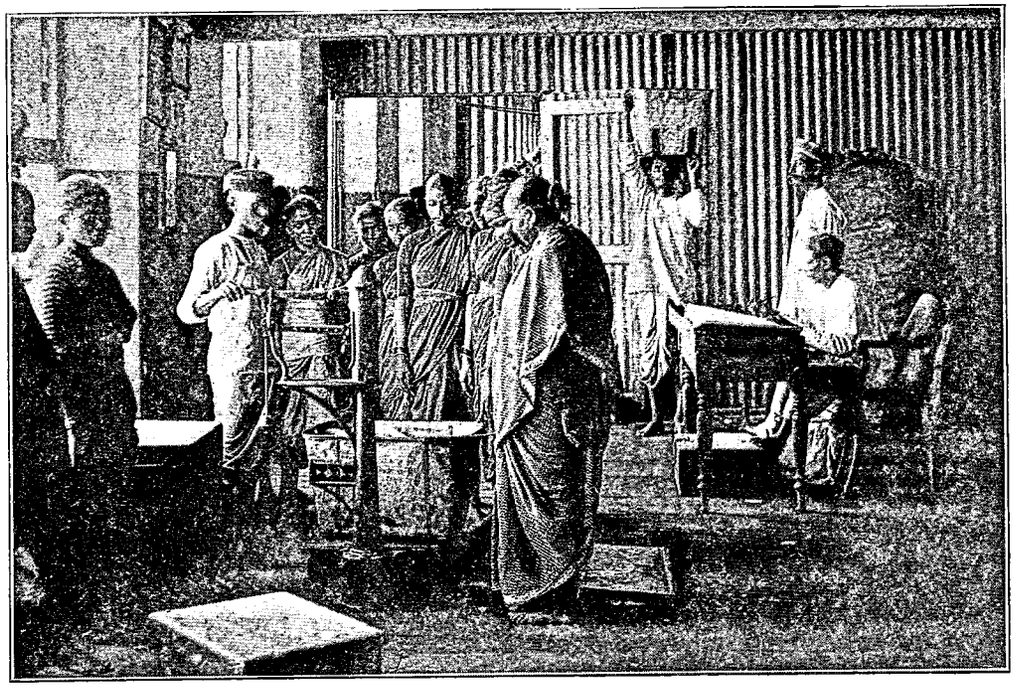
Mine No. 1 has been abandoned. On June 30, 1903, one hundred and sixty-nine men perished in an explosion here. On March 28, 1908, fifty-nine men died in the same mine, leaving thirty-eight widows and one hundred and four orphans. The total toll of life yielded up by the miners in Mine No. 1 is three hundred and seven-three. The explosions so damaged the properties, being of such force as to wreck completely the shafts and entrances, that the company hesitated about paying for the repairs so frequently necessary. And so the mine is closed.

The anniversaries of these fearful accidents have been declared holidays by the miners. A picture herewith shows four hundred workers assembled at Mine No. 1 for memorial services on March 28th of this year. Twenty-nine bodies are here still entombed. These men kissed their little ones on a March morning two years ago and went below to return no more forever to the world's song and sunlight.

"There's never a mine blown skyward now,
But we're buried alive for you.
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now,
But we are its ghastly crew.

"Go reckon our dead by the forges red
And the factories where we spin,
If blood be the price of your cursed wealth,
Good God, we have paid it in!"

The devastaton of the working-class by capitalist production is so shocking that only the most shameless and greedy capitalists dare to refuse a certain amount of statutory protection to labor. But for any imporant labor measure, the eight-hour law, for example, there will be found few supporters among the property-holding class.—From The Class Struggle —Kautsky.



Weighing Yarn.

Mill Operatives of India

By

H. A. Talcherkar, B. A.

Secretary of the Indian Workman's Association now touring round the world studying the various labor organizations in different countries.

THE population of India is about 294,000,000. The total area of Hindustan is 1¾ millions of square miles. India has been an agricultural country having nearly 90 per cent agrarian laborers. The mill-hands mainly come from the above class. Famines generally drive these men from their fields to cities where they work in mills or factories. It is inexorable necessity which alone brings them to factory towns.

The total number of workmen in Indian textile mills is 211,000, out of which the city of Bombay alone has 148,000 mill-operatives. The majority of the mill-hands come from the Konkan districts. These men belong to different castes, each caste having affinity for a particular kind of work, and a member of one community will rarely be found engaged in any other craft but the one in which his caste is known to be a specialist. It is much the same, for instance, as with "the pit-brow lasses" of Lancashire and of some of the Scottish Counties who are employed in unloading, screening and sorting coal on the pit-banks whilst their male relatives are engaged deep down in the dangerous mine-pits. The affinity for particular professions and trades which are regarded as peculiarly their own is more or less an inherited trait among Indians. Thus the **Zulai** mill hands who are born weavers work only in the weaving department. The **Pardeshi** from Northern India has a liking for the carding department, the **Ghatis** from the highands of Western India confine themselves to the lifting of heavy weights only. The Konkani **Maratha** from the sea coast is found in the mixing department. The women operatives generally work in the reeling and winding departments of the mills.

One comes across different types of workmen in mills. The following five are commonly to be seen in Indian cotton mills.

1. The model hand, who is steady, sober and regular in attendance. He is a family man to whom the smallest increase in wages is a great boon. This class always welcome over-time work.

2. The **Budliwala** or substitute who, as a rule, fights shy of fixed employment, and works only temporarily in lieu of others.

3. The **Athavada** or seven day man, so nicknamed from his habit of working only seven days at a stretch every alternate week and taking a week's respite from labor thereafter.

4. The **Mowali** the easy going masher, the Bohemian class, working and resting —a gay man generally given to vice.

5. The **Dada** or vagabond, the hooligan class, lazy like the mowali, but dangerous for obvious reasons.

Luckily the number of **mowali's** and **dadas** is very small in Indian mills.

The mill hand in India has to attend his mill at 5 a. m. in the morning and he is let off at 8 p. m. in the night. Thus the poor man has to sweat for 15 hours getting half an hour recess in the noon. He starts with his work without any food; at about 9 a. m. he begins to feel hungry and is restless at work and out of his element, till he has his breakfast. This is brought to him by his female relative in a decent brass box. These women are scrupulously careful that nobody touches them on the road and they usually avoid crowds. At railway crossings it is a funny sight to see these women dodging about to escape pollution from the jostling crowd. It is a common sight to see the tea hawker (férriwala) moving about in different departments, selling the beverage to workmen at the rate of a cent per cup. In recent times the mill-operative class has taken to tea drinking inordinately; th large number of tea shops in the vicinity of mills testify to this craving.

The Indian mill-hand will not take easily to improvements and deviations from the antiquated and orthodox method of work and the mill-owner will therefore think twice before he ventures to introduce any up-to-date new machines to which the men are not accustomed. Their apathy in improving and keeping up with the times is probably in a great measure due to the Indian climate and their want of education. The following is a comparison between Indian and Lancashire labor, wages and production:

	Lancashire	India
Operatives per 1000 spindles	4.2	30
Operatives per 100 looms	4.4	90
	lbs.	lbs.
Average yearly out-turn of yarn per mill hand	7736	3700
	yrds.	yrds.
Average yearly out-turn of cloth per operative	37740	14000
Average weekly hours of work	55½	80
	Rs.*	Rs.
Average monthly wages per operative	81	13

The average of wages earned by mill-hands in cotton mills is as follows:

Adults	14	Rupees per month
Women	7½	" " "
Children	3	" " "

Factory Laws for India.

The first Factory Act was passed through the efforts of Rac Bahadur Lokhande the first president of the Mill-hands' Association, who from the position of an ordinary mill-hand rose to be a journalist and continued his fight for the working classes in the columns of the **Din Bandhu** (the poor man's brother) till he fell a victim to the plague.

The Factory Act restricted 10 hours work for females in mills and prevented the employment of children under 9 years. It also reduced the working hours of children between 9 and 14 years to four

* One Rupee is equal to 33 cents.

hours a day. Such juvenile workers were called "Half-timers." The poor mill-hand also got four holidays in a month under the new factory legislation. To this day the name of the late Mr. Lokhande is remembered with gratitude.

There have been some memorable strikes among the mill-hands in Bombay, the cottonopolis of India. The last strike of 1908 which took place in connection with the trial of Mr. Tilak, resulted in riots with the loss of 50 lives. The masses are evidently awakening, they have now a weekly paper, "Kamgar Samachar" in which all their grievances are freely discussed. Some have enthusiastically taken up temperance work among the mill-workers, notwithstanding the persecution to which they have to submit from the capitalist class who are both their land-lords and keepers of liquor shops or saloons. The combination among the mill-operatives is not strong, and in their own interest, it has been thought advisable to keep the organization secret. Those who work on the council of this association are retired workingmen of means, who are no longer dependent on the capitalist class for their bread. The Kamgar Hit-Vardhak Sabha —Indian Workman's Association—is under a strong committee of the following men:

Bhivaji Ramji Nare, President.

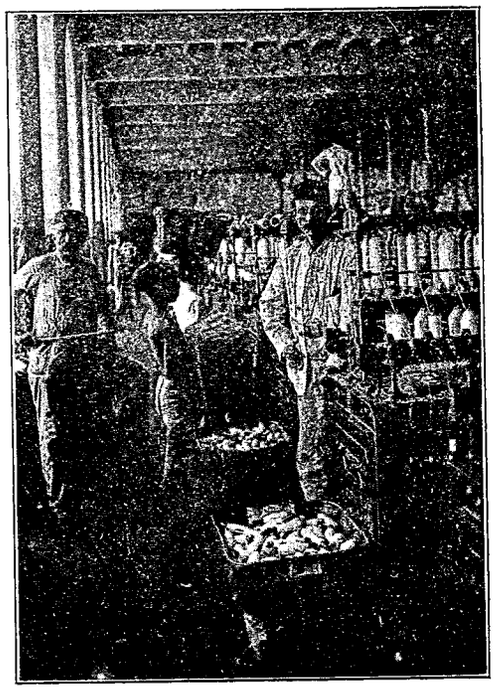
Najan Uddin Cheddan, Vice-President.

Secretaries: Silaram K. Bole, Mimshi Valiulla, H. A. Talcherkar.

A few months ago this association sent the following memorial to the government of India::

"On behalf of the Kamgar Hit-Vardhak Sabha of Bombay, an Institution for watching the interests of the Working Classes, we have the honor respectfully to submit the following representation in reference to the draft Bill for amending and consolidating the Indian Factory Law now before the Imperial Legislative Council. Though on account of the recent founding of the Association we have not had the privilege as other public bodies in Bombay have, of the draft Bill being sent to us for an expression of our opinion, yet we hope it will not be deemed presumptuous on our part thus to volunteer the Sabha's views on the same.

The Sabha, composed as it is mainly of Cotton Factory-operatives, is in a position, we submit, to give voice adequately to the wants and grievances of those for whose benefit the present legislation is being undertaken



Cotton Factory in India.

and we venture to hope that our representation will receive consideration at the hands of Government.

It is far from our intention to offer any criticism with regard to the proposed amendment of the Indian Factory Law. The Committee appointed to draft this letter have had the advantage of consulting many who are likely to be affected by the new Law and the opinion is strong about legally restricting the working hours in Textile Factories as expressed at a public Meeting held on 23rd October, 1909, at Currey Road, Bombay. A Resolution was then unanimously adopted: "That the restriction proposed in the Bill is necessary in the best interests of the operatives and thus in the long run of the textile industry itself."

With regard to the limitation of working hours we would humbly suggest an exception in the case of men engaged in repairs works, or in Mechanics' Shops.

Where Mills have in their service Medical Graduates it should be made obligatory on the Certifying Surgeons to authorise the former to grant workmen temporary certificates of medical fitness. These doctors should be allowed full discretion in issuing these certificates according to the nature of work exacted from the operatives, care being taken to discriminate hard manual labour from light work requiring no great physical exertion.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to draw the attention of Government to the necessity of providing for some compensation to workmen if they sustain any injury whilst on duty in the Mill, or become disabled either

permanently or temporarily. At present it often happens that in such cases the operatives are left without any remedy against their employers or in some cases have to depend entirely on their employer's mercy. In cases of accident enquiries are as a rule instituted and it would not, we submit, be difficult to fix the amount of Compassionate Allowance at such enquiries. It may be urged that a remedy lies to hand by a civil suit; but regard being had to the poverty and general ignorance of the working classes this course can seldom if ever be followed. We beg to submit that the grant of an occasional allowance will not bear hard on the Millowners, as each Mill, we are given to understand, forfeits annually about Rs. 2,000 out of the wages of work people, mostly for trifling faults, irrespective of "fines" regularly inflicted.

We further venture to suggest for the consideration of Government the necessity of making it imperative upon Mill-owners to provide schools for the children of Mill-operatives. This step, in the absence of free education by State interference, cannot fail to have salutary effect on Millhands in whose interests Government have so generously come forward to legislate.

The proper housing of Mill-operatives and the removal of taverns from the neighbourhood of mills and factories are, we submit, also points which should not escape attention of Government.

This is perhaps not the place to urge for the redress of grievances; but we respectfully venture to hope that the above questions will some time in future be taken up by legislature; the grievances are real and felt and this is our excuse for mentioning them here.

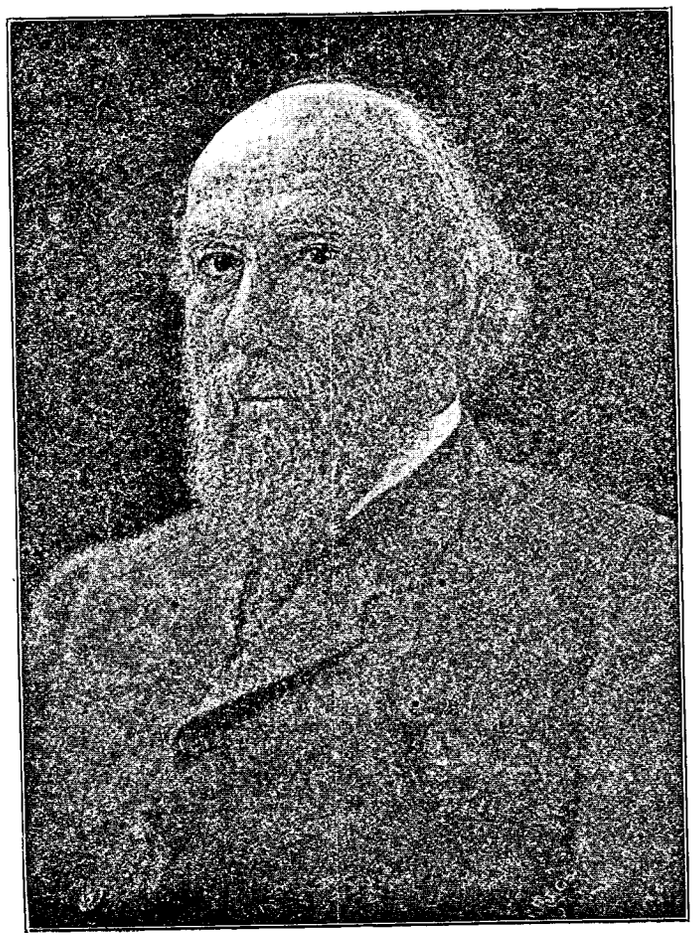
At the Public Meeting of Mill-operatives referred to above the objectionable practice of keeping wages of workmen in arrears for weeks, if not months, after they become due was condemned. This question too is perhaps beyond the scope of the Bill now before the Council; but we deem it proper respectfully to bring the fact to the notice of Government to show the general helplessness of the Mill-operatives.

In submitting these suggestions we most respectfully ask that the Government may be pleased to consider them in a broad and sympathetic spirit."

Through the intervention of this association many a dispute between the employer and the employed has been successfully settled, which evidently shows the good work which the body is doing.



H. A. Talcherkar.



James J. Hill—The Railroad Magnate.

"Jim" Hill's Advice

By

Robert J. Wheeler — Clarence T. Wixsom

JIM HILL says: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST LEARN TO LIVE CHEAPER LIKE THE EUROPEAN PEASANTS. This is Jim's remedy for the "High Cost of Living."

Live cheaper. Think of it. Poorer food than you eat now; poorer clothes than you wear now; poorer houses than you live in now; fewer pleasures than you now enjoy; less expenditure for sickness than now; less provision against old age than you make now; this is what Jim means by living cheaper.

And why? Now really you must not ask questions. You must "trust and

obey." Don't you know that Jim and "Divine Right Baer" of Pennsylvania have been given control of all these things by Providence? But if you insist on an answer it might be said that the Nation has reached a point beyond which it cannot progress with safety and continue to make useless people rich and at the same time pay living wages to useful working people. The Capitalists are determined to keep on piling up riches. So they tell you that you must live cheaper.

They hire preachers, editors, college professors, lecturers, and magazine writers to teach this to you. These hirelings tell you to be less extravagant. They say you waste too much in high living and drinking and pleasure seeking. If they can prove these things on you, they will hold the Capitalist justified in refusing you an advance in wages and look on in approval when he sends cossacks to beat you up when you strike.

But here are the facts: In 1904 Carrol D. Wright, the Labor Commissioner, told the country that your average yearly wage was $437. This was during prosperous times. It is less now because the price of food and clothes has gone up 20% since. Now you $437 a year man, how are you going to do it? How are you going to live cheaper when even cornmeal is $3.00 a bag? What's that? You won't do it? You will fight first? "Praises be," as Dooley says. That's the talk. There's some hope for a man who will fight before he will consent to become a serf.

Now then, since you are going to fight, you will want the best weapons. Let's see, do you belong to a union? No? Well! Well! That's too bad. The right kind of a union is the very best kind of a weapon in a fight like this. You can't put up much of a fight if you do not belong to a union, There are two kinds of unions, craft or trade unions and industrial unions. The trade union was the best weapon the workers had at one time. This was before industry had reached the machine stage and the employers had organized. The trade union took in only the skilled men in the different branches of the industry and was a good thing for those who belonged to it. But since the employers have organized into One Big Union to enable them to fight the men better, and industry has become trustified and such a large proportion of skilled men have been reduced to mere machine tenders, the craft union is out of date. It is like the old tool you lay aside when a new one is given you; or like the old style muzzle-loading gun was put by when the repeating rifle was invented. And more than that, the craft union divides working men up into many organizations instead of uniting them. This makes it easy for the employer to use one against the other in a fight and so defeat all. Then too the different craft unions spend more time and money fighting each other than in fighting the employers.

But the Industrial Union; the real Labor Union; the One Big Union of all the workers in any industry is a new and powerful weapon. This union can meet the employers with some hope of success. It is the best form of organization ever devised to aid the workers in their battle for freedom from wage slavery. The Industrial Union has no divisions. It takes every man in any industry into its ranks and makes a fighter of him. No matter whether he be American or foreigner, white or black, the Industrial Union takes him in and teaches him the lesson of union. How to help himself by sticking with his fellow worker. So join a union. Join the best union. Join the Industrial Union.

Then there is another weapon you have. The political party. You can fight as it were with both hands. To use a political party in this fight you must belong to one of your own class. There is such a party. The Socialist Party is its name. It is owned by the Unions. It is controlled by the workers. They pay all its expenses. It is growing to be a power. It has just captured the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It will capture the state some day. It aims to capture the nation. You must join this party. You need it in this fight. With your own party a power in government it will not be possible to send Cossacks to beat you up while you are striking to force your wages up and your hours down. Then also courts will fear to decide unjustly against your leaders and police will be used to protect you instead of helping your employer break strikes.

So now you see it is possible for you to help yourself and prevent the Capitalists from forcing you to live like the European peasants, even though prices rise. Now don't waste any time. Get busy at once. Join a union. Join the Socialist Party. Work with the union on the industrial field to force your wages up and with the Socialist Party on the political field to control government and protect the unions in the fight. Let us swell the membership of the unions to millions. Let us swell the membership of the Socialist Party to millions. Just in proportion as we do this will our conditions improve.

Finally, let us resolve that our efforts shall not cease until through the Industrial Union we have gained possession of industry and through the Socialist Party we have gained possession of government. Then shall this old, wornout, capitalist system with all its horror and suffering to the workers pass away and in its place will be a system under which they who do the work of the world shall receive full reward for their labor.

Let this be your answer to Jim Hill.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the record of Hill's cumulative acts, as revealed in successive law and other records, has interfered in the slightest with his exalted reputation. Far and wide his sycophants of the press do still loudly spread their fanciful, rapturous descriptions of him, always carefully leaving unsaid the true means by which he obtained his great wealth. Much has been made of his piety; his giving, for instance, $500,000 for the endowment of a Roman Catholic Cathedral, at St. Paul; much is incessantly written of his exceeding probity, his "financial acumen" and "business virtues." When he speaks he is hailed as averitable oracle, and truly so, for the gods of present society are the Money Gods; Society, which at huge expense has built jails and prisons for the petty criminal, erects palaces for the great criminals, and insists upon pouring wealth increasingly into their coffers and hails them dictators. And who can blame the magnates for thus mocking and scourging the peoples who thus reverence them and the system which produces and perpetuates them? For, not they, but the system, should be held responsible. — From Myers' History of Great American Fortunes.

The Russian Woman and the Suffragette

BY

ROSE STRUNSKY

TO knock off the hat of a policeman and throw vitriol at the polls is only to make manifest a desire and an intention to become a free woman. Due credit should be given to the desire and the intention, but somehow the action is lacking both in philosophy and practicality, and is on the whole metaphysical.

It is metaphysical to expect to fire a whole nation with the theory of civic justice, with the theory alone that woman has a fundamental right to the privileges which man enjoys under the present society. It is metaphysical to make that statement without making a pragmatic analysis, without endeavoring to imagine what would be the practical value to the women of the nation as a whole if they were given the same privileges as are extended to the men.

In England, where the right to vote is only given to him who owns, leases or rents the dwelling he lives in, to take away the sex distinction would only grant the suffrage to a million women who lease, own or rent buildings. Almost eight million women would still be disenfranchised, while three million men are disenfranchised today in England on account of their occupations, which do not permit them a steady abode.

I repeat, the philosophical basis of the rights of man is too abstract a theory to fire eight million women, which gives them nothing but the consciousness of being idealists. It is not philosophical; it is not practical. A philosophical understanding of the question is the Russian understanding of it, where, having accepted the theory of the rights of man, the women have developed it to its natural conclusion, which is a practical conclusion. If it is granted that Man, male and female, have certain rights, then comes the question, what is the practical application of these rights in society, and what would be the best way of attaining them? I think the English suffragette would agree with the Russian woman that she desires a vote with the end in view of changing and bettering the social and political conditions about her. She thinks she will be a factor in the government of which she is a part. The Russian woman not only thinks she will be a factor in the government of which she is a part, but on the day when she awoke to the realization that she, as an individual, had certain rights, she immediately grasped these rights, calling herself free, and began to apply them to society. She did not implore or beg the men to grant her anything, or even aid her, as the suffragette is doing, though to the credit of the Russian man, it must be said he never opposed her. The reason for that was perhaps, as some one said, that they were already equals in slavery.

At any rate, from her first awakening in the '60's, when all Russia was swept by Darwinism and the scientific spirit, till today, when Russia is swept by a revolutionary fire, the Russian woman has acted with self-reliance, and what is more important still, with a social and political consciousness which leaves no basis for any one to say that she is unfit to take part in politics. She did not wait for permission, but began her work.

If it was education she wanted, as she did at the beginning, then she broke the bonds which held her to her family and went where she could find education. Here, at the beginning, is the only place

where the men helped her. A father could imprison his daughter, could beat her and cut off her hair if she did not obey his will. It was only when she married that she became free. The youth of Russia instituted a system of fictitious marriages, which gave the girl freedom to leave her home. In most cases the "husband" never saw her again after she was safely installed in her garret in Zurich, with a Materia Medica on the table and a lamp, which not only gave light but acted as a stove for the rare occasions she had anything to cook. In this way Sonya Kovalevsky, the famous author and mathematician, gained her education; and the story of Sonya Kovalevsky is the story of many thousands between the years '60 and '70.

But the Russian woman was free.

This passion to be free for herself lasted only a few years. It meant nothing as an end in itself. Freedom had to be given to all of society, to all the oppressed around her. This idea was true of the men as well as the women, and when Alexander II, fearing that the whole Russian youth would make this exodus to the West, sent out his decree, ordering them to return within the year or forfeit their citizenship, the women went back with the men, and it was due to them as well as to the men that the democratic doctrines of Western Europe spread to the farthermost provinces of Russia. She worked with the men without permission. In her very conception of freedom it belonged to no man to give, but for all to take. Freedom was not for herself, but for all. She made this leap from feminism to humanism with one bound. She was organizer among the peasants, propagandist, agitator in the factories and the barracks; she addressed meetings, headed demonstrations and was most often, as in the case of Perofskaia, who was hanged for the assassination of Alexander II, the leader and head of terroristic acts.

We could find no Russian who would say that their women are unfit for politics. It would be laughable. In a contemporary article in a Russian periodical, the other day, on suffragettes, the writer begins: "I am not going to prove that two plus two equals four. I am not going to prove that women have equal rights with men. There is no need for that in Russia."

The Russian woman is by common consent the most emancipated in the world, and it is by her own worth and because she has proved herself that the Russian woman has won this emancipation. The practical effect of such an attitude is patent. Even Russia, that reactionary and despotic government, which Mr. Schiff called the other day "an enemy to all mankind," has granted better rights to women than so-called more democratic countries. Whatever rights this autocracy has granted to its men subjects as to property, she has given to the women. This is true in the marriage relation and in communal ownership. A proprietress has as much right in the zemstvos meetings as a proprietor; a woman peasant, if she represents land, as much right in the communal meeting as a man peasant.

Russia is chary of giving education to the boys, and more chary of giving it to the girls. That is a governmental policy which was expressed by the late Pobiedinostzeff more than thirty years ago: "The masses should be kept in ignorance as a safeguard against revolution. Ignorance leads to obedience." But in higher education the women have since '69 won for themselves the right to attend philosophical and mathematical courses in the university together with the men. Also there were established, as a bait for them to return from Zurich, two good universities in Petersburg and Moscow. Within the last five years they were permitted to take degrees not only in letters, but also in medicine. Law had been open to them, but the privilege of obtaining a degree revoked only a few months ago.

Yet all this was not won because the women as a whole joined together and fought for their own femine rights, but because the women joined with the men or initiated movements which demanded educational, political and social rights.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that made Katherine Breschkovsky, the grandmother of the Revolution as she is called, and who has just recently been sentenced to perpetual exile in Siberia, spend half a century in the cause for freedom. It was because she saw that the Russian government as it is today would not give liberty to its subjects even if there were no sex differentiation.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that fired Marie Spiridinova to shoot the Governor-General of Tambov on a crowded railway station. She did it because it was under his orders that punitive expeditions were sent through the whole government of Tambov to beat and flog the peasants—men and women alike.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that led Konopliamkova to shoot Captain Minn after he had entered the city of Moscow with the order to "pacify" it, but because he had entered the city with his regiment and had ordered them to shoot every man, woman or child they saw from their car windows. Her last words were: "Forgive me, my country, that I have but one life to give you."

These are names which have reached the outer world. There are as many women as men, or perhaps even more, in this movement for the emancipation of Russia. Certainly more women than men are doing the more dangerous work of smuggling illegal literature or dynamite, for the very simple and practical reason that under their skirts and capes they can carry greater quantities. There are more women than men making an agitation among the soldiers, also for a simple and practical reason. Women can disguise themselves and enter the barracks with more excuse than can the men.

But these women are idealists, comes the answer, working in a despotic and tyrannical country where their only hope for emancipation lies in revolution. Here in the West we can effect all by the vote. Therefore we demand only that.

Very well. But can we imagine the Russian women waiting for permission to vote before they expressed themselves on the many questions which agitate our own country and politics? There would be a tariff revision agitation and demonstration; there would be pro-Tammany women and anti-Tammany women; there would be Hearstites, Gaynorites, etc. They would never be feminists per se as the Western woman; they would never be Liberals one day because of a feminist promise, and Unionists the next day to defeat the same Liberal government as in England.

The American suffrage movement has not suffered from this metaphysical "ding an sich" agitation as much as the English. We are too practical here. Suffragism has taken up the fight for unionism, a very wise and strategical move. The whole East Side in the City of New York, is punctured with wage-earning girls' suffrage clubs. The strength and significance of this is plain.

The writer has had occasion to experience three women suffrage demonstrations in London almost two years ago. "Yes, of course," they whispered under their breath, "we believe in adult suffrage. We are radicals. You know, Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel are members of the Independent Labor party, but it is not tactful to mention these things now. First we want the vote."

You won't get it, I thought to myself. Asquith's answer to them was right: "When all women of the country will want it," he said, "you will have the vote." All the women of the country are not interested in suffering for crumbs, which would not even fall to them. If the mountain brings forth a mouse, the joke is on the mountain.

There are also a vast number of women in Russia who are not idealists, but are nevertheless emancipated. They are either satisfied with conditions as they exist, or anxious to have some slight reform. But their emancipation lies in the fact that they consider themselves a potent factor in society. Thus the Countess Bobrinsky, who was opposed to revolutionary methods, yet planned to organize the peasantry to make some better agrarian laws. She was the main agitator and supporter of the Peasants' Union before it became the very radical body it turned out to be at the first Duma.

Today Bourtseff, in discovering spies, has disclosed as many women as men, and these women have acted from as keen a social sense as the revolutionary women. Zinaida Jouchenko, who had been a spy and provocateur for years, and had sent the revolutionary, Mlle. Frumkin, to the gallows, explained that she was a spy from as deep a sense of patriotism as Mlle.

Frumkin said her terroristic act was from a deep sense of liberty and justice.

And so, at the time of the general strike and the revolutionary period of three years ago, when the country was broken up into many political parties, each political party had on its program universal suffrage. There was no question in the mind of any man, conservative, liberal, radical or revolutionary, that universal suffrage should mean the vote for men and not women. And this was not because the women had been crying from the street-corners and shouting through megaphones that they had equal rights, but because for three generations they had thrown themselves into the political arena of their country; they had organized, made propaganda, agitated and fought.

How quickly the women of Russia would get the vote if the present Russian government were overthrown, is shown by Finland. That little country has been awake only ten years. It was only a decade that the great revolutionary movement of Russia rolled into Finland, and in those ten years the tactics of the Finnish women were those of the Russian. They went out with the men, shoulder to shoulder, and like the Christians, found themselves by first losing themselves. When Finland gained the right for a new Constitution, all elements of the country, with one accord, gave the passive and active suffrage right to women, and twenty-five women sat in the last Diet.

The Russian woman knows that the rights of women are not different from the rights of men; that the right of the landlady is different from the right of the peasant woman as the right of the landlord is different from the right of the peasant. And it is for the establishment of a new democratic order that the Russian woman is fighting. In the words of Stepnak, having once conceived of liberty for herself, she cannot rest until she gives liberty to all. She does not stop to fight for crumbs. If they fall to her, she accepts them and fights on.

The Strike of the Seamen at Marseilles, France

BY

GIOVANNI B. CIVALE



ERE in Marseilles, where I am now, the city is practically besieged with gendarmes, hussars, dragoons, etc. on horse-back and on foot, and all armed to the teeth. They were called here by the Prefect to be used as soldiers and as workers, when the strike of the Seamen Under Contract broke out.

This strike is a fierce struggle between two classes conscious of their class distinctions. If it should be won by the masters, the whole C. G. E. in this city would be gone. But the sailors are made of stern stuff and the whole working class is composed of fighters.

M. Cheron, the vice-secretary of State, acted for the Ship-owners Assn. of France. His first order was the arrest of eight sailors of the S. S. Moise, simply for striking on the moment the ship was to sail (another illustration of the vaunted "right to work, or not to work.") Then he called a number of torpedo boats to this port from which sailors supposed to serve only for the National Defense, were ordered to manoeuvre the steamers, thus filling the places of the striking sailors.

This roused the working class of the whole city. A General Strike Committee was named and in a few hours the walls everywhere were placarded with Manifestoes exposing the facts.

Sunday morning, May 11th, the General

Strike was declared and when the shop whistles blew the next day, it was easy to count the factories that tried to run.

Tuesday morning no cars were running and the list of trades involved in the strike grew from 34 to 44. The head manager of La Campaigne des Tramways, in an interview said,

"I am simply astonished and unable to understand how the whole personel can pursue such action. As you see," he added to the reporter, "It is simply an act of SOLIDARITY."

The most inspiring sight is the Bourse de Travail (Labor's Hall) which floats the red flag above its main entrance, bearing Marx's old, great call, "Workingmen of the World Unite!"

A large blackboard above the door records the progress and some of the plans of the movement. Every room inside is packed and it is impossible for people to pass through the streets outside.

The excitement grew when word came that the sailors had refused to leave the torpedo-boats to act as scabs. When the soldier begins to fraternize with the workingman, it is an ominous sign.

It is 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, when the motormen, and the street car conductors march down the streets, bearing two red flags, and singing the International. They are followed by the match-makers and the tobacco-workers—all women.

There has been no disturbance till the strikers see a wagon approaching (one of the only four or five the company has tried to run.) Their first idea is to force it back, at any cost. The Chief of Police, gendarmes and soldiers persist. Then sticks, stones—every sort of a missile is seen flying toward the car, smashing the panes and breaking the trolley.

There are a few injured on both sides and the incident is repeated when two more cars appear.

. . . . .

The city seems to be returning to a more normal state, but the strike of the seamen is far from ended. In fact, it is spreading to other seaports, Bordeaux, Dunquerque and Havre. The militia is still here.

Things point to a victory for labor. Whatever may be the outcome, the strike has taught the workers a most valuable lesson of solidarity. It is the first time here that the two great forces have been lined up against each other; the Ship Owners Assn. and the allied Shipping Federations on one side and the sailors on the other with the rest of the C. G. E. to rely upon.

If there was any simpleton who did not know that the Government was but the "Committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoise" he certainly knows now. The whole government is in the hands of King Capital—no matter what the label. Violence and corruption is always there to defend "law and order."

Even the Prefect, to prove his faithfulness to the masters, kept locked in his desk for 24 hours, a telegram to l'Humanite. But the working class solidarity is baffling the schemes of the bosses and their tool—the State.

Until recently the strike represented only a sharp feeling of hunger—of need, the desperation that comes from brutalizing work, of the unloosed anger of brutalized masses.

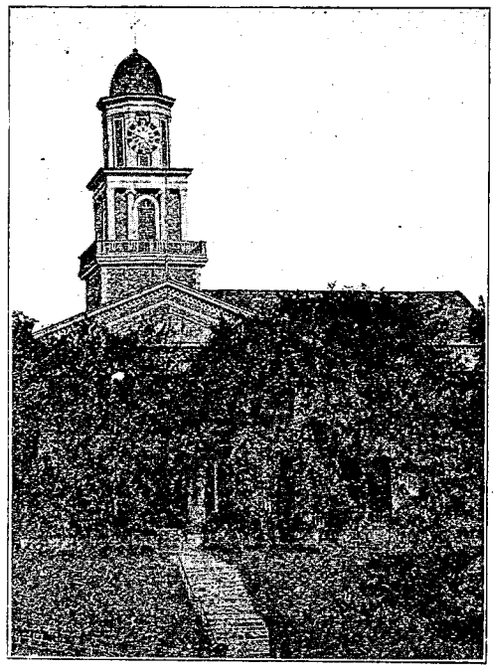
But now it is different and the strike begins to represent the fixed rhythm of proletarian class-consciousness.

The prevailing lack of unity implies the lack of class consciousness. The workers do not yet understand that they are engaged in a class struggle, that they must unite their class and get on the right side of that struggle economically, politically and in every other way—strike together, vote together and, if necessary, fight together. Eugene V. Debs in Industrial Unionism.

The Free Press Fight at New Castle, Pa.

By

FRED D. WARREN



Lawrence County Court House
Local Law Factory of the U. S. Steel Trust.

THE case against the comrades comprising the committee engaged in the publication of the New Castle Free Press, charged with "seditious libel," was tried under what was known as the old English common law. This law against "seditious libel" was framed at a time when kings ruled by divine right, and in order to establish the guilt of the "pestiferous" McKeever, Hartman, McCarty and White, the prosecutor of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, cited a case that occurred during the reign of Charles II. A score of Irish peasants raised a rebellion, so the prosecutor read, against the English land lords. These Irish peasants were arrested, charged with "seditious libel" and sentenced to prison. That was nearly four hundred years ago, yet we find a fossilized county prosecutor referring to it today in an effort to convict these four comrades of ours. It would be laughable were it not for the serious consequences that are likely to follow this New Castle trial for "seditious libel."

After a six days fight, in which each point was vigorously contested, Judge Porter, the presiding magistrate, elected on the democratic-populist ticket by the working class of New Castle, charged the jury, in a lengthy communication in which he explained, in a ponderous and patronizing way, that while the constitution of Pennsylvania guarantees the right of free press, the state must, if it was to be preserved, reserve the right to protect itself against "seditious and pestiferous persons, who sought by means of the press to bring the reins of government into contempt and ridicule." So nicely balanced were the scales of justice, under these instructions, that it required only a breath from the steel trust attorney, who was in constant attendance at the trial, to turn the balance in favor of the prosecution.



"His Honor"—Judge Porter.

After twelve hours deliberation, the jury returned for instructions as to where the cost of the prosecution should be placed. Under the laws of Pennsylvania, the jury may place the cost on the defendant, even though the defendant be found not guilty, or it may place the cost on the county or on the prosecutor. The jury again retired and in a few minutes returned. With a solemnity that fitted the occasion, Judge Porter opened the envelope in which the jury's verdict had been placed and silently read it. Hesitatingly picking up his pen, he started to attach his official signature to the document that would have set our comrades free. There was a moment's silence disturbed only by the ticking of the court room clock. The judge closed his eyes. It could readily be discerned that the judicial think box was at work. He opened his mouth as if to speak. The spectators leaned forward expectantly. The judge cleared his throat, readjusted his wig and then said: "Gentlemen of the jury, you have brought in a faulty verdict. You cannot place part of the cost on the prosecutor and the balance on the other parties. You will retire and bring in a verdict in accordance with my instructions."

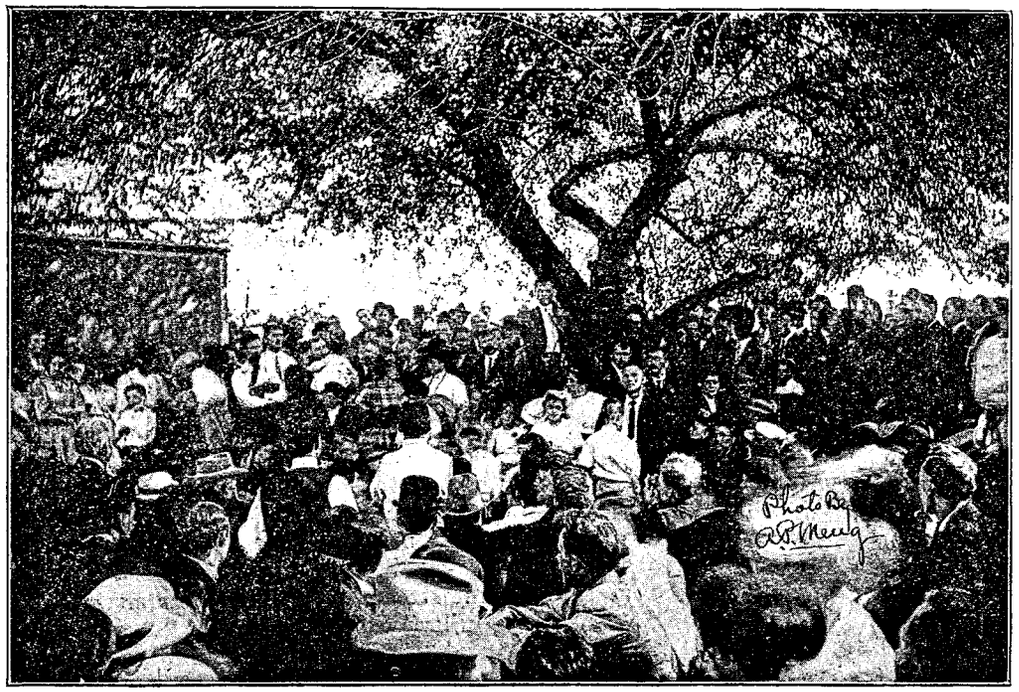
For the third time the jury retired. After an hour's deliberation, the twelve men returned to the court room and announced that they were **unable to agree!** The jury was thereupon discharged and the case now stands just where it started; as though it had not been tried!

If the verdict had been "guilty," there would have been no question of costs, as the verdict of guilty carries with it the expense of prosecution. This fact is taken as conclusive evidence that the twelve men had decided that our comrades were not guilty of "seditious libel," but they had in the minds of two members of the jury "acted badly" and should therefore pay a part of the costs. When I left New Castle Sunday night, it was the talk on the street that the twelve men voted "not guilty" on the charge of "seditious libel" and that it was divided 10 to 2 on the question of costs.

And so this case—fraught with so much concern to the working class of this nation,—must be fought all over again at an expense of thousands of dollars. Trust magnates of Pennsylvania hope by this means to break the spirit of our New Castle comrades but, if I am any judge of men, I am quite sure that it will have the effect of increasing their enthusiasm and determination.

While the jury was deliberating and the judge and his friends scheming to overthrow the right of free press, there was something of importance transpiring in another quarter of the trust-ridden town.

From the surrounding cities came Socialists and their friends by the thousand. Every incoming railroad train was crowded. A special of nine coaches was required to bring the delegation from Pittsburg. The inter-urban service was taxed to its utmost capacity by the Socialists from nearby cities. The visitors were met by the local committee on arrangements and the line of march was through the principal streets to County Headquarters, located in the very heart of the city. It was an inspiring revolutionary spectacle and one that New Castle will



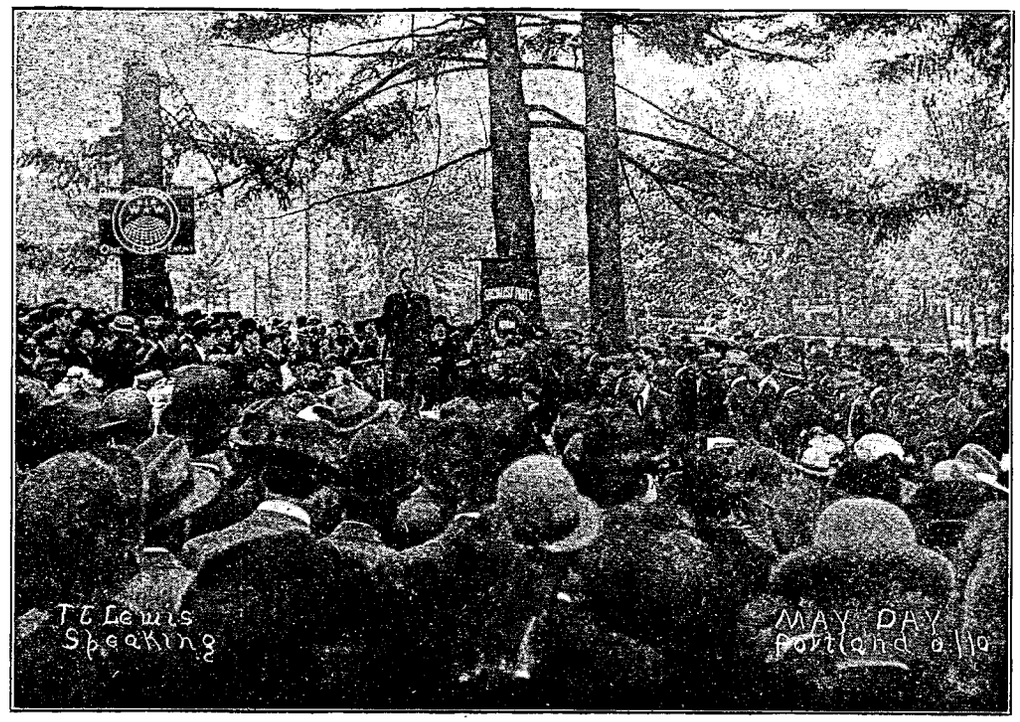
Comrade Warren Speaking in the Apple Orchard.

not soon forget. Comrade John W. Slayton, nominated for Governor the day before, was called for and from the window overlooking the street spoke for a few minutes. When Slayton's tall form and kindly features appeared there arose a lusty cheer that resounded from hill to hill and caused smug New Castle to pause and inquire into the cause of this sudden outburst of enthusiasm.

In the afternoon, in Cascade Park, fully 15,000 persons had gathered to hear the speakers. The mounted police were on hand promptly and refused to allow the speaking to take place as arranged. The park was a private one, it was explained, owned by the street car company. Comrade Ries, of Ohio, who is always on the job, rented an apple orchard a few hundred yards distant from the park entrance. Perhaps one-third of the immense throng, (it being impossible in the confusion to get word to all) marched to the new location where the program was continued. The mounted police were on hand, but our rent receipt for the use of the orchard, forced them to respect our "property rights." The meeting had dispersed before the blue laws of Pennsylvania against a Sunday political meeting, could be invoked.

An interesting sequel to the day's proceedings was the march to New Castle, two miles distant. The procession, with flying banners and fluttering red badges, reached almost from the park entrance to the center of the city. New Castle's residents, enjoying the afternoon's quiet, saw a body of men and women ten times as large as the army that followed the flag of revolution at Bunker Hill.

The following little incident will illustrate New Castle sentiment: Two neatly dressed boys—perhaps eight and ten years of age—stopped me on the street. One of them asked, "Who won?" I replied that I had not yet heard the jury's verdict. "Well," as he turned away, "I hope the Socialists will win". And that is the New Castle sentiment!

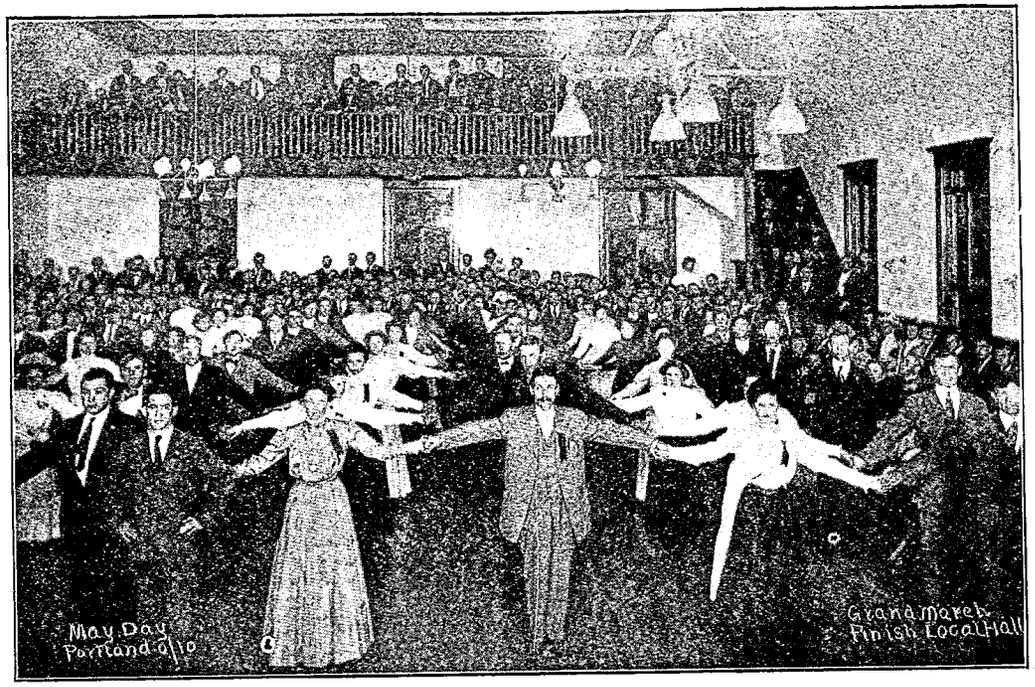


May Day in Portland, Oregon

By

TOM J. LEWIS

ONCE more has the day of International Solidarity made its cycle, and the hosts of labor demonstrated. Here in Portland we had been preparing to celebrate for several weeks and May Day was given a right royal welcome. Slowly, but surely, the wage-slaves gathered at 309 Davis St. until 1:30 P. M., when the band appeared on the scene. All the comrades wore red ribbons and bore red banners and the air was rent with cheers as the strains of the old Marseillaise reached our ears. Then the call to fall in line was given, and, as if by magic, 1,500 fellow-workers began to sing. The command to "Forward-March" was given and a historic parade of wage-slaves was wending its way down the streets—historic because composed of proletarians and its lack of the conservatives who ask "a Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay." The Civic Federation groups were noticeable by their absence. Believers in the Gompers-Mitchell dope had gone to church, no doubt, to get some more peace-on-earth-good-will-to-men from the sky pilots and think about "that identity of interests between employer and employed." But we marched and the women wheeling baby carriages in the parade, looked very in-



Portland Reds Enjoying Themselves.

spiring. And we did not fail to ask the boys on the curb if they were afraid to join us, either.

We marched without police protection or police interference to some newly purchased land to be used for a school house, which, by the time Chairman Ben Whitman had opened the meeting, was filled with over 4,000 people. There in the bourgeois district, led by Comrade Mildred Lewis, we sang the Red Flag and the Marsellaise. We held forth for three hours; good speaking and good will abounded, and in the evening we sang, lunched and danced in the Finnish Hall until midnight. And so passed off one of the greatest May Day celebrations in the history of Portland. It did wonders toward removing prejudices against socialism and made new friends for the movement. Even the capitalist papers declared the celebration was a great success. It exceeded our expectations and the comrades of Local Portland are proud of it. Things are doing. The workers are waking from a long sleep. A few more May days, a little more intelligence, one good organization for the final effort —political and economic, and the chains will fall and we will be free!



Then Raise the Scarlet Standard high!

Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum

or

The Agenda of the International Socialist Congress

By

FRANK BOHN

COMRADE George Herron, in his striking article on Theodore Roosevelt, stated that there is not a Socialist Movement in the world which is "profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to tinker or compromise with the present evil world."

This remark undoubtedly caused great surprise among many comrades to whom the International Socialist Movement is the ideal of their aspirations as regards working class progress. But the truth of Comrade Herron's criticism must be brought home to the rank and file of the International Movement. At the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 the writer was a member of a commission on immigration. It was a surprise to him that this "problem" of immigration should have been thought of enough importance by Socialists to require the deliberations and report of a separate commission. If our capitalist government should greatly restrict the freedom of the workers to go from market to market in search of purchasers of their labor power, how would we arrange to have international congresses at all? In such case, of course, the congress would be composed of delegates drawn entirely from the property holding and professional classes. These would have freedom to travel in foreign countries. Workers would not. It was with these thoughts in mind that I took my seat in the commission. What I said there offended some comrades. But the resolutions presented to the congress and by it adopted, took, generally, a progressive stand in this matter, even though it contained that modicum of milk-and-water compromise which Socialist political leaders seem always to inherit from capitalist politicians.

Nevertheless the Stuttgart congress did discuss some matters of real import and interest to the working class. There was, for instance, the subject of the relation of the political to the industrial organizations. The debates informed the delegates and the whole movement, even though they led to no very definite results.

But this year a sickish feeling creeps over one long before delegates put out to sea on their way to the International Congress. One feels very much as the dog must have felt when "Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard," and returned with empty hands. Here's the agenda. Look it over for yourself:

(1) Relations between co-operative organizations and the political parties;
(2) The question of unemployment;
(3) Arbitration and disarmament;
(4) International results of labor legislation;
(5) Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment;
(6) Line to take up and ensure speedy execution of resolutions passed at international congress.
(7) Organization of international solidarity.

I shall take up these subjects in reverse order.

The seventh and sixth are too vague for our understanding as to what might be done about them.

"The organization of international solidarity" is just as fine as "Workers of the world unite." We are all agreed there. I see no need for further conversation concerning the matter.

(6) Line to take up and ensure speedy execution of resolutions passed at international congress.

The international congresses are really conferences. They have no authority over the international movement. If the deliberations and resolutions do not commend themselves to the members of the various countries, they can have no effect. Resolutions for unity of the Socialist parties will never secure unity in England. A resolution for perfect harmony between the political and economic organizations will never make the revolutionary Socialists of America support Gomperism, neither would a resolution against Gomperism cause the A. F. of L. to inform itself about Socialism or become progressive as a union movement. The various national movements as regards enforced sanction of international tactics must be left, in the immediate future as in the past, very much to themselves.

(5) Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment.

By the shades of Marx and Engels! What have we here? I do not recall how many are hanged every year in England and on the Continent, but in America for 125 who are annually executed according to law, capitalism leads 10,000 to commit suicide and 10,000 more to commit murder. There are five times as many workers slaughtered in the mills of Pittsburg every year as go to the gallows in all America. More workers have been shot by police and soldiers in Pennsylvania during the past twelve months than Pennsylvania has hung in a decade. In Holland from three to five are executed annually. In Chicago, Ill., thirty persons have been hanged in twenty years, but in Cherry, Ill., 350 were burned up in a day. This one about capital punishment must have been put in as a joker.

(4) International results of labor legislation.

This note has some slight degree of interest. We should like to know just what these "international results" are. If the congress can inform us we shall be glad if they take the trouble. The Bismarckian legislation in Germany has surely been effectual in stemming the tides of slummery. If labor legislation in America comes either through a Bismarck or as a result of the tears and prayers of a national association of church sewing societies, we shall be glad that the results are being secured. But as yet we haven't much to report from America.

(3) Arbitration and disarmament.

In the decade we are just entering, this subject appears to be taking the center of the stage among professional reformers. Carnegie devoted the last decade to libraries. Every town which would possibly endure having a library rammed down its throat seems to have one by this time. Anyway, giving away libraries is less spectacular than "arbitration and disarmament." It is natural that the dean of the peace society people should be the man more responsible than any other for the conditions among the iron and steel workers of America. When the old Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers made its last fight, in 1894, Carnegie's tactics were copied from those of General Weyler in Cuba. A barbed wire trocha was built around the mills, machine guns were dragged inside, and strike breakers put to work. But that was not all. Plug-uglies were sent to the company houses to turn the women and children into the streets to starve and die. "Arbitration and disarmament" preached by Carnegie in the Pittsburg district, and arbitration preached from Russia by the Czar, both amount to the same thing.

National capital brings international wars. International capital brings international arbitration. Enough international capital and we shall have disarmament to save taxes.

Carnegie and the Czar gave swing to the present movement for "world peace." When they had it sufficiently advertised the International Bureau put it on its agenda.

(2) Question of unemployment.

Theoretically some of us thought this question was answered by the Communist Manifesto. If not answered by the Communist Manifesto then certainly "Capital does not leave us in doubt as to the cause. These quite well known books lead one to surmise that where capitalism is there is unemployment—that to fight unemployment we must fight capitalism. It was once thought by those who were known as Socialists that if the mob could be stirred to raise a shout for liberty it would receive bread to stuff its mouth with.

(1) Relation between co-operative organizations and the political parties.

With this the Bureau begins the agenda, and so it will probably be taken up first. I respectfully suggest that the delegates who go by water be instructed to follow the example of the three wise men of the East who put to sea in a bowl. Thus they would bring the capitalist steamship lines to bankruptcy. Having landed in the State of Denmark, let our comrades all purchase push carts and trundle them into Copenhagen afoot. Thus the railroad companies would be forced to the wall. In Copenhagen, of course, they should not stay at the capitalist hostelries. Let the Danish comrades put up tents for them and furnish camp cooking outfits. Thus the congress would not be wasting its time in "hot air" arguments and foolish Marxian theorizing. It would be setting a practical hard-headed example to the international movement by starting the Socialist republic right there in Copenhagen.

It is to be regretted that discussion of the following subjects seems to have been postponed to the next congress. We respectfully submit them for consideration to the International Bureau.

(1) Propaganda of anti-vivisection.
(2) The organization of village improvement societies.
(3) Legal enforcement of the use of Esperanto as a world language.
(4) Use of reformed spelling by the English and of the Latin alphabet by the Germans as "a step in the right direction."
(5) Intervention by the Six Powers to prevent an annual increase of more than twenty in the harem of the Sultan.
(6) What brand of hair restorer shall be recommended by the International Socialist Movement?
(7) Establishment of hospitals for blind mice.

Book-Selling at Meetings

By

ARTHUR M. LEWIS



THE tones of the speaker's voice fade away and are forever lost. Too often the ideas which the voice proclaimed drift into the back-ground and presently disappear. This is the crowning limitation of public speaking. The lecturer should be, first of all, an educator, and his work should not be "writ in water." The lazy lecturer who imagines that his duties to his audience end with his peroration is unfaithful to his great calling. Lazy lecturers are not very numerous as they are certain of a career curtailed from lack of an audience.

There are some lecturers, however, who see nothing of importance in their work except the delivering of their lectures. And the educational value of such workers is only a fraction of what it might be. Life is not so long for the strongest of us, nor are the results that can be achieved by the most gifted such that we can afford to waste the best of our opportunities. This article is not intended as a sermon but if as lecturers we are to be educators we must not neglect to use the greatest weapons against ignorance in the educational armory—books.

The books here referred to are not the volumes in the lecturer's own library. They, of course, are indispensable. There have been men who felt destined to be lecturers without the use of mere "book learning" but they never lived long enough to find out why the public did not take them at their own estimate.

The man who undertakes to deal with a subject without first reading, and as far as posssible, mastering, the best books on that subject would no more be a lecturer than a man who tried to cut a field of wheat with a pocket-knife would be a farmer.

Any good lecture of an hour and a quarter has meant ten to fifty hours hard reading. There is much in the reading that cannot possibly appear in the lecture. Another lecture on a related theme or one widely different, has probably suggested itself. I remember while rummaging in history to find proofs and illustrations of "The Materialistic Conception of History" which conception I was to defend presently in a public debate, gathering the scheme of a course of four lectures on the significance of the great voyages of the middle ages—a course which proved very successful when delivered about a month later.

Again, the reading furnishes a great deal of material on the question of the lecture itself which cannot be put into it for sheer lack of time. This is why a lecture always educates the lecturer much more than it does the hearer. The hearer therefore labors under two great disadvantages. First; he forgets much that he hears, and second: there is so much that he does not hear at all.

The first handicap can be removed by the printing of the lectures. The second is not so easily disposed of.

A lecturer may state in three minutes an idea which has cost many days reading. The idea has great importance to the speaker and, if he is a master of his art, he will impress its importance on his hearers. That is what his art is for. But that idea will never illume the hearer's brain

as the lecturer's until the hearer knows as does the lecturer what there is back of it.

There is only one way in which this can be done—the hearer must have access to the same sources of knowledge as the lecturer. This does not necessarily mean that every hearer should have a lecturer's library. It does mean, however, that there are some books which should be read by both.

The lecturer himself is the best judge as to which books belong to this category. In number they range anywhere from a dozen up, according to the ambitions of the reader.

My method of dealing with this problem has been to take one book at a time, tell the audience about it and see that the ushers were ready to supply all demands. In this way I have sold more than two whole editions of Boelsche's book "The Evolution of Man." In one week speaking in half a dozen different cities I sold an entire edition of my first book "Evolution, Social and Organic." One Sunday morning this spring at the Garrick meeting at the close of a five minute talk about Paul Lafargue's "Social and Philosophic Studies" the audience, in three minutes, bought 250 copies and more than a hundred would-be purchasers had to wait until the following Sunday for a new supply. A few Sundays later Blatchford's "God and My Neighbor," a dollar volume, had a sale of 204 copies—the total book sale for that morning reaching what I believe is the record for a Socialist meeting—$220.00. The last lecture of this season (April 1910) had a book sale of $190 which included 380 paper back copies of Sinclair's "Prince Hagen."

These figures are given to show that this work can be done and if it is not done the lecturer alone is to blame. Anyone who can lecture at all can do this with some measure of success. There can be no sane doubt of its value. About 500 young men in the Garrick Audience have built up small but fine libraries of their own through this advice given in this way and there is no part of my work which gives me so great satisfaction.

I never allow my audience to imagine for a moment that my book talk is a mere matter of selling something. There will always be one or two in the audience who will take that view—natural selection always overlooks a few chuckleheads.

Now let us tabulate some of the results that may be obtained in this way:

(1) By getting these books into the hands of our hearers we give our teachings from the platform a greater permanence in their minds. We not only help them to knowledge but put them in the way of helping themselves directly. This alone is justification enough, but it is not all.

(2) We encourage the publication of just those books which in our estimation contain just the principles which we regard as destined to promote the happiness of mankind.

(3) The difference between the wholesale and retail prices is often enough to make successful a lecture course which would have otherwise died prematurely of bankruptcy. Where a meeting cannot live on the collection, the book sales may mean financial salvation. The morning we sold $220 of books at the Garrick we also took a collection of $80. Without the book sales $80 would have been the total receipts, and this collection was normal. Yet the Garrick meetings cost $140 each. After we had paid the publisher's bill we had a balance from book sales of $120 which made the total receipts not $80 but $200. And this is among the least important results of book selling

Everything of course depends on the book talk. Next month I will give sample book talks which any speaker may commit to memory and use, probably with results that will be a surprise and an encouragement.



Delegates to the Recent

Convention Notes

The Preliminary Convention of the oreign speaking delegates was one of importance. Ways and means of reaching foreign-speaking peoples were discussed and a program adopted for organization among the Bohemians, Finns, Italians, Jews, Lettish, Poles, Scandinavians and Slavonians. A unique feature of their report was that it was written in the best English. The foreign-speaking delegates ably discussed every question brought before the Convention in English. This gave rise to the question, "Why should the foreign comrades so capable of handling all these questions ask for special concessions?" This brought the reply that there are millions of foreigners in this country who have not yet learned English. The desire was to carry on work of propaganda among them, in their mother tongue. Provisions to this end were made which will result in perfecting organizations everywhere, which will be directly in touch with the national movement. The importance of this campaign cannot be over estimated. The foreign-speaking population in the U. S. is simply immense. As comrade William D. Haywood puts it, "If the foreign speaking men and women should suddenly stop work in America, not a wheel would revolve. The machine recognizes no nationality."

* * * *

Delegate Burton, a miner from Buckskin, Nevada, aside from attending the Convention, presented data upon the political situation in Nevada to the N. E. C., and returned home to take up active work of organization. He represented the state having the largest percentage of socialist votes in the Union..

* * * *

Delegate John P. Burke, of Franklyn, N.H.,is all wool and a yard wide in matters revolutionary. He works hard at home and was on the job every minute at the Convention.



National Socialist Congress.

Delegate Furman, of New York, made a strong plea for an economic organization; likewise Clark Dills, of Gloversville, N. Y.

* * * *

Delegate Stroebel made a great Reading Clerk. His sonorous voice filled the hall of the Convention and we were able to hear every word he said.

* * * *

W. J. Bell, and W. W. Buchanan, of Texas, (familiarly known to all comrades as "Buck") and T. J. Zimmerman (who looked down on everybody from an eminence of 6 ft. 4 inches) at all times had the work of the Convention well "in hand."

* * * *

Delegates Leo Laukki and his wife, Esther Laukki, (to say nothing of the baby), were strong upholders of the Open Door policy to workers of the whole world. Mr. and Mrs. Laukki are two of the best comrades we have had the pleasure of meeting in a long time.

* * * *

Morris Kaplan, of Minnesota, vigorously supported all revolutionary measures at the Convention.

Frank Aaltonen, organizer for the W. F. of Miners, at Negaunee, Michigan, Delegates Kummerfield, the Detroit cigarmaker and Hoogerhyde, cabinet maker from Grand Rapids were not afraid to let everybody know where they stood. They never trimmed on any question.

* * * *

Delegate Grace Silver, from Maine, enthused everybody. Comrade Silver is not of the High Brow but of the class of Good Sense. She is a worker. You will hear big things of her before long. She is going to reach the proletarians.

* * * *

George Roewer, Jr., handled the arduous duties of secretary with an efficiency that did much to expedite the work of the Convention.

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T. H. Haines, of Memphis, made a vigorous attack on the A. F. of L. and its officials. He is a locomotive engineer and speaks from experience, having carried a "union" card in two organizations for over 30 years.

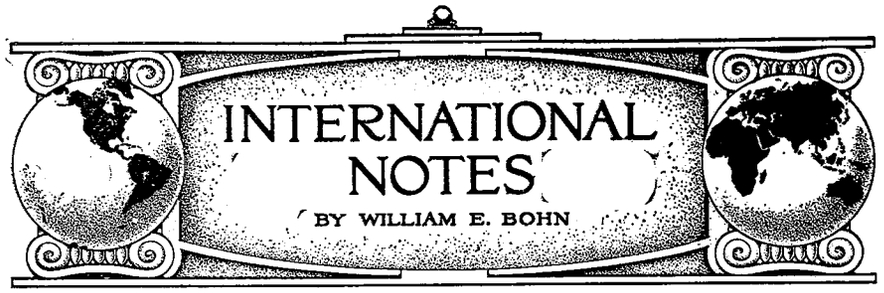
EDITORIAL

Ten Eventful Years. In July, 1900, we issued the first number of the International Socialist Review. Organized socialism in the United States was represented at that time by three warring factions of nearly equal strength, two of which were soon consolidated into the present Socialist Party. These factions were largely the personal following of a few "leaders," and their quarrels were a constant source of weakness. During these ten years capitalist production has gone on revolutionizing its processes day by day. The new processes have brought new working conditions. Little capitalists have been crowded down into the ranks of the wage-workers. Skilled laborers have found the market for their skill cut off. Craft unions which previously had kept their wages up have been beaten into submission, and all these have swelled the ranks of the revolutionary wage-workers, with nothing to lose and everything to gain. These social changes have been reflected in the Socialist Party. They have increased its membership five-fold, and have convinced the rank and file of the party that nothing but revolution will do. These men and women have learned to think for themselves. They can no longer be swayed by "leaders."

The Working Class Finding Itself. This one big fact stands out above all the long and sometimes wearisome discussions held at the Socialist Congress at Chicago in May. There were plenty of "leaders" there. They received plenty of applause. They came with a variety of vote-catching programs, which if adopted might have attracted more votes to the party in the next election or two. These leaders were good debaters, experienced in the ways of conventions. They evidently came expecting an easy victory for their pet measures. But they were baffled at every turn by the settled conviction of a majority of the delegates that the men and women whom they represented wanted no compromise with reformers, no patching of the capitalist system, nothing to retard the onward sweep of the working class.

What the Review has Done. Not for a moment do we flatter ourselves that the **Review** has been the cause of this awakening of the rank and file. The **Review** is only the outcome and the expression of that awakening. Ten years ago our aim was "to educate the educators." We thought the principles of socialism could be mastered by a chosen few and handed down to the many. Less than three years ago we saw a new light. We came to realize that the industrial wage-workers arrive from their daily experience at a clearer view of the class struggle than any mere theorist can possibly reach. We now see that if the **Review** is to be an important weapon in the fight against capitalism, it must be **of, by and for the working class.** Since we have been working with that aim in view our growth has been increasingly rapid. With this issue we take a new advance step, changing to the shape of the popular illustrated magazines.

The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class. That is what our growing army of fellow-workers is going to make the **Review.** The class struggle between wage-workers and capitalists is each month growing hotter. Each month we propose to take a hand in each new battle. If a big strike is on in **your city,** send us a concise story of what the men have done and what they are trying to do. Never mind about flowery language; the **Review** readers want the facts. Above all, send photographs with action in them. What we did for the free speech fight at Spokane and later at New Castle, for the shirt waist strikers, the Philadelphia car men and the steel workers at McKees Rocks we can do for you when your fight is on, if you keep us in touch with the situation.



Germany. The Building Trades Lock-out and What it Means. The most significant thing in Europe just now is the lock-out in the German Building trades. For more than two months some 150,000 workers have been locked out, and the strike called in retaliation includes enough more to bring the total number of those involved up to 400,000. But it is something more than numbers which gives significance to this situation. We have in Germany at the present time the class-struggle in its most advanced form. Capital and labor are organized to the highest point thus far attained. On this account the situation is worth more than passing attention.

The most striking feature of the struggle is the fact that capitalism is the aggressor. Another thing that would seem strange to the labor leaders of a generation ago is the fact the chief weapon of capitalism is the principle of collective bargaining. It was the labor unions that introduced this principle. It was designed in the first place to put the workers on an even footing with their employers in the fixing of wages. It was bitterly opposed by the capitalist class. They talked long and loudly of individual liberty. But that is all changed now, at least so far as the German building trades are concerned.

Germany is the land of small strikes. By means of local strikes, well timed and adroitly managed, the various unions of the German building trades have gradually improved the position of their members. For years past, however, the employers' associations have been laying plans to put an end to this kind of tactics. They arranged to have all their contracts come to an end on a certain day this spring. Then, on April 15, representatives of all the German employers' associations and of many similar organizations in other countries met in Dresden. There they drew up the outline of a labor contract which was to be presented to the central committee of the unions representing the building trades. It was reactionary in every feature, provided, among other things, for a system of recommendations which would have been a perfect, automatic black-list. But the important feature was the provision that hereafter there were to be no local contracts, no local strikes. The central committee of the unions was to accept this blanket contract and all disputes were to be settled in accordance with its provisions by this committee and that of the employers' associations. Thus was collective bargaining to be turned into a means of stifling the labor movement.

Our German comrades protest against this entire proceeding, but to a foreign observer it looks perfectly normal, and, on the whole, desirable. It is entirely in accord with socialist theory. As industry develops we expect the class struggle to proceed in an increasing scale. We expect individual conflicts to cover larger territories and to include more trades and greater numbers of workers. What we have here is what has been long foreseen and what we must expect soon to see in other lands. At the same moment, and with perfectly unified organization, all the workers having anything to do with the building trades are fighting all of their employers.

This seems highly desirable because it defines the class-struggle. Here the workers are taught by facts rather than words that their interests are identical. It is to

be taken for granted that no member of the German building trades will lack class-consciousness from this moment on.

As to the actual fortunes of war, there have been no important changes since last month. For two months now the men have held out, and there is no sign of weakening. They are being supported by a system of dues voted by the special congress of the unions involved which met in May. The bourgeois papers cry loudly for settlement. They fear that all the trades will be affected and a general panic brought about. The government has attempted to arbitrate, but the employers will not listen. It seems to be a fight to a finish.

Suffrage Reform Enters upon a New Stage. At last the mock suffrage reform bill has met the fate it deserved. It happened on May 28 in the Prussian Landtag. This bill has run a sad course from the beginning, but its defeat is an unexpected piece of good fortune.

In a speech from the throne the King declared on October 20, 1908, that a further development of the Prussian suffrage system was one of the most important problems up for consideration. Then followed the announcement that the government was engaged on the studies preliminary to the introduction of a new suffrage bill. Finally, on the 10th of February of this year, the new measure was introduced. As all the world knows, it turned out to be a mere revamping of the old three-class electoral system. It passed the lower house and went to the diet. There it was made worse in a number of respects. It was returned to the lower house, discussed with a good deal of heat, and now has finally been laid to rest.

This is surprising because of the fact that the Conservatives and Centrists had a majority and stood, for the present at least, committed to the bill. The six Social Democrats and the small groups of Liberals could expect little result from their opposition. And the mass-meetings of the disenfranchised thousands seemed useless so far as immediate effect was concerned. So long as the members of the Landtag stuck to their old electoral system they were safe from the multitude. There seemed to be no reason why they should not pass the sort of bill they wanted.

But here there came into play an element which has been generally overlooked. The imperial Reichstag is elected under a law which provides for secret and equal male suffrage, just what the socialists want in Prussia. Next year there will take place an election to the Reichstag. Since they have seen the magnificent demonstrations of the socialists the Centrists have conceived a holy fear of facing the electorate in next year's imperial election. This is the secret of the whole matter. There was a point at which the people could bring their will to bear, and they did so mightily. The result has been happy beyond the fondest hopes.

If one is to judge from the bourgeois papers the intention of the government is to postpone the introduction of a new bill until after next year's election. There is too much talk of the study and consideration necessary to the framing of a new measure. Meantime our German comrades are making the most of the situation. And the German people are waking up. At a recent by-election the Social Democrats won a new seat in the Reichstag and recorded increase of twenty per cent in their vote. On all sides the prediction is freely made that next year they will get a majority of all the votes cast.

Political Action. Spain. At last the tide has turned. After all their bitter struggles our Spanish comrades have a brilliant victory to report. At the election to the Cortes held early in May Pablo Iglesias, editor of **El Socialista,** was triumphantly elected. For many years he has fought in the forefront of the Spanish movement. His victory comes as the reward for a long life of service, and socialists of all lands have cause to rejoice in it.

Besides the Socialists the Republicans made decided gains in this election. The number of their representativs is now 45. These victories of the extreme left exhibit again the futility of repressive barbarism. Ferrer is dead and other Barcelona victims still linger in jail, but the people have been aroused Foiled in one

direction, they turn in another. Thus tyranny brings on its own defeat.

Belgium. On May 22 occurred an election to the Belgian parliament. One half of the seats in this body become vacant at a time; this year there were 85 to be filled. Of this number the Clericals secured 49, the Liberals 23, and the Socialists 13. This means a loss of one for the Clericals and a corresponding gain for the Socialists. The result would have been far different were it not for a plural voting system with which Belgium is burdened.

Denmark. In May occurred also the election to the Danish Folkething. The struggle was a hard one and our comrades fought nobly. But all they could do this time was to hold their ground. They lost six seats and gained six new ones. So they hold now as hitherto 24 seats out of 114.

Norway. The women of Norway have recently been granted universal municipal suffrage. Since 1901 they have enjoyed a limited municipal suffrage. Suffrage was granted (1) to women who were of age and who had paid taxes on a year's income of at least $100 in towns and 75 in the country, and (2) to women whose husbands had paid such taxes. Since 1907 parliamentary suffrage has been given to all women included in the above classes. And now the Odelsting has given municipal suffrage to all women on the same terms with men. No doubt unrestricted parliamentary suffrage will soon follow.

Socialism for Students

By Joseph E. Cohen

Not only students but workingmen can easily understand the contents of the book. The fundamental principles of Socialism are made clear by the author, and the volume is worth reading by Socialists as well as non-Socialists.—*The Modern View.*

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—*Chicago Evening Post.*

The book would be a credit to anyone with a college training, yet "Joe," like most workingmen, had to get his education from contact with life and study of books after working hours. The result is that he gives us what is perhaps the best general and popular introduction to Socialist science and philosophy that has come from the press in recent years.
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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

By the Gods! There's something new under the sun. A new "labor movement" has been launched. Its place of birth is given as Battle Creek, Mich., and it is not difficult to guess in whose brain-pan it was conceived. But there will be no battling about this new fangled affair. According to its promoters, the interests of capital and labor are identical and there is no need for labor to make a move for anything. All labor is required to do is ask and it shall receive—either a crumb or a swift kick. The prospectus guarantees that by dropping a quarter in the slot once a month there will be jobs at good pay, sick benefits, insurance, old age pensions, libraries, reading rooms, etc., and no strikes, boycotts and the like. It will be just heavenly, provided, of course, that Bro. Labor will be "reasonable" and Bro. Capital feels disposed to co-operate in the "greatest show on earth." The beginning will be slow until the "noble mission of the movement" soaks into the misled workers on the one side and the philanthropic plutes on the other, but if the consumers of gripe nuts and post mortem cereals will only do their part with increased patronage, there is nothing for the new thing from Battle Creek to do except to reach out and grab the disappearing comet by the tail and shout: "The solar system is mine!" Battle Creek "bugs" bring beesness.

Several more damage suits have been filled. The taxi cab operators of Chicago have been sued for $60,000 by the kind-hearted bosses for whom they gathered fares because they went on strike. The men are going through each others' pockets to find out who's got all the coin and say they can't find more than 60 cents with which to satisfy the cravings of their masters. The Typographical Journal has been sued for $50,000 by one C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, Mich., who claims that that publication charged that he manufactured breakfast food from peanut shells. Post also has a suit pending against a Battle Creek daily paper, which stated that he did not produce breakfast food from peanut shells, and probably before the cases are disposed of it may turn out, as it has been alleged, that the food contains sawdust. At any rate the chances are good that this much mooted mystery will be cleared up when Post is placed upon the witness stand, and some other things besides.

The movement of the clothing crafts along the lines of industrialism is making progress, and there are good grounds for belief that by the time the A. F. of L. meets in St. Louis, next November, developments will have reached a point where it will be possible to organize a clothing department in the A. F. of L. The membership in nearly all the unions are demanding that some steps be taken to bring the clothing trades into a close combine, and it is probable that the alliance will include the garment workers, hatters, boot and shoe workers, glove makers, ladies' garment workers, cap makers, suspender and necktie workers and probably the journeymen (custom) tailors and other branches, such as the laundry workers, clerks, etc.

The ladies' garment workers, including the shirtwaist makers, are taking an aggressive position in various parts of the country, and there is talk that they may inaugurate a general strike for the so-called closed shop. A revolutionary spirit is sweeping through the workers in this branch of the clothing trade that augurs well for the future. They have been among the most oppressed of the toilers, and the New York shirtwaist makers' successful strike has inspired them with renewed hope and a determination to fight for better conditions.

The papermakers who were on strike against the trust have virtually won their demands. The principle at issue was recognition of the union, and this was conceded by the haughty combine, although at some of the plants, the charge is made, the underlings violated the agreement at the outset. However, matters were patched up without another walkout and the employes will gain improved conditions. One gratifying feature of the struggle was that the two organizations in the trade have buried their differences and come together, and now it is likely that they will not be forced into another strike by the paper combine. The next step ought to be an alliance or federation with the printing trades, and that is bound to come.

The United Mine Workers appear to have won their demands for an advance in wages of 5½ per cent throughout the bituminous district, except in a few spots, where the contest is still being waged against stubborn operators. Even in West Virginia, the worst scab state in the trade, there has been a break in the ranks of the non-union operators and the outlook is good that great progress will be made by the miners this year in the matter of improving conditions.

W. R. Hearst, the erstwhile "savior of society," seems to be in bad. Not only have the Western Federation of Miners condemned him as an enemy of labor because the Hearst Homestake mine at Deadwood, S. D., is being run scab, which action was endorsed by the United Mine Workers of America, but the yellow boy's paper in San Francisco has been placed on the unfair list by the building trades of that vicinity because he had been attacking Mayor McCarthy and the Union Labor party. Hearst has also brought a lot of denunciation down upon him because of his fulsome praise of Taft, the "father of injunctions," and he seems to be a pretty dead one, politically.

It has been officially announced that the Western Federation of Miners have, by an overhelming majority, voted to join the A. F. of L. and form a mining department with the United Mine Workers to control all workers in and about the mines. In my opinion this is a step in the right direction and will not only result in greatly strengthening the miners on the political field, but will further the political movement of the workers as a whole.

Despite predictions that the organized farmers were on the point of forming another populistic movement, the agriculturalists are still fighting shy of politics, realizing that most of their members are Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, and that it would be a hard job to dislodge them from their political affiliations and swing them into a new movement with the avowed purpose in view of conquering the powers of government. So the farmers are taking a new tack and are approaching the city workers with co-operative plans. In Ohio, Michigan, Colorado, Oklahama, Texas, and a number of other states the ruralists are proposing to combine with the trade unions to establish central exchanges or stores in which the products of union farmers may be sold to union men at reduced rates or exchanged for products that bear the union label. The idea of the agrarians is to wipe out the middlemen, who parasite upon them and reap big profits, which they are willing to divide with the city workers, and also help out the latter in their fights with the open shoppers, who are deadly opposed to the union label.

Socialism and How to Get It! This is what they say after receiving a sample lot:
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LITERATURE

Privilege and Democracy in America, by Frederic C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Cloth, $1.50.

The Single Taxer will welcome this book as an excellent contribution to the discussion of social problems from the view point of Henry George, but will hesitate to accept the author's concession to Socialist thought in conceding the reality of the class struggle and the doctrine of economic determinism. While making these concessions to Socialist theory Mr. Howe is still orthodox in his program holding, as he does, that free land and repeal of tariffs and other "privileges" will provide the economic basis of a free society. He is also of the opinion that combinations of capital will disappear by the adoption of this program but makes no attempt to show why large organizations of capital, maintaining the highest degree of efficiency and economy of resources, cannot be maintained under equalized competitive conditions and continue to crush rivals having a lower order of industrial equipment.

Revolution, and Other Essays, by Jack London, The Macmillan Co., 64—66 Fifth Ave., New York. Cloth, $1.50.

Jack London writes with an iron pen and his giant sweeps bring down idols and dust-covered traditions with a crash. This power is evident in his occasional excursions into sociology as well as in his fiction. The opening essay, which gives the title to the present volume, is familiar to all readers of the Review. The volume also contains his essay "What Life Means to Me" which no doubt is treasured in many Socialist scrap books. In "The Somnambulists" he views man as "The mightiest and absurdest sleepwalker on the planet!" Covered with a thin veneer of culture he dreams "drunken dreams of self-exaltation," yet he is a parasite and exploiter of his fellows. In "The Other Animals" we find an echo of the "nature fakir" controversy of a few years ago and an exposure of the shallow pretentions of a noisy ex-president and his feeble intellectual companion-in-arms, John Burroughs.. The essays, thirteen in all, are of a revolutionary drift. It is a book that one will often turn to for solid enjoyment and intellectual stimulus when other books prove tiresome to the jaded mind.

What is Socialism? by Reginald Wright Kauffman. Moffat Yard & Co., New York. $1.25 net.

No contradiction is involved or reconciliation implied by the author of this book in dedicating it to John D. Rockefeller and Eugene V. Debs,for the former, as one of the foremost representatives of capitalism, will find the defense of his class regime more powerfully stated than the professional apologists of that regime have. On the other hand the argument for a reconstruction of society in accord with the demands of the Socialist movement is given with logic, clearness and power. Throughout the work the chief claims of the two systems of thought are contrasted and an appeal to history. science and experience is made to settle the rival claims which results in disaster to Rockefeller and his literary and political attorneys. The work also includes an admirable abridgment of the "Communist Manifesto" which materially enhances its value as an educational work.

The Beast, by Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins, Doubleday, Page & Co., 133 E. Sixteenth St., New York. Cloth, $1.50.

This autobiography of the founder of the Juvenile Court of Denver is the climax of the "literature of exposure" that became the vogue a few years ago. It is a probe into the vitals of the administration of a modern city and the economic, political and social pus the thrust reveals is a horrible mess. In the pages of the work will be found the business man, the banker, the capitalist, the legal fraternity, the professional politicians, the newspapers and even the clergy, all in alliance with the "red light" district,

gambling hells, corporations and a motley collections of thugs, pimps and adventurers linked together in a brotherhood of loot and plunder through two dominant political parties. It only remains to record the fact that the "fighting judge" who scourged the two criminal parties of "The Beast" has, according to a recent dispatch, decided to allign himself with the "insurgent" republicans to overthrow the criminals. His own book demonstrates the folly of his decision but a lifetime of experience frequently fails to enlighten guileless "reformers."

The Story of the Negro, by Booker T. Washington, Doubleday, Page & Co., 135 E. Sixteenth St., New York. 2 vols. Cloth, $3.00.

In these two volumes the president of Tuskegee Institute reviews the progress and achievements of his race beginning with its primitive habita in Africa and bringing his narrative down to the present day. He confesses to having made a recent discovery which he offers to his race as consolation for the slavery the Negro endured in America. This discovery is the fact that white laborers were bought and sold in the colonies as indentured bondmen long before the first African slaver sailed into Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. He devotes an interesting chapter to this white slave trade and contrasts it with the trade in blacks. Throughout the work the author endeavors to show a continous, though admittedly slow, progress of his race clinging to every incident or fact that tends to support his view. In considering the Negro's present status and claims he is not averse to supporting reactionary views. He vaguely intimates in the second volume what he expresses more boldly in another work, that the policy of depriving the Negro of the ballot is not objectionable to him if it includes the white workers without property. He is a good type of the adroit pleader for a subject class or race, careful not to offend the ennemies of the Negro in order to retain the patronage of some wealthy men, we believe, who have given financial assistance for his educational plans. However, the work is a sweeping view of the Negro's progress in America and the Socialist will be glad to give it a place on his book shelf.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST.

*Why I am a Socialist,, by Charles Edward Russell. Geo. H. Doran Company, New York. Cloth, $1.50.



F THE reader opens this book expecting to find a restatement of Socialist principles he will be disappointed. There is no reference to surplus value, no statement of the class struggle, and no historical review of the capitalist society to vindicate the materialistic conception of history. In ignoring these the author has evidently tried to reach a class of readers to whom scientific discussions do not appeal. Comrade Russell has had an interesting career, and out of his personal experiences has gathered sufficient material to record them in a fairly large book to explain why they have driven him to the acceptance of Socialism.

And it is a formidable argument. The wreckage of wasted and misspent lives, and of those who never lived or had a chance to live, is piled up at the doors of apologists for the existing regime. If you accept the system accept its fruits, is the constant advice of Russell. Of course the argument is not a new one, but we doubt whether any writer has stated the case as forcefully as the author of the present work. If the chain of reasoning in the first chapter, for example, is sound, and the coal riots and deaths from freezing in New York's East Side tenements were the result of capitalist ownership of the coal supply, our literary policemen will have some difficulty in showing how "individual responsibility" could prevent individuals, with ten cents in their pockets, from freezing with coal selling at twelve cents a pail.

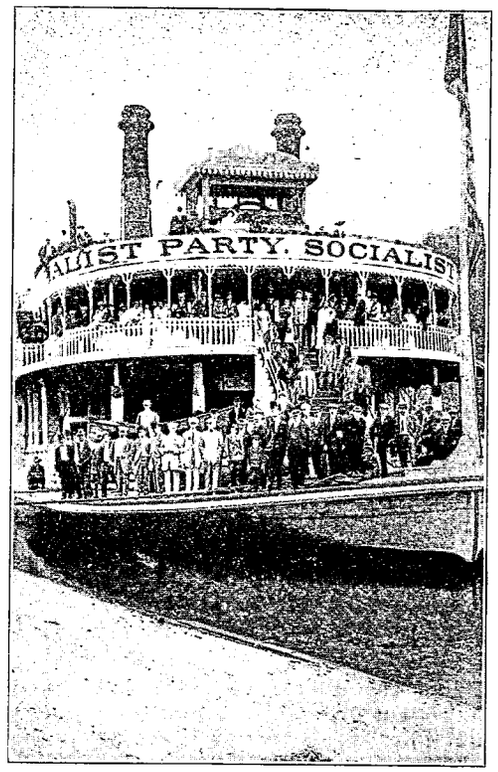
Of the fifteen chapters in the book the two entitled "The Record of Regulation" and "Dr. Sherman's Celebrated Specific" are perhaps the best. For twenty years the Sherman law has been the legal nostrum for curing the trust evil but the



Charles Edward Russell.

Danbury hatters and other labor "combinations in restraint of trade" have been the only organizations that have felt the influence and power of the "remedy." The historical and economical reasons for the persistence of capitalist centralization are also given with logic and power. The work is well calculated to show the gigantic character of economic wrongs and the folly of dosing them with reforms. It is an excellent book to place in the hands of "reformers" for he must be dull witted indeed, who, ofter reading it, cannot see the need of the social revolution.

NEWS AND VIEWS



800 Pittsburg Comrades on their first excursion of the season, down the Ohio River. They cleared about $400.00.

From the Western Clarion:

"Who said that the worker pays for Dreadnaughts and policemen's clubs? Why, you conceited, empty-headed, propertyless, commodity-wrapper, you do not even pay your own wages. Has Marx not said so? Inasmuch as the term "pay" in the strict economic sense, is merely expressive of a money relation existing between buyer and seller, the buyer being the party who always "pays," it follows that in the transaction involving the purchase of labor power, the capitalist does the "paying" as he alone possesses the universal "means of payment" in the form of money, so-called, the recognized equivalent of all commodities.

June Reviews Sold Out—The entire edition of 27,000 copies was sold out on June 20th, and orders are still coming in.

This fact proves that the Review is fast becoming recognized as the Fighting Magazine of the Working Class, and that its straight-from-the-shoulder policy is receiving the solid support of revolutionary socialists all over the Country and abroad.

Over 1000 new subscribers have been received so far this month, and the following off-hand list of bundle orders will interest our readers:—

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Lena M. Lewis	Ga.	100
Hustlers	Ill.	470
"	Calif.	860
"	Oregon	220
"	Wash.	550
"	Ohio	380
"	Pa.	725
"	N. Y.	385

If you belong to a "graveyard" local, order a bundle of July Reviews to wake them up.

From Denver, Colo.—Sold 30 Reviews at street meeting last night in just the time it took to hand them out. Could have sold more but supposed the market would ease up as 24 were sold on the same corner, the previous night. I consider the Review the very best Socialist publication in America. W. G. Henry, Socialist Organizer.

From Oakfield, Me.—I started out yesterday afternoon in the rain and sold 15 Reviews and 5 more this morning. Send another package of 50 Reviews. J. E. Laskey.

From Portland, Oregon—We received the Reviews Saturday afternoon and by Sunday night had sold 315 copies. This is going some for the blanket-stiff and rough neck. T. F. Lewis.

From Hancock, Mich.—Rush 500 Reviews. They go like hot cakes in a miners

boarding house. The others literature sales are good, but nothing like the Review. Wm. D. Haywood.

From Columbus, Ohio.—Send me 50 more Reviews as I have only 20 of the 400 left. I sold 96 the first day. F. E. Heston.

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Nicholas Klein	2343
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J. Stitt Wilson	2226
Louis Duchez	2200
Algernon Lee	1954
Wm. McDevitt	1285

Local Philadelphia has just issued a 32 page pamphlet entitled "Unionism, Industrial and Political." It contains articles from those Socialists who took prominent part in the recent Street Car Strike in Philadelphia. Eugene V. Debs, George H. Sheaf, Luella Twining, H. B. Barren, Chas. Braungart, H. C. Parker, Chas. Sehl, Chas. W. Ervin, Paul W. Hanna, Phillips Russell and Joseph R. Cohen.

It is published especially for propaganda, and is therefore sold to Locals, postage prepaid at $2 per 100. Single copy 5 cts. Cash must accompany order.

Socialist Party, 1305 Arch St., Rooms 10-12, Philadelphia.

The Materialistic Conception of History by "Dogmatist," published by the Melbourne, Australia socialists with an introduction by R. S. Ross, editor of "Socialist," is the most welcome addition to socialist literature we have seen in a long time. Short, clear and scientific this little book has come to fill a long felt need. Hitherto we have been unable to secure a brief resumé of this fundamental doctrine of the socialist philosophy. And every intelligent reader will hail this little book with real joy and gratitude. It is one thing to know the principles of socialism but it is still more important that we should render these principles available to the rank of impoverished wage workers in cheap and lucid form. The "Dogmatist" possesses that rare quality that makes for a success in socialist literature—the ability to reach great truths and cover big subjects by direct and simple short cuts. In this little book he has laid bare the Materialistic Conception of History of all its useless and labored trimmings and given us the gist of the whole philosophy in 83 concise and meaty pages.

This little book should become one of the scientific propaganda standbys of the International Socialist Movement. Neatly bound in attractive red paper cover, clear and direct in style, it is by far the best brief study we have yet seen on the subject. Heartiest congratulations to our Australian comrades who have published this book. (Melbourne, Australia.)

M. E. Marcy.

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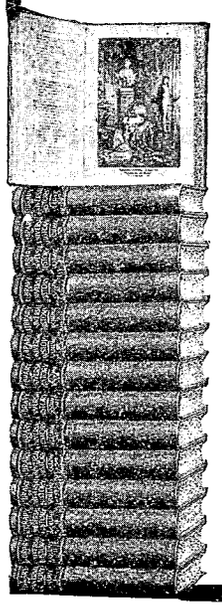
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Patriotic Plutocrats. That patriotism is the final refuge of the Steel Trust in its fight against the several hundred "citizens" of New Castle, who have been on strike against this octopus during the past year is amply proved by the following "patriotic" advertisement which appeared in the New Castle News of June 22.

THE BIG DAY JULY 4th



IS coming fast. It is a day of inspiring memories---of patriotic thoughts and addresses. It is an occasion on which the love of country predominates, and it is fitting there should be some outward demonstration. In those olden days the man or men who dared to fling to the breeze the red flag of anarchy and rebellion would have been shot, or hung to the nearest tree. Those were the days when men stood by their principles and defended them with their lives and blood, if need be.

Note the wonderful decadence in human nature. Today the RED FLAG of socialism and anarchy---more dangerous, more to be feared than the BLACK FLAG of piracy---swings to the breeze on the principal streets of our cities, and is flaunted with impunity in the faces of our military and civic officials. Let us hope that the spirit of Bunker Hill is not dead, but sleeping; and let us make a united effort to kindle anew the patriotic fire which has made the United States the best country in the world in which to live---"The Land of Liberty"---not of license; of Freedom, not of fanaticism.

COME! Join with us in celebrating the days our forefathers fought and died to institute, and as your inmost soul is thrilled with the strains of fife and drum, let us each one resolve to perpetuate our country's institutions, and to defend those principles which should be priceless to us, as they cost so much in suffering, blood and treasure.

COOPER & BUTLER

62-64 E. Washington St., New Castle, Pa.

Scabs and cossacks, corporation lawyers and courts have been used to crush the striking citizens. Meanwhile, the little cockroach local newspapers, the News and Herald, have faithfully served the "big interests" who could deliver the coin. But it is evident that the writer of the above paid advertisement is woefully ignorant of the early history of the "star spangled banner."

We quote from George H. Preble, Rear Admiral U. S. N. in his History of the United States: "The **red** union ensign had been famiiarly known for nearly 70 years, and nothing would more naturally suggest itself to a people * * than to utilize the old flag."

"The captain of a British transport, writing from Boston to his owners in London, Jan. 19, 1776, says: 'I can see the **rebels'** camp very plain, whose colors, a little while ago, were entirely **red.**"

Another authority says:

John Trumbull, son of "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, who at the opening of the revolutionary war was appointed aid-de-camp of Gen. Washington, became famous as a painter of historical pictures. His first, and one of the most famous of his paintings, "The Battle of Bunker Hill", is now in the rotunda of the capitol at Wash. In this picture he has represented a **red** flag having a white canton with a red cross, etc.

Major-General Israel Putman on the 18th of July read to the continental troops the manifests of the Continental Congress, signed by John Hancock * * * * * and immediately after the cannon of the fort thundered a salute as the **scarlet** standard of the third Conn. Regiment was unfurled. Place —Prospect Hill, Cambridge.

THE MILITARY WORKINGMAN.

By **C. M. Sweet, in The Next Step.**

There is a man in our midst who at times is idolized and highly honored. He is made a hero of and his brave deeds pictured in song and story.

He is the militiaman.

As he goes marching down the street, the patriotic say he is going to "fight for his country."

Is he going to fight for HIS country? In the majority of cases he is a workingman and does not own one inch of ground, so has no country to fight for. Almost every time he is called to the front is when a group of his fellow workingmen are striking for better conditions to exist and work under.

He is a military workingman.

All is peaceful during a strike until this man arrives. Then all hell is turned loose. The rights of all are trampled upon, and any old deed of violence put over by the capitalist is blamed on the strikers.

Who guarded the bull pen in Idaho, so there could be no interference from the outside, and no escape, so union men and women could be tortured? Who went around during the night and molested the strikers' wives? Who helped to drag Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone off to an illegal, cruel confinement?

And who held the people at bay so a carload of strike-breakers could be blown up with dynamite?

It was our military workingman, the militiaman. Hence he fights for and does the brutal deeds of an interest—the interest of capital against labor.

Therefore, being a workingman, he fights against his own interests and that of his family. He probably does not realize this. He will be called upon for brutal deeds in the future. He must rise to the heights of sublime manhood and say to the capitalist class:

"I will not be a military workingman; I am a class-conscious workingman."

The Liberty Co., calls your attention to Comrade Francisco Ferrer's book entitled "The Modern School". A copy will be sent to The Elect for 5c in stamps. Station D, Box 4, Cleveland, Ohio.

ARE YOU CIVILIZED ?

Perhaps you are, but lots of things in the dear old U. S. A., are not.

But cheer up, there is HOPE—get it—the

"BARBAROUS AMERICA" number

Out August First. Price Ten Cents. Order now.

Ward Savage, Publisher, 5110 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Party Buttons. As an accomodation to our correspondents, we supply the official party button (celluloid) at 5c each or 25c a dozen, postpaid. We do not offer lower prices in larger quantities, and we positively can not supply any more expensive button. Any house manufacturing a really attractive party button would find a large demand through advertising in this column.

The International Socialist Review and our book publishing house would never have existed but for the fact that over 2,000 socialists subscribed $10.00 each to raise the capital required. Don't you want to help in the same way? No dividends, but you get your books at cost. Particulars on request. **Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.**

Turgenieff's Revolutionary Novels. Spring Floods, Virgin Soil, Dimitri Roudine, Smoke, Annals of a Sportsman, Liza, Fathers and Sons, On the Eve. Library edition, good cloth binding good paper; we offer them while they last at 50c each or $3.50 for eight volumes; we pay postage or expressage. No discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Woman Under Socialism. By August Bebel. This is the book about which Watson has been lying so vigorously all over the South. It is also one of the best books ever written on the woman question. Cloth, 382 large pages, $1.00 postpaid. No discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

The Philosophy of Happiness: A Consideration of Normalism. By R. Waite Joselyn, LL.M. Contents: The Laws of Life, The Right to be Happy, The Question of Happiness, Man as an Organism, Normal Life, Expressions of Energy, Habits and Attitudes as Related to Normal Life, Activities as Right and Wrong, Standards for Conduct, The Struggle for Life, The Struggle of Man with Man. Cloth, 200 pages, $1.00 postpaid. Normalist Publishing Co., Elgin, Ill.

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Leaflets. We have a new series of four page leaflets, brief, simple, concise, just what you want for your working-class neigbor who is not yet a socialist. "Wages in Mexican Money" and "Ten Dollars a Day" are now ready; others in preparation. Ten cents a hundred, 80c a thousand, postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Socialist Playing Cards. Any ordinary card game can be played with them at sight. Each card carries a bright propaganda verse by Mary E. Marcy, and the picture cards are telling cartoons on capitalism by R. H. Chaplin. Price reduced to 25c a deck, postpaid, no discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

The Class Struggle. Played like the old fashioned games of backgammon and parcheesi. Illustrates the progress and the set-backs of the revolutionary movement of the working class in the various countries. Which wins in the race toward the co-operative commonwealth? Price 25c postpaid; eight prepaid to one address for $1.00; agents wanted. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Socialist Post Cards. Use them for all your short letters. We hav etwelve different kinds, space for correspondence on front of each, with propaganda matter and really good pictures of Fred Warren, Eugene V. Debs, Jack London, Edward Carpenter, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Lafargue, Kautsky and others. Sample set mailed for 10c; 100 assorted cards for 50c; 1,000 by express prepaid for $2.25. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Six per Cent and Safety. This publishing house is 24 years old, has paid up capital of $35,000, and owes less than $10,000. Can use about $2.000 more at six per cent per annum, payable on six months' notice. Can also pay 4% on loans payable on 30 days' notice. Safer than most banks; references on application. **Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.**

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

How do You Like the Review Now? We are ten years old this month, and we are growing. With this issue we change to the shape of the other illustrated magazines. We are already giving more reading matter and more pictures than any other socialist magazine in the world, and more for the money than any capitalist magazine, with the exception of a few of the most prosperous ones, which are mainly supported by advertising. But we have only begun to grow. In our present shape it will be twice as easy to sell copies or to get subscribers. Our June edition is already sold out as we go to press with this issue, and it looks as if our June receipts would break all records. Our stockholders expect no dividends, and all the money that comes in will be used to make a still better magazine. This month's issue is over 26,000 copies. We believe we can bring the paid circulation up to a **hundred thousand** in less than a year. We surely can if all our friends take hold and help.

Pay Ahead for a Year. One thing that **YOU** can certainly do some time within a few days is to send one dollar for your own subscription one year. Don't ask us to give you a premium for doing this. The Review is going to be worth to you a good deal more than the dollar, and the premiums, of which we shall speak later, are given as **pay for the time** of those who hustle for subscribers. If you want the **Review** to grow, see first that your own name is on the subscription list.

Talk to your News Dealer. Ask him why he does not keep the Review for sale. He may say it is because he can't get copies returnable as formerly. That's right, he can't. We tried the experiment of sending returnable copies to dealers, and the return charges on unsold copies together with the cost of printing amounted to much more than we received from the news company. So we quit, and no dealer can get a copy of the Review without paying for it, whether he sell it or not. But any dealer by ordering in advance can get the **Review** from his news company for seven cents. We don't sell very small lots to dealers from this office; too much trouble on both sides. But for 90c. cash with order we will mail five copies three months. Or for $2.00 cash with order we will mail five copies eight months or ten copies four months. That makes the rate five cents a copy, so that if a dealer takes us up on the $2.00 offer and sells half his magazines he doesn't lose a cent; if he sells them all he makes twice as much as on most of the magazines he sells.

You Can Buy at These Rates yourself if you have time to look after the copies. And remember that $5.00 a hundred is absolutely our lowest rate, no matter how big the order is. Comrade Tom J. Lewis, Organizer of Local Portland, Oregon, of the Socialist Party, ordered 400 of the June issue in advance of publication, and then telegraphed for 150 more. Most of these were sold at open air meetings; nothing else is half so good as the **Review** for this.. The profit on sales is a big help in covering the expenses of the meetings. Comrade Heston of Cleveland ordered an equal number at the same rate, and many of his sales were through dealers. See what you can do in your town.

Extra Foreign Postage. The special rates just named apply only to the United States outside of Chicago. Chicago comrades must call at this office for their bundles. Extra postage to Canada **one cent** for each copy in the bundle; thus the rate for 5 copies 3 months is $1.05 instead of 90c., and five copies 8 months will cost $2.40 instead of $2.00. To other countries the price is 8c. each on orders for 10 to 39 copies, and 7c. on orders for 40 or more.

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you for each dollar a Subscription Card, which when filled in with an address and mailed to us will bring the Review **one year** to a **new** subscriber within the United States. For example, for $2.00 we will mail you the four books by Paul Lafargue advertised on another page, and also two yearly subscription cards. You can easily sell these cards at $1.00 each to some people who want to receive the **Review** regularly, and there you have your money back to start the game over again. You can't lose! Always keep one or two of these cards on hand; they save labor at both ends of the line. If you don't want books, we will mail you five of the cards for $3.00, or fifty for $25.00. Nothing else so good for a traveling organizer or lecturer to carry.

Warren's Defiance to the Federal Courts. Under this title we have just issued in handsome style on extra book paper, with portraait on cover, the two great speeches delivered by Fred Warren before the U. S. District Court at Fort Scott, and the U. S. Circuit Court at St. Paul. Price 10 cents; $1.00 a dozen; $5.00 a hundred, prepaid.

July Combination. For the benefit of comrades who want bottom prices on the best propaganda books, but who can not use so many as 100 books of one title, we offer the following literature by mail or express prepaid for $5.00:

10 Warren's Defiance	$1.00
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10 Marx's Value, Price and Profit	1.00
10 July or August Review	1.00
Total value	$10.00

If requested we will add to this combination free of charge inside the United States fifty assorted back numbers of the **Review.** Ask for July Combination.

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AS A MAN THINKETH

By James Allen

The object of this remarkable volume is to stimulate men and women to the discovery and perception of the truth that "they themselves are makers of themselves" by virtue of the thoughts which they choose and encourage; that mind is the master-weaver, both of the inner garment of character and the outer garment of circumstances, and that, as they may have hitherto woven in ignorance and pain they may now weave in enlightenment and happiness.

CONTENTS:

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Thought and Purpose.
The Thought-Factor in Achievement.
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Serenity.

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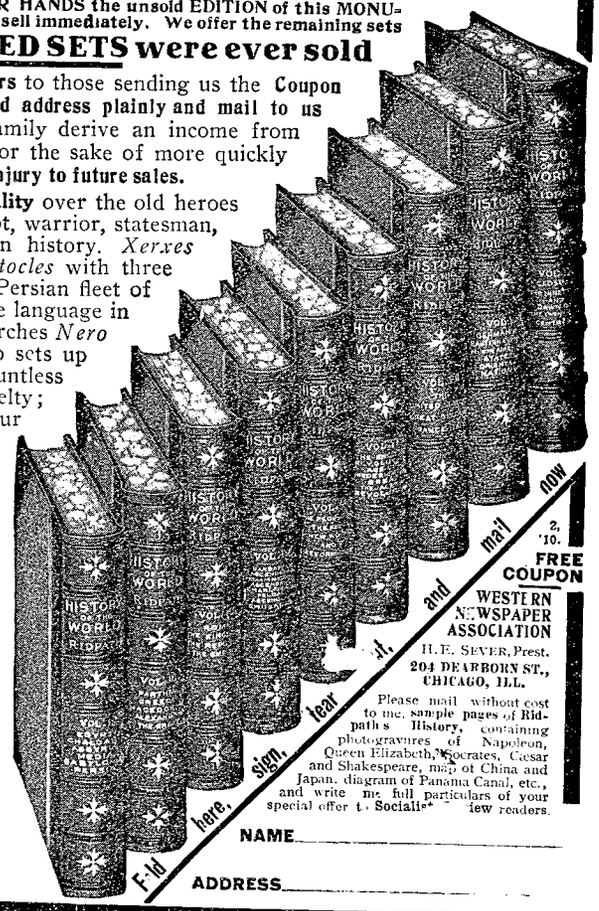
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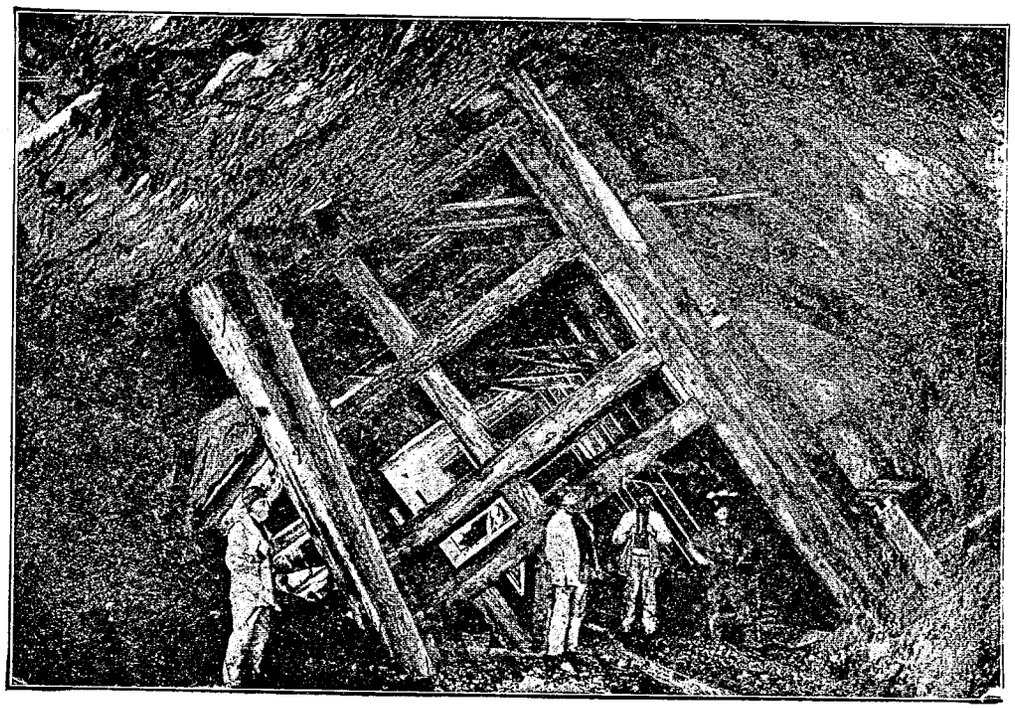
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The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class



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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn

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DEPARTMENTS.

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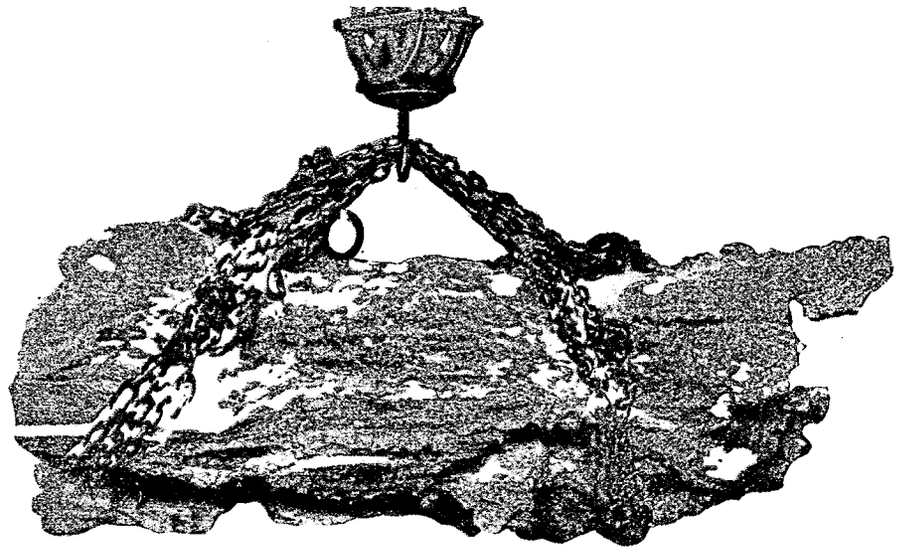
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Mass Copper Taken From Michigan Mine. Weight 8 Tons.

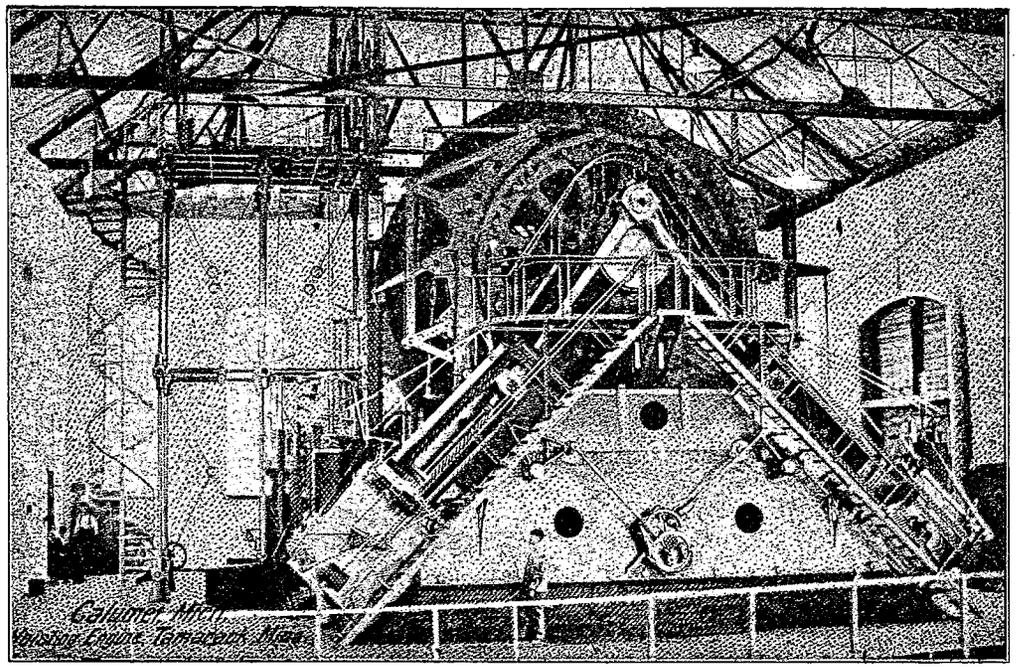
With the Copper Miners of Michigan

By

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

COPPER was discovered in the upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1843 by Jim Paull and Nick Minicleer, two frontiersmen, who facing many dangers made their way in the depth of winter through the wilderness from the southern part of Wiscosin and arrived at a place now located on the map as Houghton and Keewanaw counties.

Here they discovered excavations which geologists and scientists have since determined were made by a pre-historic people who had come and gone before the American Indians inhabited this continent. The tools with which the mound builders worked the copper mines were perhaps little less crude than those of the Wisconsin prospectors who had nothing in the world except what they had carried on their backs. It is probable that in sinking the first shaft on



Hoisting Engine—Tamarack Mine.

their location, they contrived a windlass or whim for hoisting purposes. The rope may have been made from the raw hide of wild animals and their ore buckets of the skins. And they climbed down and back from their work on flimsy ladders made of saplings.

Today not far from the site of the first claims located in the copper country are the deepest shafts in the world. Number "three" shaft of the Calumet and Hecla mine is an incline 8,290 feet deep. The Tamarack mine shaft Number "four" is a vertical hole in the earth's crust, 5,100 feet as the plumb line falls.

Here has been installed the most powerful machinery used in mining. The Tamarack hoisting engine is a marvel of mechanical ingenuity. There are two duplicate sixty-five hundred horse power Nordberg hoists, each with four thirty-six inch high pressure cylinders, having a seventy-two inch stroke. The drums twenty-four feet in diameter taper to sixteen feet and carry sixty-five hundred feet, of one and one half inch steel cable. The double decked cage and load of rock hoisted by these engines weighs twelve tons. For three quarters of a century an army of men have



Going Underground.



Copper Miners.

been employed under ground until this section of Michigan is honeycombed with the workings of the miners who are robbing the treasure vaults of Nature of the metal which is so indispensable to the progress of civilization.

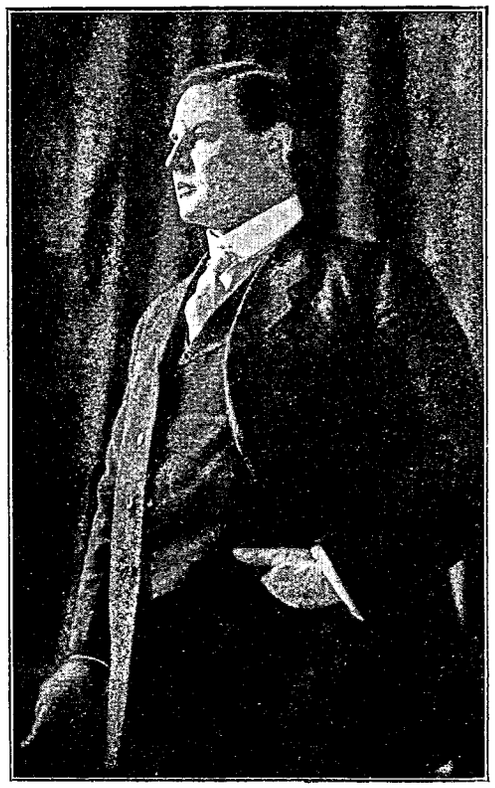
Here are vast deposits and veins of copper which occur in conglomerate and amygdaloids These valuable resources of the earth have come into the possession of a few individuals who have grown marvelously rich at the expense of the under ground toilers. Here is located the Calumet and Hecla property which has been the greatest dividend payer in all the mining world. Organized in 1871 since that time it has paid $107,000,000 in dividends. In 1907 every man of the several thousand employed returned to the company more than $2000 over and above the wages received, all running expenses, improvements and development work. Of the latter it is said that six years ore supply has been blocked out, ready for extraction.

In the copper mines the contract or task system which by factory workers would be called piece work, is in vogue. The miners break the rock by the ton or fathom. Machine drills are used almost exclusively and for prospecting diamond drills are used. The wages of the miners seldom exceed $65.00 per month and there are instances on record of men who have worked a month and were *in debt to the company* for tool and other supplies, not including board. They have Saturday afternoon and Sunday off. In the mills and some parts of the mine, however, men are compelled to work an eleven hour day and thirteen hour night shift and these unseemly hours also apply to hoisting engineers upon whose vigilance the lives of the men daily depend as the engineers lower and hoist them out of the depths.

The Calumet and Hecla company has adopted a system of paternalism towards its employees, which holds the workers in a state of feudelism, very peculiar under a capitalist regime. This company owns 117 square miles or 74,841 acres of mineral lands. Upon this company land, temporarily leased, the workers have built hundreds of homes which they must vacate at short notice when they leave the company's employ. The company owns twelve hundred dwelling houses and in these the

workers must live and for this privilege the company must receive six per cent interest on their investment and in addition, the cost of maintaining the houses. There are eight company schoolhouses where the children are taught by company teachers—a company manual training school—a company high school—there are thirty churches of different denominations all of which the company has aided to erect and helps to maintain—there are newspapers owned by the company—there is a company hotel—a company club house—a company library of approximately 30,000 volumes, books chosen by the company, newspapers in twenty different languages and these are not sufficient for the requirements of the men, as there are thirty different nationalities represented on the pay roll. There are company stores where the men are expected to trade—a company hospital where mangled men get well or die under the attendance of company doctors—on company grounds is built an armory of the state where sons of company men are drilled in the art of murder and taught to shoot that they may protect the company's property rights.

The dominating influence of the company in all the walks of life has bred servility on the part of the miners and creates an atmosphere entirely unlike any western mining camp. The spirit of the slave is not confined to any particular nationality, but here seems to be more pronounced in the Cornishman and Italian—the Finnish miner being decidedly more progressive. Miserable are the conditions in the copper mines but the wage slaves are awakening and organizing.



William D. Haywood.

The People who Make

AND

The People who Take

By

Ed. Moore

WEALTH, as everyone can see, is made by the labor of the working people.

No one goes to a court room to buy shoes, for even the most ignorant know that judges, lawyers, court clerks, criers and tipstaves do not work making shoes in the courts.

Farmers, while they "respectfully petition" Congress and Legislature for laws to curb the greed of corporations, never go to these places to buy farm machinery or fertilizers.

Working people, whether organized or not, never go to army posts or naval stations to purchase household furniture and groceries.

But the judges and court officials, congressmen and legislators, soldiers and sailors wear shoes, eat what the farmers grow, and use household furniture and groceries.

You do not have to be a giant thinker to see, that if people use things that they did not make, they had to get them from those who did make them. And as congressmen and legislators, judges and lawyers, soldiers and sailors do not make wealth they must give what was made by others for what they get.

Only ignorant or foolish people will give wealth that they produce by labor to non-producers, and those who divide up with government officials are neither ignorant or foolish. But they do not produce wealth. They hire, for wages, working people to produce it. And they use Congress, Legislatures, judges, lawyers, soldiers and sailors to force working people to make wealth for wages.

Congress and the Legislatures make the regulations which give the ownership of the wealth made by poor people hired for wages, to the rich people, and out of this wealth they pay taxes. Out of the taxes Congress, Legislatures, courts, army, navy, and the state militia are supported.

Sometimes the working people get dissatisfied with the little bit of wealth, they get for producing it, and they refuse to work. Then the class character of the government shows itself. Police drive the strikers away from the neighborhood of the boss's shop. Judges issue injunctions forbidding the strikers to tell what made them strike, and the state militia charge open air meetings and chase away those assembled there with the points of their bayonets.

For keeping the working people afraid, and to make them agree to work for wages, the rich people pay high salaries and bribe the big government officers. They have no more respect for the common soldiers and sailors than they have for the people they hire for wages, for they know the army and navy is recruited from the down-and-outs.

It would be a bad thing for those who take wealth if the makers of it knew they were being robbed. This knowledge would make the common soldiers and sailors unreliable and if they were unwilling to murder wealth-makers who ob-

jected to being robbed by law, the power to oppress and enslave, now held by the rich, would end.

It pays the rich to give some of the wealth they take from those who make for wages, to buy teachers and public speakers, magazine and newspaper writers to tell working people that they cannot get along unless they keep a lot of idle wealthy people.

The most valuable hirelings of the rich are those who have the confidence of the organized workers, and, trading on this confidence, persuade them that it would be wrong for them to own the fruits of their own labor; that it is far better for them to pay business agents to arrange with the rich not to take too much of the wealth from the poor who produce it.

Producers of wealth are the only kind of people that we must have. It is their labor that provides for the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant. And as long as the producers must work to give others time to get an education, they will only get a limited chance to get an education for themselves.

Political power is what puts the forces of government in the hands of the wealth-takers. It gives them ownership of wealth they did not make, and which, by legal means, they take from those who do make it.

They took this wealth before there was any labor legislation because they bought for wages the labor power of the workers. They take more wealth now—from those they hire for wages in the states where they have the best "labor laws." If you doubt this, compare Pennsylvania with South Carolina.

It is unwise for wealth-producers, whose limbs and lives are in constant danger while at work, to trust the movement to take the political power to those, who, whether they know it or not, are influenced by their association with wealth-takers, and are more concerned not to shock them than to put an end to the robbery of the makers of wealth. Reforms will give the lawyers work, but they will not take the titles away from those who pay wages to get profits out of the labor of the workers.

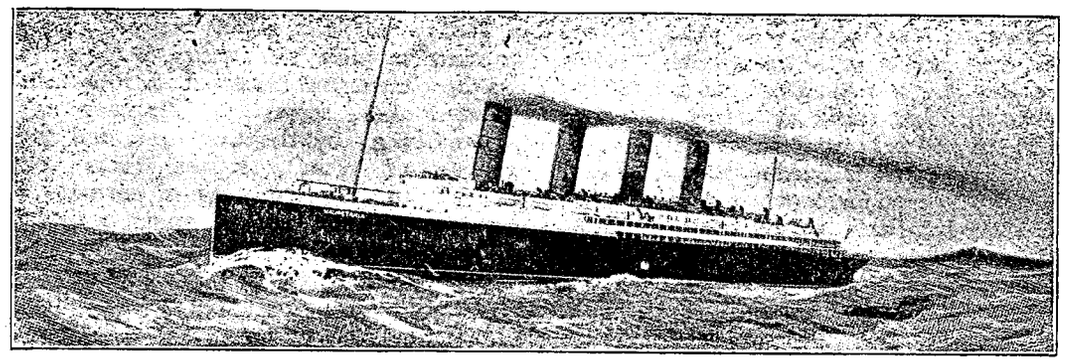
Wealth is made by labor. Ownership is made by law.

Wealth-producers must, therefore, take the law-making machinery—the government—into their own hands to vest the ownership of the wealth they make in themselves. Until they do this the government, now run by non-producers for non-producers, will use all its powers to make them keep the non-producers.

When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character.

Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.

Communist Manifesto.



From Shore to Shore

BY

EDLINGTON MOAT

IF THAT'S all you want, I guess we can fix you up" said the secretary of a certain sailors' union in South street, New York, to whom I applied on a sunny May morning for a hint as to how I might best work my passage to England. "But I should think," he added, running his hands through his iron-gray hair and regarding me quizzically the while, "that you see enough Poorland, as you call it, right here, without going to the other side. When you cross 'the pond' you go from purgatory to hell so far as work is concerned."

"Just what I want," I replied. "I've had enough purgatory for a time. I'd like to do a little adventuring in another sphere."

Accordingly, I got from him a letter to a saloon keeper on the water-front who ministers to thirsty wharf-rats and stokers —for a price; and this saloon keeper gave me a note to some other person of influence in the maritime world. The other person could do nothing for me—not just then. I waited three weeks, if trotting your legs off may be called waiting; and at length, just as I was thinking of trying for a cattleship from another port, I received "the word," smuggled myself and my baggage aboard "one of the fastest and most luxurious liners afloat," and the same evening, togged out in white jacket and apron, saw the blood red sun slide into the sea where New York had been but a few hours before.

That white jacket, by the way, is the work of the steward. It shows me to be a member of that unhallowed calling—a slave in the steerage by day and an inmate of the "glory hole" by night. The glory hole? Aye, the glory hole, so our sleeping place is termed, probably for the very reason that we wear white jackets. Yet despite the name, we know it for a vile den, containing scarcely 400 feet of floor space, into which are crowded 34 bunks, each about two feet wide, ranged side by side with not three inches space between them, and so little space between the upper and lower, that one cannot sit upright. The light is dim at all times, and the sickening smell so characteristic of most forecastles is always with us.

But we seldom stop to inquire. We are too pressed for time, or too indifferent. When the day's stress and strain are ended,

we are glad to slide between the dirty, coarse blankets—some of us with half our clothes on, some of us with pipes between our teeth and a curse on our lips for the reckless devils who bang the banjo, and keep the thick, stuffy air a-ring with song until the midnight hour draws nigh.

And tomorrow is Sunday, the day of rest. Ha! day of rest, forsooth! Let us see. We lie abed, or abunk, rather, until just 4:30, when we are startled into wide-eyed wake fulness by what seems like a terrific dinning on a dishpan, mingled with a babel of oaths and gruntings, and the swish-swash of the waves without, and the "Come on, come on; goin' to sleep all day?" of the glory hole steward, whose authority at this unearthly hour is absolute. We have had less than six hours sleep, which the foul air has rendered far from refreshing. For all that, shirt and trousers are jerked on pell-mell, and then, unwashed and unbreakfasted, we rush to our respective ports, be it storage or cabin, and scrub the decks as if our very lives depended upon it. Woe to the man who dares to turn over for another snooze! He shall be hauled before the supervising steward, there to give an account of himself, and to be threatened with discharge if the thing happens again—a serious matter; indeed. For should the threat be carried out, as such threats have, time without number, the fact is recorded in the "discharge book" of the Shipping Federation—a combination of ship owners of international scope designed to crush all movements among seamen for the betterment of their condition. Let but two or three of these "bad discharges" be inscribed in his book, and it matters not whether the offender seek a berth in London, Valparaiso or Hong Kong, he is a doomed man, and all the commerce of the seven seas no longer offers the possibility of a livelihood.

For this reason, in part, do we scrub with a vigor more apparent than real. The job would be uninviting under the best possible circumstances, but on an empty stomach, with the ship rolling and the smell of bilge-water ever present, to say nothing of the filthiness of some of the steerage passengers, a certain percentage of whom—confound them!—are eternally seasick, it is always with a sense of relief that the last patch is "swabbed" over and we are called to mess.

Fifteen minutes is the time allowed to bolt our food; plentiful enough, though poor in quality and abominably cooked. Then we must lay tables and scurry to the gally for the passengers' breakfast, on the heels of which there comes the "strapping up" (dishwashing) by the cart load, and the cleaning of "gear" (knives, forks and spoons), and the scrubbing of companion ways—enough to keep us going until 11 o'clock, the hour of inspection. when the captain "pokes his nose," as one of our crew puts it, "into every nook and cranny, intent on finding fault with something."

The crisis over, we begin preparing for dinner, and by the time this is cleared away, the clock-hands have swung round to 2.30, and we may sit down to our own dinners. A rest of an hour, and we turn to again; and when finally supper is finished, and the last rosy (garbage can) is emptied—when the decks are reswept and the tables washed for the next day's breakfast—then, and then only, may we go to the glory hole.

Were this all, we might not have much cause for complaint, for we are used to seeing the ship undermanned; it is a chronic state of affairs. But in addition, each of us gets a "stand-by," a watch, or a "peggy," as the case may be. The standby is in reality an afternoon watch, with the work of laying tables added; while the watch proper consists in being dragged out of your bunk at any hour of the night to stand guard for two hours. The peggy is the washing up of the mess of stewards, waiters and pantrymen. This work goes by turns. The man who finds himself with the standby today, will surely be held up for the peggy or the watch tomorrow; which takes up any leisure we might have between whiles, and keeps us on the go from 4:30 A. M. until 9 or 10 P. M., seven days a week.

Another point to be considered; we are not even given a chance to work uninterruptedly. We have all sorts of odd jobs to do. A fireman, perhaps, has been brought up from the stokers' pit suffering from convulsions caused by the heat. Hospital duty for somebody, and more toil for the rest! And with the thought comes a glimpse of the blaze and the grime and the sweat, and for a moment we seem to feel the hellish heat and thank whatever gods there be that the stoke hole is not for us. Or perhaps that old woman with the placid face and

good-natured mien is puddling around again with the cocoa can; she wants a spoon and milk and hot water; and the little tow-headed girl would like a pinch of tea—"for mamma, if you please;" while "number 20," the big, gaunt fellow with the hacking cough, who is being deported by the immigration authorities, begs for another blanket and incidentally inquires when we shall be "across the banks."

Do we ignore them, or act surlily? By no means. We are polite, not to say deferential, even though we may have a strong dislike for the person we are serving. For here, in truth, is our only chance to make a few extra dimes. Moreover, it is good practice; someday the faithful among us hope to become saloon stewards. There the work is even more trying. But the tip—aye, the tip's the thing! And the first-cabin steward who cannot worry a couple of "quid" ($10) out of a table of financial heavyweights in a six days run—well, we deem him "slow indeed."

For these strenuous efforts during the voyage, we good slaves are rewarded by being let off with only nine or ten hours work each day while the vessel lies in port. There is always "drill" a plenty; blankets and dishes to be stored away, gear to be burnished and bundled, and the bunks to be scoured out and disinfected.

And the wages? Oh, yes, I had almost forgotten. The company actually condescends to pay us "two pound ten" (about $12) at the end of each month, minus any fine we may have incurred by overstepping certain rules. Three pounds ($15) is the pay of such as happen to work in the saloon, out of which—in the case of the waiters—must come the money for blue suits garnished with brass buttons, not to mention white shirts and fronts galore.

The remainder of our money, of course, goes to our wives and children for their support; that is, it *would* if we had any. But we have none— a fortunate thing for us and a bad thing for the state. We are too wise—on this head at least. And many of us are too young. As for the older ones, those who can no longer keep up the pace on five or six hours sleep nightly, you will find numbers of them hobbling about as dishwashers or waiters in obscure English or Colonial hotels, and the remainder you will find stranded about the docks and seamen's "homes" of seaport towns the world over, their highest concern focussed on a clay pipe and the wherewithal for a satisfying glass of ale.

Are we doing anything to remedy our conditions? We are, both individually and collectively. Our attempts as individuals have proved failures for the most part. We change from ship to ship and from line to line, but this affords little relief. Our very fitness for sea life seems to unfit us for other lines of endeavor; and it is only at intervals that a man more adaptative than the rest leaves the sea, never to return. Then, too, in spite of the emptiness of the life as regards material reward, in spite of the never-ending routine, we get what adventurous souls in the field and factory vainly crave—a constant change of scene. The sea's moods reflect our own, and though we have not freedom, nor immediate cause for expectation, its roving winds, its great, pulsing tides, and the glamor of its boundless reaches lend us the delusion of both. And some few of us, maybe, are stricken with a foolish pride; for do we not form a part of this wonderful and mysterious monster of wood and iron that night and day, in fog and storm and calm, goes skimming through the endless leagues of ocean? Are we not imbued with its wealth and power and speed? Surely the mouldy crust and the cheerless hovel are far removed from us, and we would fain forget the past and ignore the future.

The majority of us realize, however, that only through organization can we hope for relief. Within a score of years—and I speak now not of stewards merely, but of seamen in general—our constant agitation has resulted in a better dietary, more regular payment of wages, decrease of crimping, and the abolishment of corporal punishment and imprisonment for desertion; a trend of affairs so little to the liking of ship owners that they formed what is today known as the Shipping Federation.

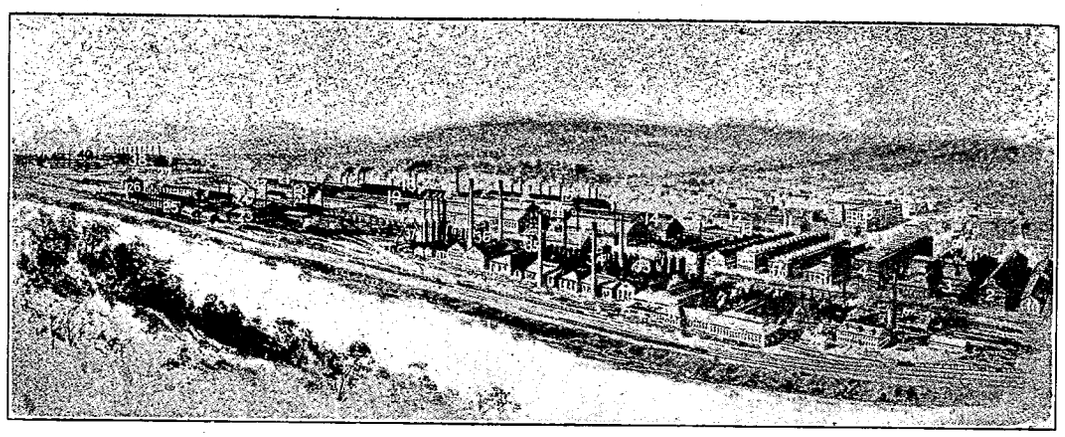
They began their operations by establishing their own employment bureaus in every port in Great Britain. They set spotters on the trail of union men and these were ousted wherever feasible. New hands were forced to carry certificates declaring themselves to be non-union men. They set a medical test, and in some cases went so far as to stamp on the mens' bodies the fact that they

had passed the examination. They lent all the weight of their influence in striving to keep intact certain antiquated laws and treaties under which the nations agreed to arrest and return, like common felons, such seamen as broke a civil contract to labor for a specified time. Wages they forced down to a bare subsistence level—not of Americans and Englishmen, but of Chinese and Lascars, of whom they shipped tens of thousands. They instituted the discharge book, in which is entered the seaman's name, the name of his ship, the time of his engagement and a record of his character as interpreted by the captain. In addition they now intend to impose the Bertillon system of registration, which includes the taking of finger prints—evidence not to be doubted that they consider us criminals. And so fond of this system have they become that they now propose to apply it to longshoremen far and wide.

But the Shippers Federation is not going to have final victory. Soon or late we shall smash their little system. The International Seafarers' Movement has taken tremendous strides in the past few months. During July vast demonstrations were held in every port in Great Britain in connection with this movement. At the more important of these ports, camps have been erected, in case of trouble, for the accomodation of 50,000 seafaring men. A set of proposals seeking the removal or modification of grievances under which seamen suffer has just been submitted (July 16) to the Shipping Federation for consideration. The replies, if any, will be considered at the International Conference of Seamens' Unions to be held during the latter part of the present month (August) at Copenhagen. In the event of the shipowners ignoring or rejecting the demands, an order will be sent out for the general stoppage of work in ports of the United Kingdom, and it is not at all unlikely that ports in other parts of Europe, as well as in Australia and America, will be similarly affected.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.



Bethlehem Steel Company's Slave Plant.

Slaves of Steel

By

Leslie H. Marcy

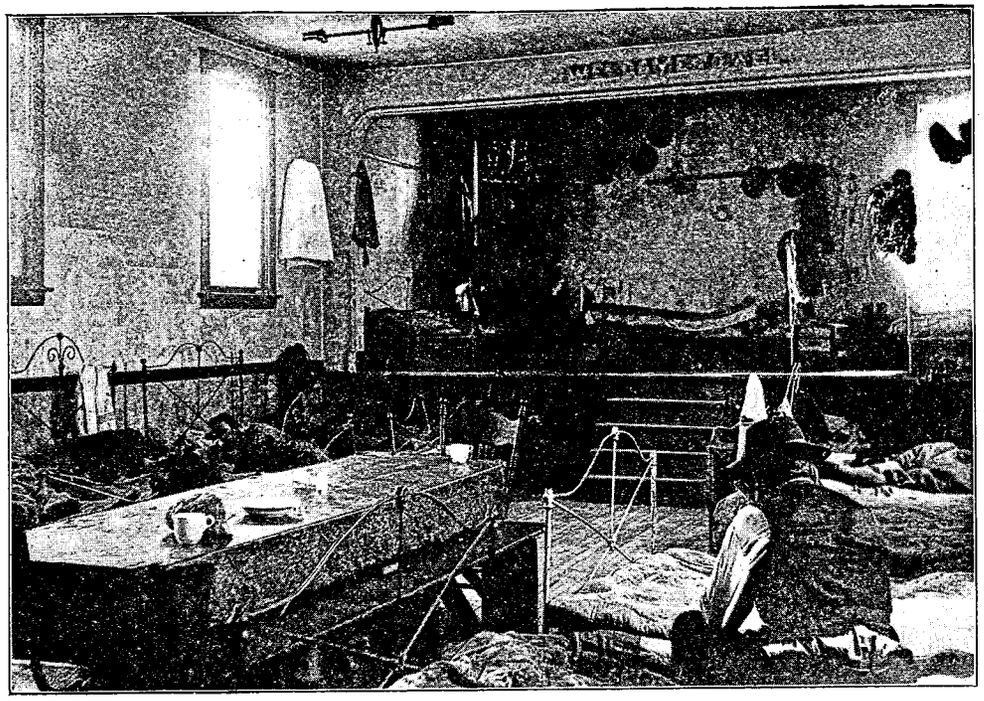
SENATE document No. 521 or the "Report on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works," published by the United States Bureau of Labor, is a valuable addition to our class struggle literature and should be used by every socialist doing propaganda work.

The truth leaked out in the government's investigation. Their own figures show that the Steel Trust made its surplus-value by working a few thousand "free American citizens" 84 hours in a seven-day week. It also reveals how the powers of government, the cossacks, cartridges and courts were used to crush the slaves who went on strike.

Librarians in "our" public and steel-philanthropic libraries will gravely inform you that the "document is not obtainable and will prove it by displaying the recent lists of government publications with the above words printed after No. 521.

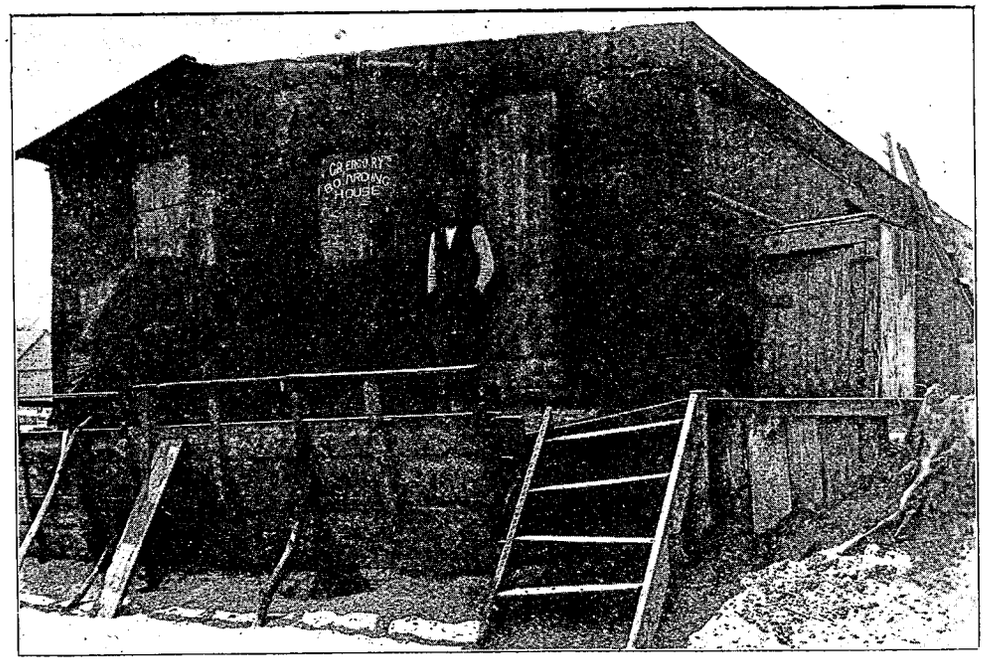
However, an "unknown party" sent this Report to the International Socialist Review "to be used for the benefit of the working class." Since all the evidence tends to prove that the same methods prevail in all steel mills, we will illustrate the Government Report with photographs showing how the wage slaves live in Gary, the new steel capital of the West.

Of the 9,184 wage-earners on the January pay-roll, at Bethlehem, 2,322 worked twelve hours a day or night for seven days of the week, and 2,233 worked twelve hours a day for six days in the week. Thus 4,725, or 51 percent, were employed in occupations regularly requiring twelve hours, OR MORE, per day on their regular working day. A further analysis shows that 2,628 or 29 percent, worked REGULARLY seven days a week. "If the comparison be confined to those departments where Sunday work was done, 57.9 percent of all the men did Sunday work." Sunday work is

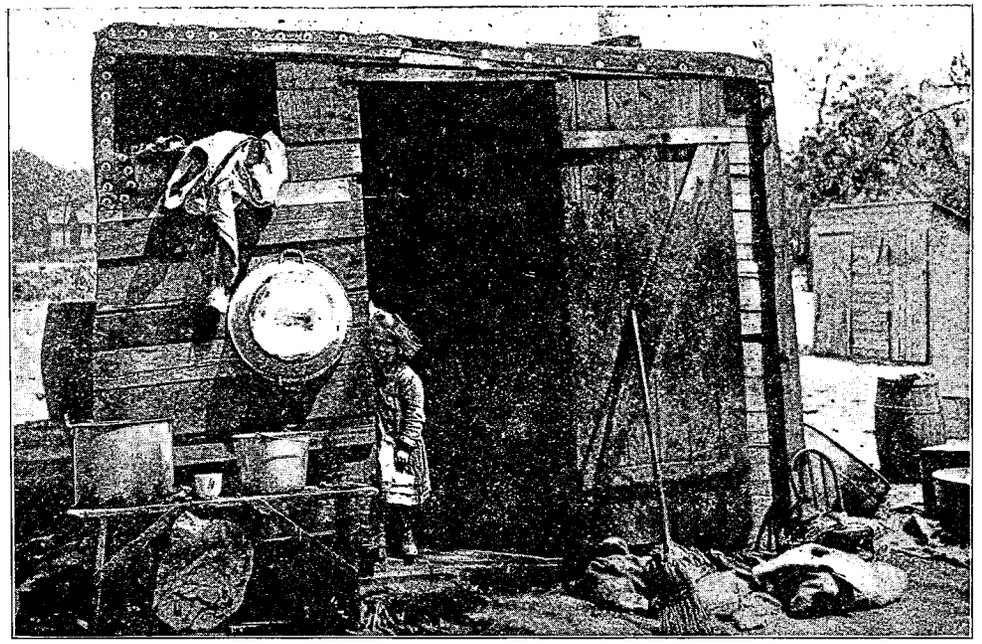


Welcome to All—Interior Slave Pen—Gary.

There are about 100 places in Gary where the workers are herded together in the same manner. With wages so low that men cannot provide for decent living conditions, these workers, mostly Servians, Croatians, Macedonians and Hungarian Slovacks, pay one dollar each per week for the right to sleep in quarters where the steel magnates would not even allow their dogs to be quartered.

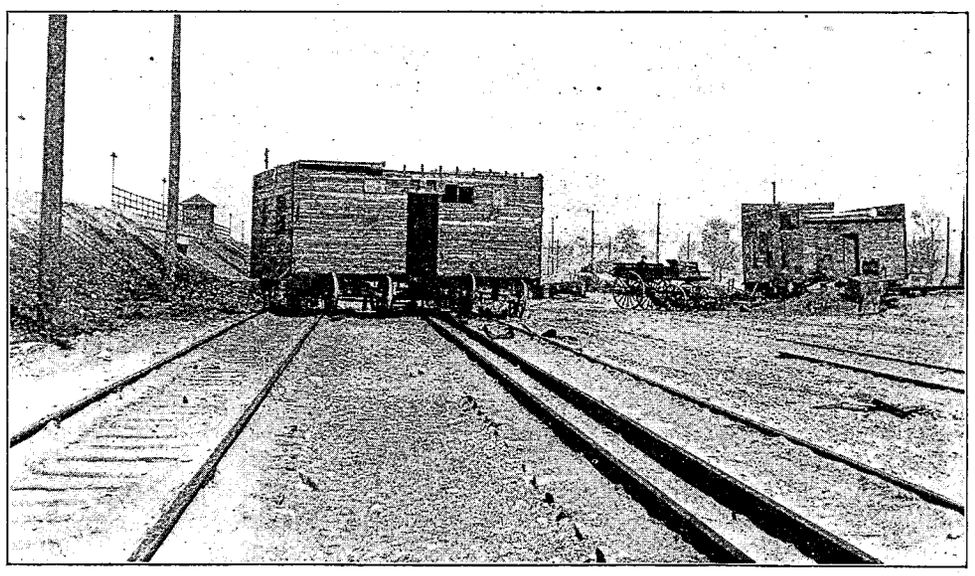


Boarding Shack—Over 50 Slaves "live" Here.—Gary.



"Home Sweet Home."—In Gary.

The father, an American, works 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Every second week, in the change of shifts, the work continues from 24 to even 36 hours without interruption. Wages of the father of the family before the last raise of six per cent, were 15½ cents an hour. Now it's 16½ cents. Four-fifths of all workers receive that pay. During the McKees Rocks strike and the exposures of the cruel conditions in the steel mills of America, the supply of available working forces fell short and wages had to be advanced to 22 to 25 cents an hour. But they were cut again as soon as the subsidized press of Europe made it appear that the settlement of the McKees Rocks strike affected all steel mills, including Gary.



Moving the Shacks—A Steel-worker's Palace Car.

for them the (golden) rule and is not considered overtime.

"The rates paid for overtime work and Sunday work, alike, did not differ from the ordinary hourly rates."

Before passing on to the pay envelope, it is interesting to note that the protests against Sunday and excessive overtime work, which caused the strike, came from the 3,893 slaves who were enjoying the shortest work day, that is, ten hours and twenty-five minutes a day from Monday to Friday; and five hours and twenty minutes on Saturday. These men knew that their normal working speed rate had been keyed up for a number of years by the application of a time bonus premium wage system, and that the pressure of fat government contracts would soon force on them the American EIGHTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK.

Three methods of payment had been devised by the steel magnates. First: "straight time"; a fixed rate per hour or per day. Second: "straight piece rates"; a fixed rate per piece, per 100 pieces or per ton. "Under this system, he (the worker) is stimulated to *speed up* in order to increase his..... earnings." Third: "time-bonus" system. Under this system, if the wage-slave finishes a standard piece of work within the fixed time limit, "he receives not only the 20% increase on his hourly rate for the number of hours worked, but in addition 50% of his hourly rate for the number of hours saved on the job."

"The time-bonus system.... STIMULATES SPEEDING UP even more than the ordinary piece-rate system of payment.."

To quote further: "The January pay-roll shows that LARGE NUMBERS of laborers were working for 12½ cents an hour, twelve hours a day, seven days in the week; 2,640 or 28.7 percent were working for 12 and under 14 cents an hour; 1,528, or 16.6 percent, for 14 and under 16 cents an hour. 48.5 percent of all employees were getting less than 16 cents an hour; 31.9 percent less than 14 cents, and 61.2 percent less than 18 cents an hour."

A philosophical paragraph in the Report announces that— "With the newer blast furnaces, equipped with automatic bottom fillers and mechanical top fillers, the amount of human labor power employed.... is growing less every year," while a recent writer on the Gary Steel Plant says:

"Speed and the elimination of human labor have been carried beyond anything steel makers have known. Remote-control electric devices, automatic and interlocking, allow seven men to handle the forty or more operations in the rail mill at top speed, yet without danger or accident.(?) The two ingot 'buggies' bring the flaming four-ton cubes from the soaking pits to the first set of rolls. The thirteen pits cover 700 feet, yet one man out of sight in a gallery, can, by setting levers at the proper notches, send a 'buggy' to the chosen pit, stop it, start it when loaded and bring it to the first rolls without turning his attention from the important blooming operation."*

As Marx observed some forty years ago, "Capital now sets the laborer to work, not with a manual tool, but with a machine which itself handles the tools."

President Schwab wrote: "It must be understood that under no circumstances will we deal with men on a strike or a body of men representing organized labor."

Said W. B. Dickson, 1st Vice-President of the U. S. Steel Co.: "Mr. Schwab has very properly protested against the Government officials singling out his company for criticism, as the practices at Bethlehem which are criticised, are *common to all blast furnace plants.* Mr. Schwab himself said, similar hours of work prevail in the entire steel industry.

Defective Work Furnished the Government.

Under date of April 7, 1910, a committee appointed by the Bethlehem strikers submitted a statement to the Government from which we quote as follows:

"That the Bethlehem Steel Company enjoys the benefits of a high protective tariff and is the recipient of valuable government contracts amounting to millions of dollars annually, from which it obtains enormous profits. In spite of these advantages, it exacts a maximum of toil for a wholly inadequate minimum wage and constantly strives to lower the standard of living to the barest point of existence.

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* If I had known about Gary, By Will H. Moore.

"We charge that during the night work and overtime, defective work is surreptitiously and artificially treated, patched, and welded, thereby escaping the vigilance of the inspectors who are not required to work overtime by the Government."

That this practice of turning out defective murdering machines is an old one, is amply proven by Gustavus Myers in Vol. III of his Great American Fortunes, page 254 (footnote) from which we quote as follows:

"A Congressional Committee reported (see House Report No. 1468, Fifty-third Congress):

The company was hired to make the best possible armor plate, and was paid an enormous price. Resting under these obligations the company (Carnegie Steel Co.) or its servants perpetrated manyfold frauds, the natural tendency of which was to palm off upon the Government an inferior armor whose inferiority might perchance appear only in the shock of battle.

The efforts of the company, and its superintendents Cline, Corey and Schwab, have been to satisfy your committee that the armor is up to the requirements of the contract, notwithstanding the false reports to inspectors, doctoring of specimens, plugging of plates. The unblushing character of the frauds to which these men have been parties and the disregard for truth and honesty which they have shown in testifying before your committee render them unworthy of credence."

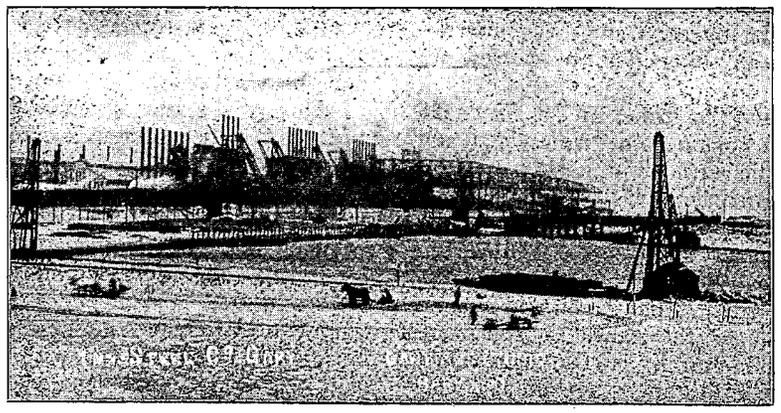
Cossacks and Law and Order.

That the Cossacks of Pennsylvania still indulge in the same brutalities as in the old days of Homestead, was amply borne out by the report of Mr. Hugh Kelly, ex-chief of police. Among other things Mr. Kelly said:

"On their way down to the steel company's office, they assaulted a number of other people standing on the corners of the streets. In one instance, one of the local police officers, who witnessed this assault, protested against it, but he had no weight whatever; and between Third and Linden streets, going to the office, they beat people standing peaceably on the street. Men were arrested, taken to the plant of the steel company, and there confined. They gave them a hearing on Monday.

"They start out on our streets, beat down our people without any reason whatever and they shot down an innocent man—Joseph Szambo—who was not on the street but who was in the Majestic Hotel, when one of the troopers rode up on the pavement at the hotel door and fired two shots into the bar-room, shooting one man through the mouth, another (Szambo) through the head, who died that afternoon in the hospital."

So much for the boasted "law and order" in the U. S. when anything interferes with the material interests of the ruling class. Every socialist agitator ought to write to the Department of Commerce and Labor and ask for a copy of Document No. 521. We have only been able to touch upon a few of the barbarities revealed in it here. It is not often we are able to use government documents in our campaign against wage slavery.



The Slave Mills at Gary.

Government Oppression in Japan

By

S. KATAYAMA



N May 26th five socialists were arrested in a small province about 80 miles north of Tokyo in a milling factory. These socialists are Tadao Niimura, Takichi Myashita, Zenbei Niimura, U. Nitta and Rykigo Furukawa. They are very intelligent iron workers who became socialists.

The news concerning them is being suppressed by the authorities so that it is impossible to ascertain the real cause of their arrest. A few independent daily papers report that they are accused with secretly manufacturing bombshells for unknown purposes.

On June first Denjiro Kotoku and his wife were arrested. The former at Yugawara, the hotspring near Holsone, and the latter at her home in the country. It is claimed that they are friends of the alleged bombshell makers. All seven are undergoing a severe investigation. We are unable to learn anything definite concerning them.

On May third the homes of Dr. Senosuke Oishi and his cousin were ransacked and searched by the authorities.

Dr. Oishi is a friend of Dr. Kato who attended the Stuttgart Congress three years ago. Dr. Oishi is a physician well versed in the European socialist movement. His influence has reached many men and women and won them to the cause of socialism. Pastor, of the church, is also a socialist and publishes a literary magazine of very advanced thought. The magazine is published far from the city but the socialists located there have made the place noted for the cause.

Oishi has put his earnings liberally at the disposal of the movement and many comrades are being aided by him. His home was searched because he was known to be a friend of Kotoku and it was surmised that he might know something about the alleged "conspiracy."

Wild rumors are constantly springing up but so oppressive is the government that little can be known for certain. The newspapers are severely censored and the police and detectives infest the editorial rooms everywhere. As a result, all socialists are walking on the edge of a chasm. They are liable to arrest at any moment upon the merest suspicion.

The authorities assume a calm manner but they are shaken to the roots of their beings for fear their power is to be jeopardized.

There are about 600 "Direct Actionists" in Japan, none of them having a fixed place of abode. Altogether it looks as though the authorities were sowing the wind—to reap the whirlwind.

I shall give a few sketches on the personalities of some arrested socialists, charged with most extraordinary offences, but first a few words upon the latest developments in our Japanese movement.

During the Russo-Japan War, the socialists fought valiantly against war and made very effective propaganda among the people—particularly among the student classes. Often the wage-workers were so busily engaged in the factories that they could not be reached but notwithstanding this there were several strikes in the

government arsenals. The authorities kept these strikes secret so that the opposition to war might become as little known as possible.

Many socialists were sent to prison because of their anti-war campaign during the war and the movement was nearly crushed. Many socialists left the country for safety. Dr. Kotoku went to America. After the war the Katsura Cabinet became extremely unpopular on account of the Port Mouth Peace Treaty. A great riot broke out in Tokyo and also in other cities and the people burnt up the police stations. For a few days the Capitol was entirely in the hands of an angry and revolutionary mob.

Later the Katsura Military Government resigned to give the reins to the Liberal Party upon condition that it nationalize the railroads by the incoming Saionji Cabinet.

It is now an open secret that Marquis Katsura and others in his class made themselves enormously wealthy by buying up railroad shares for which the government has paid them a double or treble price.

Under the new (Liberal) Ministry in 1906 after the crushing of the riot (1905) the police power was tamed and in the spring of 1906 we formed a socialist party in Japan. Several socialist papers were started with every prospect of a large circulation. Socialist meetings were not molested and the increase in party members grew steadily.

Just at this time the street railway started to raise the fare 25%. Socialists got up propaganda against this extortion. Pamphlets were printed and monster meetings held at the Hibiya Park. One of these meetings was broken up and the people, wild with rage, went to the city hall and broke a few windows. The result was a prison term for some dozen socialists.

But the party is still growing. In 1906 Mr. Kotoku returned from America and with him Direct Actionism was introduced into Japan. It was new to the comrades but all worked in harmony for the cause.

In 1907 a socialist paper was started. The fund for this undertaking was furnished by a rich young man, who has since become a police tool. The daily was welcomed by the public and was considered by every one to be a great force and power.

In the spring of 1907 there was a big strike in the Asio Copper mines and over $2,000,000 worth of mine property was destroyed by the strikers and over 100 miners were arrested. Soldiers went to declare martial law in the mine and its town. Then followed the two large strikes at Bessi. The Poroni miners in their riots set the whole country—or rather the capitalist class—in terror. Mr. Kotoku carried the socialist party into Direct Action camp and sought to propagate the free communism of Kropotkin.

The writer was not in Japan at this time but before his return the authorities had suppressed the socialist party and the editors of the daily were on trial and in some cases under press law, and in prison. The Direct Actionists went to extremes and finally their press was suppressed and the editors sentenced to terms in prison.

At this juncture the writer started the present Shakai-Swibun, first a weekly and then a monthly periodical. There was at this time several papers advocating Direct Action and other Socialist papers on a scientific Marxian basis.

The differences between the two policies increased and the police became more active so that nearly all the papers have been suppressed and the editors sent to prison. During the last two years Japanese socialists have done very little. But the Shakai Shiwbun still appears monthly with a circulation of nine or ten hundred copies.

However, the very fact that many socialists are serving prison terms is one living cause for the continued growth of socialism in Japan.

Last year a Buddhist priest, Achiyawa Gudo of Hakone, was arrested on the charge of secret printing and keeping bombshells and he was condemned to twelve years imprisonment. Last year Mr. Kotpku translated Kropotkin's "Conquest for Bread" and it was distributed before it could be suppressed or confiscated. His wife published a paper called "Free Thought" in two numbers. Both were suppressed and the editor was fined 400 yen.

About this time the authorities became

very severe and dogged the footsteps of all socialists. On some days no socialists were allowed to leave their homes and go onto the streets. Kotoku was watched day and night by eight policemen in two shifts, two standing in front and two back of his house. When he went out he was followed by two.

Personally I do not agree with the Direct Actionists or advocate Direct Action for Japan. It seems unwise to me.

But we all feel that government oppression against the Direct Actionists will only drive them to more extreme methods.

The parliamentary socialists suffer from the words of the extremists and we have much hard work before us before we shall gain solid ground.

We are now all under the ban and liable to arrest. The future—the near future—is dark and gloomy. It is impossible to predict what will happen to our movement and our lives!

Penitentiary Secrets

By

ALEXANDER JOHNS



HE worst trouble with the American pen tentiaries is politics. I speak of one penitentiary in particular. Here the guards are often too ignorant to write their own names. The chief mark of eligibility is that these men have been able to produce twenty votes for the party in power. So one of the guards has informed me.

My brother is demented, he said, and knows nothing, and then he added confidentially, except how to vote. Evidently the brother voted the "right" ticket, to help this guard secure his job.

A few prisoners here are employed by contractors who pay the state by the day for the labor of convicts. An able-bodied man serving more than one year, is let out at 85 cents a day, the day being 7½ to 11 hours long. If the contractor is rushed and the prisoner is able to do more than his allotted task, he is paid by the rate at which he is tasked and if he is unable to perform the work, he is sent to the Cellar.

When the Republicans were in power here, the unfortunate victims were generally stripped of their clothes, laid across a barrel and spanked with a wooden paddle, with holes bored in it. But the present regime calls itself a Reform administration and they have cut out the paddle. They still, however, hang prisoners up by the wrists making them hang from sixteen to twenty hours without anything to eat. When they are taken down, these poor men are fed a piece of bread and molasses and sent out to see if they can do the work assigned them.

And the horror of the cellar is so strong upon them, that they generally make good.

I have seen a guard seize and choke a prisoner who has done nothing at all to provoke him, one guard, in particular, who is seldom, if ever sober, drives the prisoners away from the fire when it is cold—so cold that they are forced to keep walking up and down the floor by their machines to keep warm, after their tasks are done.

Men and women visit this place every day and see none of these things, but I see them every day.

Meat for the prisoners is bought by the contract at about 6 cts. a pound and it is unnecessary for me to explain what kind of meat it is.

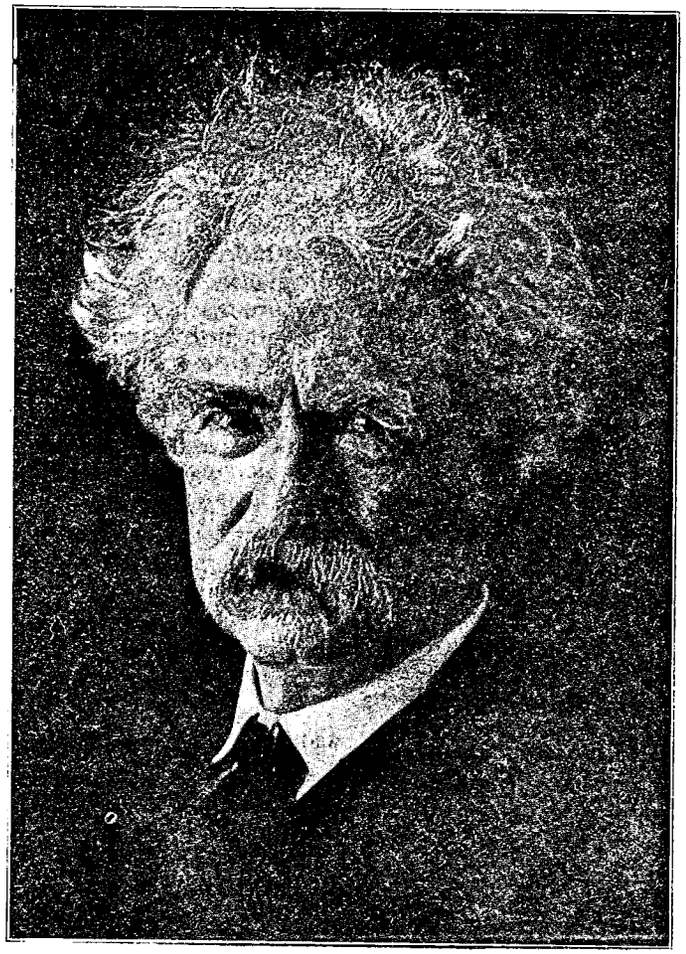
Breakfast is "served" at 5:30 A. M., being bread and molasses, after which the prisoners are marched to the shops to work. At 11:00 A. M. they march back to dinner which consists of bread and boiled meat and sometimes potatoes with the skins on. Then back they go to the shops till 5:15. Supper consists of bread and jelly.

For infirm men, contractors pay the state only 65 cts. a day but do not imagine because of this that his tasks are any lighter. The infirm man is the very first chosen to work—because he is the cheapest man. Contractors prefer him to others.

Mark Twain: Radical

By

EMANUEL JULIUS



Mark Twain.



ONE August evening in 1908 it was the pleasure of my life to spend a few hours with Mark Twain. We leisurely strolled along the beautiful roads that lead to the Pocantico Hills overlooking the placid Hudson.

While walking towards the hills we spoke only a word now and then. The sun was sinking in the west and flashed a shaft of red fire over the river that dazzled us with its splendor.

Presently we reached the highest point of the hill we were climbing. The view that stretched before us was indeed magnificent.

Below us we could see the village of Tarrytown. Directly opposite, on the western shore, was the village Nyack.

The exertion of the last hour had tired us so we sat down on a huge stone. Twain immediately became more talkative. The expression on his face was one of seriousness.

"Young man," said he, "I wish to thank you for not having expected me to tell you a whole lot of jokes. I appreciate that very much."

The look on my face must have told him I did not understand for he added, "You see, it's very bad to make my living by making people laugh. Then, when they meet me they always look for jokes, for something funny; and if I don't supply it they shake their heads, go away, and tell their friends 'the old man's getting older.'"

Twain told me what I already knew—that he *was* serious minded. To me it seems terrible to even think of telling people I am serious. To say something seriously and have people giggle and think you are joking is a tragedy indeed!

To me Twain is very humorous. But Twain's humor is as the city man's garden—merely a pastime—a side play. He is *not* a humorist but a philosopher, a thinker, a radical, a progressive and an apostle of true democracy.

I can no more look on Mark Twain as a humorist than I can on Lincoln as a rail splitter. Twain said humorous and witty things during his life but he did other things just as Lincoln did some things besides splitting rails.

To be a philosopher usually means to be scorned and hated. But to be laughed at! What a pitiable paradox!

It has been said that philosophers possess no sense of humor and when they do they cease to be philosophers.

George Bernard Shaw said the following a few years past: "Mark Twain is by far the greatest American writer. I am speaking of him rather as a sociologist than as a humorist. Of course he is in very much the same position as myself—he has to put things in such a way as to make people who would otherwise hang him believe he is joking.

Shaw was right as was the journal Die Schöne Literatur when it recently said, "Although Mark Twain's humor moves us to irresistible laughter, this is not the main point in his books; like all true humorists, *ist der Witz mit dem Weltschmerz verbunden,* he is a witness to higher emotions, and his purpose is to expose bad morals and evil circumstances, in order to improve and ennoble mankind."

The Daily Chronicle (London) said editorially, after his death, that he had "The ironic gift of puzzling people and leaving them divided between seriousness and laughter."

This, in a measure is true if the editor means some people but if it signifies *all* people than I disagree.

To illustrate how Twain was grossly misunderstood because he injected humor into his writings I will turn to his "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court."

I look on this book as one of the strongest attacks on class privilege, aristocracy and monarchy ever penned.

A prominent critic read it through and then learnedly announced that placing a Yankee in an aristocrat's court is certainly a very funny joke but four hundred pages of this joke was too much—a twenty page pamphlet would have been sufficient!

All of Twain's appeals for equality, democracy, denunciations of class privilege no more affected him than water a duck's back.

I must return to my conversation with Twain.

"Did you ever read my book, 'The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg?" asked Twain of me. I looked sheepish.

"Come, come, that's no crime. You know, about 15,000 books come out every year and a good many millions are in existence now, so don't be ashamed to say you haven't read some particular book. I'd be a fool if I expected you to have read every book I mention.

"Well, people didn't understand it. Thought it is one city or another. Didn't know it was the model for the world; its people were the race. Might as well have asked Plato if his Republic was Baltimore or Chicago.

But I had one critic who understood me and that was my daughter Susy. She knew me and never looked for jokes."

I believe it would be well to quote little Susy. What follows was written when she was but fourteen years of age:

"He is known to the public as a humorist, but he has much more in him that is earnest than that is humorous. . . .

"His 'Prince and the Pauper' is his most original and best production; it shows the most of any of his books what kind of pictures are in his mind, usually. Not that the pictures of England in the Sixteenth century and the adventures of a little prince and pauper are the kind of things he mainly thinks about, but that that book and those pictures represent the train of thought and imagination he would be likely to be thinking of today, tomorrow or next day, more nearly than those given in 'Tom Sawyer' or 'Huckleberry Finn.'"

"It is so yet", Mark Twain once said on reading this opinion more than a score of years later when the child was dead.

Continuing, Susy wrote: "When we are alone nine times out of ten he talks about some very earnest subject, (with an occasional joke thrown in,) and he a good deal more often talks upon such subjects than the other kind.

"He is as much a philosopher as anything, I think. I think he could have done a great deal in this direction if he had studied while young, for he seems to enjoy reasoning out things. no matter what; in a great many such directions he has greater ability than in the gifts which have made him famous."

Mark Twain always felt that this little critic knew him. Commenting he said long afterwards, "Two years after she passed out of my life I wrote a philosophy. Of the three persons who have seen the manuscript only one understood it, and all three condemned it. If she could have read it she also would have condemned it, possibly—probably, in fact—but she would have understood it."

Little Susie's love for "The Prince and the Pauper" above all others may have been due greatly to her few years but the book teaches a beautiful lesson—a lesson of democracy—equality. Here we have a prince and a pauper—they change clothes and places and things go gliding on without a hitch. Clothes did but separate them! Princes are also made of the common clay of ordinary mortals!

Twain's democracy knew no conservatism, cant nor conventionality. His views on institutions were revolutionary. To him they were man-made, to be unmade by the maker. He looked on mere institutions as extraneous.

"They are its (the country's) mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from Winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason; it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, let monarchy keep it."

Every reform that made for progress found a ready friend and advocate in Mark Twain. Coming from the working class—of the West—the fertile field of true democracy, it is no wonder that Twain always thought of the public's interest.

His attacks on the looting missionaries in China and United States' Phillipine policy drew forth much criticism. He was advised not to desert his humor.

Imbeciles! Little did they know that his humor was but a mask over his attacks on evils and injustices.

Woman suffrage had Twain as a warm friend. Every woman—and every man, for that matter—should read "Eve's Diary." Its philosophy is delicious. Its moral is plain.

Here we are taught woman's tender influence on man—an influence for the best. Here Adam, during his life, only thinking of his superiority over her realizes, after her death that "Wheresoever she was, there was Eden."

Twain nowhere preaches the doctrine of feminine superiority but every thought is permeated with the suggestion of where this superiority finds expression.

On being asked if he favored the militant tactics of the British suffragists Mark Twain replied:

"The cause of freedom cannot be won without vigorous fighting. Militant methods have appeared necessary to the women who have adopted them. These women have the interests of a great cause at stake, and I approve of their using any methods which they see fit for accomplishing the big results which they are fighting for.

"You may use one method to carry a cause to victory. I may use another. Militant methods have appeared necessary in the fight of the suffragettes in many places where the cause finds its main supporters."

Mark Twain's ever active, wonderful imagination made it possible for him to take what was seemingly a statistical fact and mould it into a word picture that would produce an ineradicable impression on the mind.

For example, I will turn to his autobiography. Here Twain introduces statistics telling us that 10,000 persons are killed outright and 80,000 injured on the railroads of this country. But Twain dos not stop here. Let him speak for himself:

"I had a dream last night. It was an admirable dream what there was of it.

"In it I saw a funeral procession; I saw it from a mountain peak; I saw it crawling along and curving here and there, serpent like, through a level, vast plain.

"I seemed to see a hundred miles of the procession; but neither the beginning of it nor the end of it was within the limits of my vision. The procession was in ten divisions, each division marked by a somber flag, and the whole represented ten years of our railway activities in accident line.

"Each division was composed of 80,000 cripples, and was bearing its own year's 10,000 mutilated corpses to the grave; in the aggregate 800,000 cripples, and 100,000 dead, drenched in blood."

In another part of his Autobiography Mark Twain gives expression to his fear that America was rapidly traveling over the road that leads to monarchy. This he dreaded. Twain's comment was based on a speech by Elihu Root. In his address Root stated that the centralization of Government at Washington was effecting the elimination of State rights. To this Twain declared: —

"He did not say in so many words that we are proceeding in a steady march toward eventual and unavoidable replacement of the Republic by monarchy, but I suppose he was aware that this is the case. He notes the several steps, the customary steps, which in all ages have led to the consolidation of loose and scattered governmental forces into formidable centralizations of authority, but he stops there, and doesn't add up the sum.

"Human nature being what it is, I suppose we must expect to drift into monarchy by and by . . . . We are all alike, we human beings; and in our blood and bone, and ineradicable, we carry the seeds out of which monarchies and aristocracies are grown; worship of gauds, titles, distinctions, power.

"We have to be despised by somebody whom we regard as above us, or we are not happy; we have to have somebody to worship and envy, or we cannot be content.

"In America we manifest this in all the ancient and customary ways. In public we scoff at titles and hereditary privilege; but privately we hanker after them, and when we get a chance we buy them for cash and a daughter.

"And when we get them the whole nation publicly chaffs and scoffs—and privately envies—and also is proud of the honor which has been conferred upon us. We run over our list of titled purchases every now and then in the newspapers, and discuss them and caress them, and are thankful and happy.

"Like all other nations, we worship money and the possessors of it—they being our aristocracy and we have to have one. We like to read about rich people in the papers; the papers know it, and they do their best to keep this appetite liberally fed. They even leave out a football bull fight now and then to get room for all particulars of how, according to display heading, 'Rich Woman Fell Down Cellar—Not Hurt.'

"The falling down the cellar is of no interest to us when the woman is not rich; but no rich woman can fall down cellar without we yearn to know all about it and wish it was us . . . .

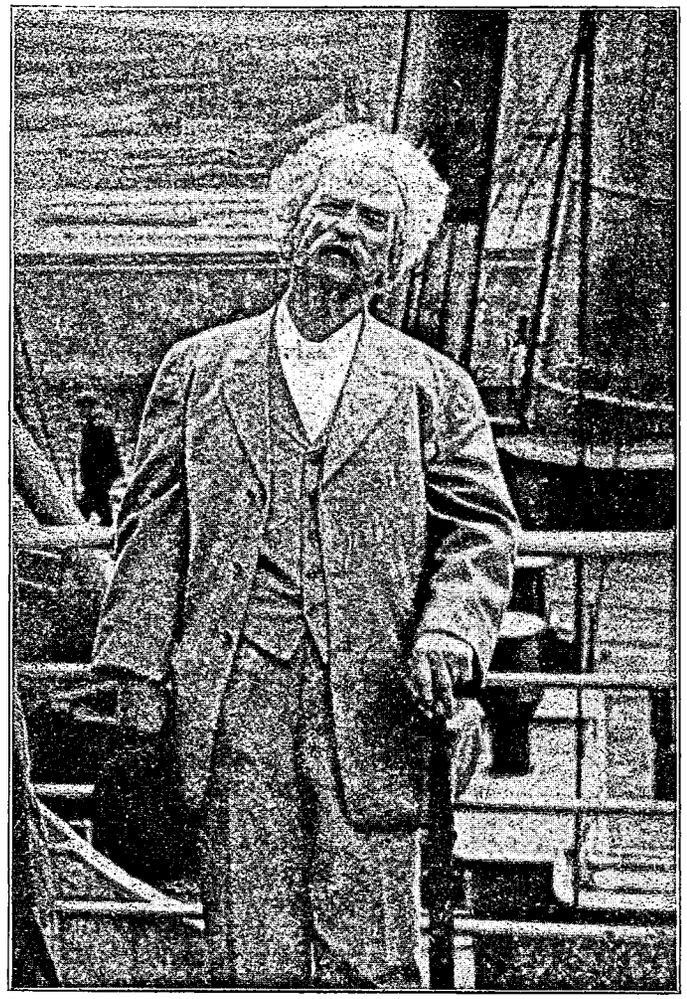
"I suppose we must expect that unavoidable and irresistible circumstances will gradually take away the power of the States and concentrate them in the central Government, and that the Republic will then repeat the history of all time and become a monarchy, but I believe that if we obstruct these encroachments and steadily resist them the monarchy can be postponed for a good while yet."

Of all Twain's books I have read I believe his few lines in "The Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" on the French Revolution are the most striking, Here he shows himself capable of disregarding the so-called teachers and professors of our day; examining that great cataclysm in its true light and expressing himself in sympathy with the oppressed, suffering millions instead of a handful of "nobles." Here are his words:

"Why, it was like reading about France and the French before the ever memorable and blessed Revolution which swept a thousand years of such villainy away in one swift tidal wave of blood; a settlement of that hoary debt in the proportion of half a drop of blood for each hogshead of it that had been pressed by slow tortures out of that people in the weary stretch of ten centuries of wrong and shame and misery, the

millions, but our shudders are for the 'horrors" of the minor terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak, whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared by lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heart-break? What is swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fire at the stake?

"A city cemetery could contain the cof-



like of which was not to be mated but in Hell.

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror,' if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months; the other had lasted a thousand years: the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred fins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror—which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."

One more quotation and I conclude. Here

I wish to add an excerpt that portrays a phase of Twain other than that of a Democrat. In the "Connecticut Yankee" he expresses himself as follows on heredity and environment:

"Training—training is everything; training is all there is to a person. We speak of nature; it is folly; there is no such thing as nature; what we call by that misleading name is merely heredity and training. We have no thoughts of our own, no opinions of our own; they are transmitted to us, trained into us.

"All that is originally in us, and therefore creditable or discreditable to us, can be covered up and hidden by the point of a cambric needle, all the rest being atoms contributed by, and inherited from, a procession of ancestors that stretches back a billion years to the Adam—clam or grasshopper or monkey from whom our race has been so tediously and ostentatiously and unprofitably developed.

"And as for me, all that I think about in this plodding sad pilgrimage, this pathetic drift between the eternities, is to look out and humbly live a pure and high and blameless life, and save that one microscopic atom in me that is truly ME; the rest may land in Sheol and welcome for all I care."

Nothng is so easy as to speak for the future. Nothing is so dangerous. I will not attempt to measure the position history will accord Twain. Will it view him as a Democrat of the higher order? Possibly. But Twain's strength lies in the work he did in portraying characters of a past age.

The Middle West of the 'fifties produced types that were purely her own. Twain caught them in his net and gave them to us in books.

Books that are of life never die. When types and the conditions that produced them are no more then the writer who recorded their characteristics and designs becomes an historian, He then becomes indispensable, and whether the future will or no he must live.

Socialism the Issue

By

TOM LEWIS



IT IS very apparent to every intelligent being who has his ear to the industrial sounding-board that the rumblings we hear mean something. They shake the three-hundred - and-forty-pound mouthpiece of the present administration, and its head, representing the G. O. P. (Greatest Of Parasites) until they respond by denouncing Socialism at every opportunity.

We should encourage this for all we are worth, by every means at our command, since if he continues do to as well in all his speeches as he did in the one at Jackson, Mich., he will present our side of the question as forcibly as we could do it for ourselves.

Socialism is the issue; Taft confesses it. Now then, Mr. Worker, break loose from your old moorings. Break away from the slave-wharf that your master has had you tied to so long. Cut loose. The storm rages. He is sending out his signals through the press and schools, and is also trying to prepare his light-houses. The false beacons are Taft, Roosevelt and Nicholas Murray Butler. Beware of the shoals and reefs, where your craft will be engulfed and wrecked, should you be led by their lights. No, worker, beware!

The light that leads you to safety and Freedom is the RED. It stands for our class. It's our light. What does it mean to us? Just this, slave. The abolition of capitalism. The overthrow of wage-slavery. The doing away with kings, queens,

financial and otherwise, ladies, gentlemen, crooks, thieves, business marauders, masters, bosses, bums, hoboes, slaves, tramps, policemen and thugs, sky-pilots, frauds and intellectual prostitutes, beggars and politicians. Lawyers too, most of the doctors, very many dentists, astrologers, palm-readers, fakirs, schemers and advertising, charity, poverty and crime in general, including the red-light district. Everyone could afford to get married properly. Isn't that worth fighting for?

Who are you that would say no? None but a coward and an ignoramus.

The reader may think that is exaggeration, but it is not. Of sourse, it wouldn't happen with one fell swoop. That should be understood, since we have been several thousand years developing to our present standard, which is very bum to say the least, particularly if you are a wage-slave.

But people think in accordance with the way they get their living. We are the reflex of our conditions and environment. Then naturally it follows that since we are slaves we can think only as slaves. That is, we must sell ourselves to our master, and he pays us wages for our services. Now if we get small wages, we are not thinking of buying air-ships, or automobiles or going to grand opera, but rather guessing as to whether we can afford one or two good meals during the week, and take in a moving picture show or two. Our whole life is filled with fear, because we don't know how long the job will last, since it doesn't belong to us.

You see, labor creates all wealth. And for the energy expended in producing it, we get wages. How are wages determined? Well, by the cost of production. What is meant by that? How much does it cost to keep you? On an average the slaves throughout the country get about $1.35 a day. Now, some of us must marry so as to bring children into the world. That requires a little energy and a great nerve now-a-days, when conditions are so bad. But you see if we had no children, then capitalism would die. So we get enough wages to reproduce our kind, so, you see, when we get hurt, or disabled, or die, the masters have new slaves to take our places. And we furnish them.

And what do we get when we work? Wages. What are wages? Well, just a portion. What portion? Just enough to keep us alive over night so that we may renew our energy, so that we are strong enough to Jack-ass the next day. What does the master get? The surplus. What does he do? Oh, nothing. What has he got? About everything. Well, what does the worker do? Everything but think. What has he got? Nothing. Oh, but ain't we the chumps?

Workingmen don't wake up. Taft and his kind might have to go to work. And that would be awful. No wonder he is afraid of Socialism. How would you like to see him dreaming that he was working? Do you think he would pull through?

> It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.
>
> According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness.
>
> Communist Manifesto.

Industrial Unionism

A Letter to

TOM MANN

YOUR communication of the 19th ult. has been received and has been noted with special interest and appreciation. Of course I know you and have known you for a number of years by your excellent work. I followed you to Australia and read a number of your articles from there but did not know until your letter came that you had returned to England.

Let me thank you most warmly for your kind words in reference to myself personally and to say in answer that I have the same high regard, the same strong attachment for you as a fellow-worker and revolutionist.

Touching the matter of industrial unionism to which you refer, we have had, as you are aware, some peculiar and distressing experiences on this side. But we are not in the least discouraged, nor any less ardent in our advovacy of the principles of industrial unionism, while we have profited somewhat, I trust, by that experience.

By even mail I am sending you a few booklets in which you will find my views upon the essentials set forth pretty fully, if not as clearly as I would wish to present them. In answer to your direct inquiry I have to say that I too am opposed, like yourself, to undertaking to destroy the old unions. Such a policy can be fruitful only of mischief to industrial unionism, as we have reason to know on this side. It is true that the old unions are for the most part thoroughly outgrown, reactionary, and utterly hostile to revolutionary agitation and activity, and that their leaders are of the same character, if they are not corrupt besides, and yet to attempt to destroy them is to make them more impregnable as strongholds of capitalism, strengthen their leaders in the estimation of the rank and file, and give them a new lease of prestige and power.

I do believe that an industrial union should be organized and it should carry forward a most vigorous and comprehensive propaganda. There are millions of unorganized to whom it can make its appeal, as well as to those who are organized and lean toward industrial unionism. It should be distinctly understood that to smash the existing unions and establish industrial unions by force is not its mission, but that on the contrary, it has come as the most intelligent and effective expression of labor unionism, that its purpose is to build and not to destroy, to help and not to hinder, thus inspiring the confidence of the workers, whether organized or unorganized, and recruiting its ranks from the most intelligent and experienced in every department of industrial activity.

The taunts and sneers of the "pure and simple" leaders who have nothing to lose but their jobs, and whose leadership depends upon their keeping the workers segregated in craft unions, may well be ignored, instead of allowing ourselves to be goaded into attacking them, thereby giving warrant to these leaders in charging us, which they are only too eager to do, with seeking to destroy their unions. The effect of this is invariably to fortify these unions more strongly in their reactionary attitude, and their so-called leaders in their corrupt and degrading domination.

It is far wiser, as our experience has demonstrated, to devote our time, means and energy to advocating the principles of industrial unionism, building up our organ-

ization and vitalizing our propaganda by an appeal to the intelligence and integrity of the workers, bearing with them patiently and perseveringly, while at the same time aiding and encouraging them in all their struggles for better conditions, than to waste time in denouncing, or seeking to destroy, these ractionary old unions and their leaders.

Industrial unionism, as organized and applied, to find favor with the workers, must give proof of its sympathy with them in all their struggles, rejoice with them when they win, and when they lose cheer them up and point the way to victory.

It matters not what union it is that happens to be engaged in a fight with the master class, or what its attitude may be toward industrial unionism, the invariable policy of the industrial union should be to back up the contestants and help them win their struggle by all the means at its command. This policy will do more, infinitely more to inspire the faith of the workers in industrial unionism and draw them to its standard than any possible amount of denunciation or attempted destruction of the old unions.

Nor do I believe in organizing dual unions in any case where the old union substantially holds the field. Where an old union is disintegrating it is of course different. Here there is need of organization, or rather reorganization, and hence a legitimate field for industrial unionism.

Industrial evolution has made industrial unionism possible and revolutionary education and agitation must now make it inevitable. To this end we should bore from within and without, the industrial unionists within the old unions working together in perfect harmony with the industrial unionists upon the outside engaged in laying the foundation and erecting the superstructure of the new revolutionary economic organization, the embryonic industrial democracy.

The difficulties we have encountered on this side since organizing the Industrial Workers have largely been overcome and I believe the time is near at hand when all industrial unionists will work together to build up the needed organization and when industrial unionism will receive such impetus as will force it to the front irresistibly in response to the crying need of the enslaved and despoiled workers in their struggle for emancipation.

The economic organization of the working class is as essential to the revolutionary movement as the sun is to light and the workers are coming more and more to realize it, and the triumph of industrial unionism over craft unionism is but a question of time, and this can be materially shortened if we but deal wisely and sanely with the situation.

Believe me in the bonds of industrial unionism and socialism

Your comrade and fellow-worker,

Eugene V. Debs.

Beer Brewing and the Brewery Workers of the United States.

By

Herman Schulter

From History of the Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers Organization.



N December, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in the harbor of Plymouth. When a small party went on shore to reconnoitre and found no water to quench their thirst, one of them laughingly remarked that it was a pity they had not brought along some beer from the supply on board the Mayflower. The Christmas festival was celebrated on board the Mayflower. it is reported, with a good drink of beer, a proof that the Puritans of that time, unlike their successors, knew how to combine their religious observances and convictions with the use of alcoholic beverages.

In the first year of the settlement the colonists planted the grain necessary for brewing beer, but with poor results, for the soil of Massachusetts was not well suited for the raising of barley. They therefore imported the materials for brewing, and also some beer itself, from England. A poem of that time informs us that the Pilgrim Fathers had such a tremendous thirst after alcoholic drinks that for want of beer they made intoxicating beverages out of pumpkins, parsnips, and shavings of walnut wood.

John Jenny was the first professional brewer who came to Plymouth, in 1623, but it is not known whether he pursued his trade in the colonies. In the beginning, brewing in America was naturally a domestic occupation; the colonists brewed beer, just as they baked bread, for the use of their own families . . .

The first Dutch settlers of Manhattan were familiar with the preparation of beer, for in Holland the art of brewing was widespread. There is no doubt, therefore, that the first inhabitants of Manhattan brewed their own beer, but shortly after the settlement brewing became an independent industry.

As early as 1612 Adrian Block and Hans Christiansen erected at the south end of Manhattan Island a row of buildings, of which one soon became a beer-brewery. This was the first brewery in America, and the building is of further interest because the first white child in New York was born under its roof.

Beer brewing was introduced in Pennsylvania by William Penn himself, who preferred malt beverages to "fire water" and who erected a brewery near his residence in Pennsbury in 1683. It was he who made the "Quaker Beer" famous. Before the end of the century the first brewery was established in Philadelphia, the owner being one William Framton, whom William Penn describes as "a very able man who had erected a large brew-house in order to provide good drink for the people up-river, and down-river."

In the southern provinces the climate was unfavorable to beer-brewing. Barley did not grow well, or became too hard for malting on account of the heat.

General Oglethorpe tried to establish a brewery in Georgia in 1740 in order to provide beer for his soldiers; to promote this enterprise he forbade the sale of rum and other spirituous liquors. . . . . .

It is reported that when Oglethorpe

made an expedition with his soldiers down the river he used a peculiar method to keep his men together. The soldiers were embarked in a number of small boats, and on one of these the General placed the entire supply of beer. The men in the other boats had to row pretty vigorously in order to keep near the one carrying the beer. If they did not reach it in time they had to quench their thirst with river water.

The progress of the industry was slow, but nevertheless there was progress. In 1810, we find in the U. S. 129 breweries, distributed through ten states. The farthest west of these was Ohio.

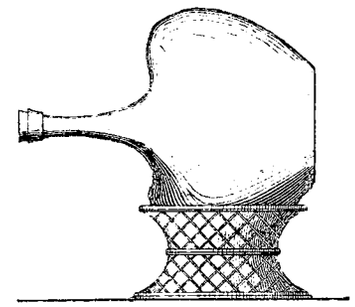
. . . .the white population pressed westward, and fertile farms and small villages blossomed in places heretofore trodden only by the red man. The political movements of the thirties drove a mass of people across the sea, especially of South Germans, and these helped to settle the northwestern part of the United States. This element remained true to its old habits of life, and as a result of this immigration, which in 1848 became a veritable stream, we find breweries started up all over the West. . . . .

. . .Further west we find in the forties the foundation for the great brewing establishments which existed there later. In Chicago there was a small brewery in 1833, which was owned by William Lill. The brewing industry of Milwaukee started in 1840 when Hermann Reidelshoer erected the first brewery. At the same time the foundation of the beer-brewing industry was laid in St. Louis.

Lager Beer.

Lager beer requires slower fermentation, because it has to be brewed stronger in order to keep better. It also requires a lower temperature for its production than porter and ale. At a time, therefore, when artificial ice and cooling machines were not known and cooling places had to be provided by making cellars in the rock, the preparation of lager beer was more expensive than the other kind.

In addition to this, yeast which is necessary for the fermentation of lager beer, was not known in America; and as ships took such a long time in crossing the ocean, it was not practicable to im-



Ye old time Green Beer Jug.

port yeast, as it was thought that it would not keep so long.

The great value which was placed on this lager-beer yeast can be judged from the fact that a brother-in-law of John Wagner (who brewed the first lager beer in America) is said to have stolen a pint of it. He was prosecuted for it and was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In the first decade after its introduction the brewing of lager beer made but slow progress in America. After this, however, with the general development of the industry, the production and consumption of the new beverage grew.

At first the production of lager beer was limited to the winter season, because a particular temperature was necessary for manufacturing and storing it, and it was difficult to obtain this temperature without artificial means. Artificial ice and artificial or mechanical cooling apparatus did not exist. But now, as always happens when a certain need calls for a new invention, the increased demand for lager beer led to the invention of all kinds of cooling machines. The production of artificial ice, and in connection with it, the building of complicated machines for manufacturing ice and producing a low temperature was greatly stimulated by the demand for lager beer. The ice industry really owes its existence to the lager-beer breweries. But the invention of cooling machines and the manufacture of artificial ice again had their effects upon the spread of the lager-beer breweries.

Only the development of the ice and cooling-machine industry enabled the lager beer brewer to do away with the limits which nature had until now drawn. He did not have to brew his lager beer only at certain times of the year, but at

any time when it suited him best. Human knowledge and technique had won a victory over Nature.

Steam.

Naturally by this time the real hand work had almost completely disappeared. The beer-brewing industry was among the first in America in which steam played an important part.

The concentration of the industry also progressed. The average capacity of the breweries of the U. S. from 1850 to 1860 increased only from $13,291 to $16,792. In New York, in 1860 the average product per brewery, was $36,000.

The system of great industry now began to conquer the brewing industry.

What a difference between the mash vats and the brewing kettles of the first American breweries and the magnificent equipment of the breweries of the present day ,with their huge kettles, their giant machines and their system of steam and water pipes which wind for miles through the whole establishment.

In a few decades the industrial development turned the log-houses and the insignificant equipment in which American brewing at first had its home, into gigantic establishments with masses of buildings, factory works, stables, and warehouses constituting a veritable city within a city . . . . . .all this forms a picture which gives us an insight into a modern industry in which the hand-labor of man plays no important part in comparison with the powers of nature which man has taken into his service and which faithfully perform the work for which the strength of thousands of men would not be sufficient. The levers and wheels and iron fingers of the machine have replaced human hands and perform with equal or even greater skill the work which was formerly done by hand. And they made it possible for a greater change to take place in society within a century than that which took place in a thousand years in earlier historical periods.

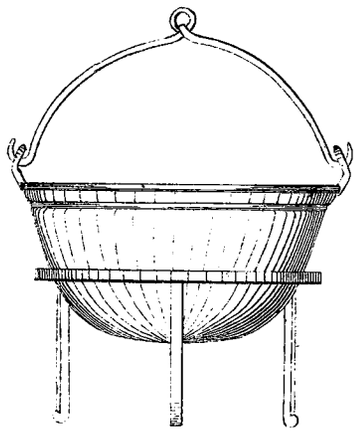
In 1908 the average consumption of beer per capita in the U .S. was a little over twenty gallons.

The brewing industry in the U. S. is largely concentrated in the great cities in which the population is largely of a Northern European origin. The city of New York, with a yearly production of 10,000,000 bbls. stands at the head. Then follow Chicago, with 4,500,000 and Milwaukee, with 4,000,000. St. Louis, Philadelphia and Newark and the vicinity follow in order, with an average yearly production of about 3,000,000.

In St. Louis, New York and Milwaukee we find single breweries which have a yearly production of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 barrels and which are among the largest beer establishments in the world.

At last the brewery workmen knocked loudly at the doors of the employers and announced that they wanted their share of the immense wealth they had produced for the employing brewers. They demanded the benefits which the working men of other trades had obtained through their struggles. They demanded human treatment, an adequate wage, and tolerable working hours. They demanded the abolition of the condition of virtual slavery under which the workingmen of the breweries especially had existed, notwithstanding the wealth which the brewery owners had accumulated.

Before the eighties we find in the recorded proceedings of the conventions of the brewing capitalists hardly any mention of their employees. But from this time on, the workingmen made themselves felt and in almost every one of the later conventions of the employers. the question of opposing the demands of their workingmen occupied the bulk of the proceedings.



Primitive Pitch Kettle.

The Brewery Workers' Movement.

The condition of the Brewery Workmen in America before their organization was as bad as can be imagined. It was not only that the wages paid were the smallest possible and that the working time was confined only by the natural limits of humane endurance, but besides this the treatment of the workmen was of such a kind that it seems impossible today to understand how they could submit to it. Cuffs and blows were every day occurrences. When the brewery owner developed into a great capitalist, he transferred to his foremen the privilege of beating the men which he had formerly exercised in person, and the foremen continued to use it until the brewery workmen through their organization freed themselves from this remnant of the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

In the middle of the forties of the nineteenth century the brewery workers received wages from $4 to $6 a week. This was for the week-workers; but most of the brewery laborers were employed by the month. They received at that time from $4 to $12 a month, together with board and lodging and washing.

In the sixties the wages of brewery workmen amounted to from $20 to $25 a month.....From the wages of $40 to $55 a month which the brewery workmen in New York were receiving shortly before 1880 (elsewhere it was only $35 or $40), the brewer boss deducted $5 a week for board and the remaining $20 or $25 was turned over to the workman.

The workmen were generally required to live wherever the boss required. Frequently they had to sleep together in one large room, but very often they were so exhausted with their heavy work that they simply threw themselves down on the hop-sacks in the brewery to sleep a few hours till work began again.

The inhumanly long hours of labor and the consequent exhaustion of the men led to an excessive use of beer, which was always at their disposal, but which was frequently taken into consideration in fixing the wages. The fatigue and exhaustion resulting from their hard and long continued work compelled the men to drink in order to keep themselves going. They (the employers) promoted drunkeness among their men and sought to degrade them in order that they might exploit them and use them up the more freely.

The brewing industry is one of those in which the capital used for the purchase of labor-power plays but a comparatively small part. In comparison with the total capital in use in the brewing industry only a few workingmen are employed. These men, owing to their hard labor and the inhuman conditions under which they worked, did not have much opportunity for organization. About 1870 there were on the average only six workmen for each brewery in the U. S., and by 1880 this number had grown only to twelve.

In August, 1866, a general convention of workingmen was held in Baltimore. As a result of this convention the shortening of the working day to eight hours became the principal demand of the entire proletariat of America. The courts soon put an end to this Eight-hour Law.

When, in 1877, the American working class again began to grow uneasy, and when the great strike of the railroad workers led to general struggles and disturbances, the brewery owners, probably recalling to mind the strike of their own slaves in the year 1872, decided to give a few crumbs from their wealth to the men who produced all their riches. The wages of the brewery workmen were increased from $40 to $50 and $52 a month. In this way the strike of 1872, though lost, yet did lead, after half a decade, to an improvement in the condition of those who were at first defeated.

In the labor movement even the lost battles bring progress for the fighters.

The first brewery workmen's union was born in Cincinnati on December 26, 1879.

Under the pressure of the constantly growing labor movement and the fighting courage of the workingmen, the other brewery owners were compelled to recognize the union and to deal with its workingmen. In the winter of 1885—86 all the breweries of New York and the vicinity were again organized. Brewers, beer drivers, and maltsters' unions were formed. The men negotiated with their opponents as power against power and brought it to the

point that the organization of brewery owners, the Brewers' Ass'n, closed a contract with the labor union, good for one year, on April 16, 1886.

According to this contract, the brewery workers of New York and vicinity were promised an increase of wages to the amount of 50 per cent and a shortening of the working hours averaging three hours a day. Under this agreement the wage of the workers amounted to from $15 to $18 per week, the daily working hours were reduced to ten, and Sunday labor was entirely eliminated. The extend of this success can be fully realized when one considers that before the making of this contract the wage of the brewers was from $40 to $50 per month, with 12 to 18 hours work per day, and Sunday labor of from two to five hours, not to mention further objectionable conditions in the breweries which were greatly modified by this contract.

It can be seen that this was an extraordinary victory which the brewery workers had gained through the solidarity of the working class and through the valiant assistance of the labor press. The workingmen of the brewery trades had suddenly emerged from conditions which were almost intolerable and now their conditions were at least nearly as good as those of their fellow-workers in other trades. From being serfs, they had become men.

Industrial Organization.

In the very beginnings of the union it had become evident that, in view of the special character of the industry, the only practicable and effective organization of brewery workers would be one which embraced all the workingmen in the industry— that is, an industrial organization, not merely a trade organization, which would divide the workingmen of the industry into various unions. The Nationl Secretary in 1887 said: "The chief factor is in the uniting of all trades employed in the brewing industry. Experience in our struggles has taught us what solidarity means. If the drivers, the coopers, the engineers, the firemen, the malsters, had helped us, our victory would have bcen assured within twenty-four hours— that is what is being said everywhere and it is correct. Not only are the brewers dependent upon these branches; no, each one is dependent upon the others. **Solidarity, man for man from roof to cellar,** all for each and each for all—this **alone can secure our future."**

At the St. Louis Convention of the brewery workers in 1899 the National Secretary, in his report recommended that a general vote be taken among the engineers, the firemen, and the teamsters in the National Union of United Brewery Workmen on the question whether they desired to remain in that organization or to join the unions of their respective trades. The Convention rejected the proposition. In support of this refusal it was pointed out that to split up the United Brewery Workmen into different trade organizations would give the brewerry owners the longed-for opportunity to play off one portion of the workingmen against another.

It was manifest that it was of great advantage to the brewery owners to split up the brewery workers into different trade organizations, and we may, therefore, assume the truth of the report made to the brewers' convention at Philadelphia in 1901 that there existed proofs that certain officials of local unions of engineers and firemen had joined with brewery workers in order to injure the United Brewery Workmen.

Antagonism Between the A. F. of L. and the Brewers.

The jurisdiction disputes between the United Brewery Workmen and the trade organizations of teamsters, coopers, engineers and firemen were naturally brought before the annual meetings of the A. F, of L. In the decisions of this body the general interest of the labor movement ought to have been decisive consideration, but instead of that, favoritism and personal matters were often taken into account and as a rule a stand was taken against the brewery workers' organization.

Later on, the Excutive of the Federation requested the United Brewery Workmen to withdraw all the charters

which it had issued to firemens' and engineers' unions, etc. etc. The Federation took a stand against them (the brewery workers) and declared that the engineers' and firemens' unions which belonged to the United Brewery Workmen must give up their charters and join their trade unions conditionally upon the consent of the brewery workers' convention.

The United Brewery Workmen refused to give up their jurisdiction over brewery firemen and engineers. Toward the end of the year, 1906, the convention of the A. F. of L. assembled at Minneapolis. A resolution was passed at this convention providing that the United Brewery Workmen must submit within 90 days to the decision of the A. F. of L. in regard to jurisdiction over firemen, engineers and drivers employed in breweries, under penalty of having its charter withdrawn by the Federation. On June 1, 1907, the Executive of the A. F. of L. declared the charter of the United Brewery Workmen revoked.

The action of the (A. F. of L.) Executive met everywhere with adverse criticism. Renewed negotiations resulted in the restoration to the United Brewery Workmen of their old charter in the A. F. of L. and in the declaration that they were to have jurisdiction over all workingmen employed in the brewing industry.

In New Orleans the struggle lasted more than a year. In that city there existed a union of beer drivers belonging to the United Brewery Workmen. The officers of the Teamsters' Union were not deterred by this fact from organizing a new local union, which then offered its men to the brewery owners at **lower wages.** Officials in the A. F. of L. played anything but a good role in these disputes.

The industrial organizations of brewery workmen, mine workers, etc., find their interest in having all the workingmen in their industries, including teamsters, engineers, etc. in their organization.

For the workingmen in the brewing industry, the species of industrial organization which unites all the workingmen employed in that industry is the only possible form of organization. It is, therefore, a question of life and death for these workingmen to maintain it, and they cannot under any circumstances allow it to be taken from them.

In closing chapter X comrade Schluter says:

"The future of the brewery workers' organization depends upon the further extension of the industrial form of organization and its connection with the most progressive part of the labor movement. The attempt has already been made to get into closer connection with the food trades, for the present without result. These attempts ought to be repeated. The political organization of the working class, the socialist movement, must be supported and promoted by the brewery workers with all their might in the interest of their own organization and in the interest of the final goal of the entire labor movement, the annihilation of wage slavery, the ending of class rule. The brewery worker must raise himself to the recognition of the fact that his struggle is only a part of that general struggle which is waged by the working class of all countries and which has as its aim the complete emancipation of labor. He must realize that this general struggle is his struggle also, that it must end in victory if the proletarians are not forever to remain proletarians.

Struggle for the formation of a human society in which there will be no wage work and no exploitation, no ruler and no ruled, no capitalists and no wage workers! The industrial struggle is but a part of the great general struggle of the working class for a better future— a future which will be of benefit not only to workingmen, but to all humanity.

This struggle can and will be fought out by the working class alone!"

We have quoted at length from the new book by Hermann Schluter, "The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America", published by the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America, at Cincinnati, Ohio. Comrade Schluter presents so many interesting data upon economic development in the United States that it has been hard to limit our

quotations at all. The struggles and victories and defeats of the United Brewery Workers make one of the most inspiring pictures in the pages of the industrial history of America. No obstacle has been large enough to daunt them. They have fought steadily until at last they have gained their points. Such men make glorious comrades in the our great class conscious struggle for the abolition of wage slavery. We hope our readers will not forget this book. Experience is the best teacher and the Brewery Workers have had much of it. You will find many difficult things made plain in Comrade Schluter's book. In ordering copies, address International Union of the United Brewery Workmen, Cor. Vine & Calhoun Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. Price, Leather, $1.50.

Organized Effort

By

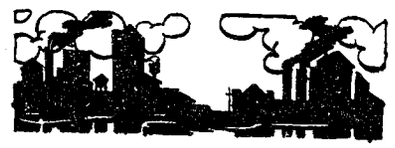
H. A. Hedden



WANT to say just a word to the unorganized voters of the socialist party. What converted you to socialism? Perhaps it was some socialist paper or magazine—all socialist papers and magazines are kept up by organized effort. Perhaps it was a socialist speaker—all socialist speakers are kept on the road, only by an organized effort. Perhaps it was some fellow workman—you will without doubt find that he belongs to the socialist organization. Now comrade, you are a socialist, at least you say you are, and I have no reason to doubt your word: what is the reason that you haven't joined the organization? Come let us reason together, can you think of anything of importance, that was ever accomplished except by an organized effort?

Comrade, socialism isn't a dream, it is something real, something we may have, and enjoy, as soon as we, the workers, are agreed that we want it. That is, we may have it as soon as a majority demand it at the same time. How then can that time be set? How can we know when we are all ready? There can be only one answer to that question; only when we are thoroughly organized. Then we will make the demand, backed by the united will of the workers. The workers are too powerfull for any government to withstand—when organized. Unorganized they have only the power of a mob. A mob might tear down a government, but they never can build anything up. Socialism can never be brought about except by thoroughly organized effort. Are you willing to help? Answer it now, comrade, we need you in the movement.

For every worker in the movement we have at least ten votes. How proud you will be when we have the co-operative commonwealth, to be able to say, I helped. Now comrade think this over very carefully. You may vote the ticket for a million years, but the only way you can have socialism, is to organize and get busy.





A Camp in the Irwin Field.

The Irwin Coal Strike

By

Thomas F. Kennedy



THE fourth startling shock sustained by complacent, self - satisfied American Plutocracy within ten months is the strike of 20,000 or more miners in the Irwin coal fields in Westmoreland county, Pa.

It is a shock not because of its magnitude or duration, but because of the feeling of absolute security enjoyed for years by the operators. They convinced themselves that their kingdom was strike-proof. They had established a perfect quarantine against labor agitators from the outside. Numerous failures of small strikes extending over a long period of years clinched their convictions that they had established ideal labor conditions. They felt as secure as the ancient slave masters, the Feudal barons or Schwab when he drank that toast to "The best, most contented and CHEAPEST labor in the world," meaning of course the workers in his private Siberia at Bethlehem.

The first of the four tooth-loosening shocks was the unorganized, spontaneous revolt of the workers at McKees Rocks in June 1909. The second was at Bethlehem, and the third the general strike at Philadelphia.

The fourth, the strike in the Irwin field, presents some features that were absent in all of the others.

First there was a feeling of distrust between workers in different sections of the field. This began when the Greensburg men refused to join the Latrobe men in a strike some ten years ago. This feeling of distrust has grown with every failure of local strikes.

Although the organizers of the United Mine Workers had been working all through the field the first mine to be closed was at Greensburg. When the Greensburg men and the organizers visited other mines they were met with the cry: "You fellows would not join us when we wanted to strike, now you can go to H—". In spite of these first repulses those that first came out remained out;

continued the agitation and within a month had the field pretty well tied up. At this writing (July 15) the field is practically idle.

Another feature that distinguishes the Irwin strike from the other three epoch marking strikes of the last year is the wide area covered by the mines involved.

At McKees Rocks all worked for one company in one enclosure and entered through the same gate. Six hundred determined men quit one day and next morning planted themselves at the entrance gate, and as thousands of the workers were eager to join them anyhow the strike was on and within 48 hours the works were idle. At Bethlehem the situation was similar and the same tactics were practiced but not with the same success. The car men at Philadelphia were organized. They had the backing of what labor organizations there were and the sympathy of the whole working class and some of the middle class. And almost all of them lived in a city having an area of only about 100 square miles.

Westmoreland Co. has an area of 1060 square miles, and the strike affects nearly half of it. The whole anthracite field has an area of less than 500 miles so that the Irwin strike extends over a larger area than the anthracite region. From Export on the North to Herminie on the South, is twenty miles as the crow flies, but 25 by rail. Bradenville on main line of P. R. R., 43 miles east of Pittsburg, is the eastern limit of the strike belt. From Export to Bradenville is 35 miles, and from Herminie to Bradenville 25 miles.

Twenty-seven years ago this summer the miners along the Pan Handle R. R. west of Pittsburg went out on strike. The railroad mines all came out, but the mines at Castle Shannon and Allentown, which supplied the Pittsburg domestic market and some of the mills remained at work.

With an American flag, a fife, a tenor and a bass drum they marched boldly from Mansfield (now Carnegie) to Castle Shannon through Allentown. The contingent from my old home (Fort Pitt) returned in a few days footsore and bedraggled but rejoicing at the success of their expedition. Some of the men that took part in that demonstration will surely see this. Jim Croughan who played the bass drum still lives near Carnegie, and the fife player John Riley lives at Oakdale. The coal companies began to import "black legs," as scabs were then called, and on a rocky bluff near my old home, commanding a good view of the two mines at Fort Pitt, tents were erected and a camp maintained until the strike was settled.

In the early days of the present strike in the Irwin field the miners adopted the same tactics practiced with such good results by their fellow craftsmen on the Pan Handle over a quarter of a century ago. They gathered in large bodies and marched past the mines that were working and past the homes of the miners that refused to join them in the battle. They offered no violence to person or property. But messages written in letters of blood could not have had such magic power to move those that remained at work as did these silent bodies of marchers. The purpose of the marchers was not to slug, not to intimidate, not to antagonize their fellow craftsmen, but to win them to the support of the strike.

While they were not immediately successful in every instance, the operators viewed these peaceful demonstrations with dread and alarm. They rushed to the court, demanded and secured immediately a temporary injunction forbidding the marching on the public highways of Westmoreland county. After listening to testimony from both sides, and after the operators had been compelled to admit that all the disorder had been caused by the thugs who were acting as deputies, the judge made it permanent.

The contest in the county court over the granting of the permanent injunction together with several brutal murders committed by agents of the operators and the thugs employed as deputies gave the strike wide publicity. The injunction trial and the murders created more sentiment in favor of the strike amongst all classes than could weeks of preaching and marching.

The injunction was so sweeping, all inclusive and all embracing that when one of their number died the "injuncted"



Evicted Under the Stars and Stripes.—Jamison No. 1.

miners who wished to walk on the public highways to attend his funeral to avoid being thrown into prison for contempt of court, had to get a special dispensation.

The dead man, John Cambell, had been a member of the celebrated 10th Pennsylvania regiment and had distinguished himself in the Philippine war, and very properly an American flag was carried at the head of the funeral cortege. When passing Jamison No. 2, Tom Jamison, one of the Jamison Company, backed by armed deputies, **ordered the American flag lowered.** When the mourners were returning from the funeral, they were not allowed to follow the most direct route but were compelled by the deputies to take a roundabout road.

Having secured the injunction, the operators commenced evicting workers from the shacks in the company camps. The United Mine Workers who have been providing food for those that needed it from the inception of the strike promptly leased land from farmers and supplied the evicted miners with tents. The camps at each mine are the best kind of an advertisement that there is a strike. Strike-breakers secured by employment agents through misrepresentation on seeing the camps are bound to have their curiosity aroused and thus become informed of the strike. Strike-breakers wishing to desert are welcomed at the camps and given food and shelter until they get their bearings and determine what to do. In every case they tell of brazen, bare faced lying by the employment agents, and of being held at the works by force when they found out how they had been deceived. The sheriff of the county promised to investigate numerous cases where men have sworn to being held by force at the mines after they wished to leave. No one has yet been arrested upon these sworn charges of peonage, and it is a safe guess that no operator will ever go to prison for this offense.

Pay for "dead work," 8 hours, checkweighman and recognition of the union are the principal demands. And even though they do not force a single one of these concessions from the operators, a great victory has been gained.

The immediate gains at McKees Rocks were trivial, but the lesson it taught, the inspiration it furnished, the hopes it raised and the impulse it gave, marked it as the beginning of an epoch in the labor movement of America. So it is with the Irwin strike, concession or no concession. To have organized even a partial strike in the Irwin field would have been a notable achievement. To stop production as it is now stopped is a signal victory. It will convince the workers that the masters are not invincible. It will nourish their hopes and strengthen their resolution.

It will show the masters that their position is not impregnable. In future, though the apparent victory may rest with them at the end of this struggle, they will be more careful in taking their pound of flesh. The heroic battles fought by miners in surrounding fields has checked somewhat the rapacity of the Irwin operators. So this battle may prevent many a Shylock from giving the screw another turn.

One thing that greatly favored the strikers is the immense amount of Socialist sentiment throughout the district. There are 10 branches of the Socialist Party right in the Irwin field. There are three branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of America right in the thick of it. When the organizers of the United Mine Workers were trying to hold meetings in March, the operators approached every hall owner in Irwin and cautioned them upon peril of giving mortal offense not to rent halls to the miners. The only hall the miners could secure in or around Irwin was the little hall that is the property of this society.

* * *

After one murderous shooting up of a town by the deputies, the proof that it was entirely their fault was so overwhelming that the sheriff was obliged to arrest 40 of his own deputies and lodge them in jail.

* * *

At a Socialist meeting at Jamison No. 1 on the evening of July 8 three well-known scabs walked up and took seats on the grass in the middle of the crowd. Several armed deputies were also present, and we heard later that a large body of these cut-throats were concealed near-by. The purpose of course was to irritate the strikers so they would attack the scabs and use this as an excuse for wholesale murder. They were disappointed because the scabs were not molested, except for the scourging usually given scabs and deputies by the speakers.

* * *

Not a single beer keg, beer case, beer bottle or whiskey bottle around any camp that I have visited. Not a sign of intoxication. This is one of the gratifying features of the strike.

* * *

Numerous dynamite explosions have occurred throughout the district during the strike. No one was injured and no damage to property resulted. If experienced miners accustomed to using explosives had been guilty of such folly there would be somebody or something destroyed. I have not the slightest doubt about declaring that this is the work of the operators or their agents, or of deputies who want their $5.00 day jobs to last and who perhaps are doing it without the knowledge of the sheriff or his employers, the operators.

One of the noteworthy features of the strike is the sympathy displayed by the farmers. And it is no mere lip sympathy either, but takes the good substantial form of defying the coal corporations and permitting the strikers to erect tents on their farms right under the noses of the scabs.

At Blackburn the company houses front on the public road. A farmer who owned the land on the other side of the road allowed the strikers to erect tents for those that had been evicted. So the tents of the strikers lined the road directly opposite the company houses occupied by the scabs. The superintendent approached the owner of the land and told him the tents were entirely too near the houses and that he should compel the strikers to move them back. The farmer replied promptly, "I thought of that too and was going to ask you to move the houses." The tents were not and will not be moved.

Between 18,000 and 19,000 have quit working. Fully 10,000 of these have left and gone to other fields, some never to return. As soon as the Irwin men showed

any disposition to fight, the organization of District 2 donated $2,000 and District 5, (Pittsburg) $8,000. For the last two months the National organization has been financing the strike. They were to have put in $20,000 a week, but they are hampered for cash by the strikes in Illinois and Kansas and have not been able to put in the full amount every week. A special assessment has been levied and the men who are out will be cared for so that no man can plead hunger as an excuse for returning to work.

Scabs came from all over the United States, but according to their own stories the great bulk of them are unskilled laborers hired in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. One large vestibuled car was brought from New York loaded and taken down the New Alexander branch the most isolated part of the region. They were told that they were to work in a new mine and that they could make $6.00 a day with free board, and free beer and whiskey.

About forty of this load deserted in a few days and walked all the way to Irwin, eighteen miles. There were a few French and a number of Germans in this load. Some of them were Socialists and wore the party emblem . They declared that when they discovered how badly they had been deceived and what they were doing, they were ashamed to stop and talk to the strikers.

At a good many mines they have as many deputies as they have men working. The companies pay the deputies $3.50 a day and expenses. The scabs get free board and free beer and whiskey. So that the coal being mined now in the Irwin field is real black diamonds.

How it Started.

A miner from Greensburg came to the Miners' headquarters in Pittsburg urging some organizers to come out, that he had a meeting arranged. As a forlorn hope the organizers went. and were agreeably surprised to find a big turn out and before they left they had organized a local.

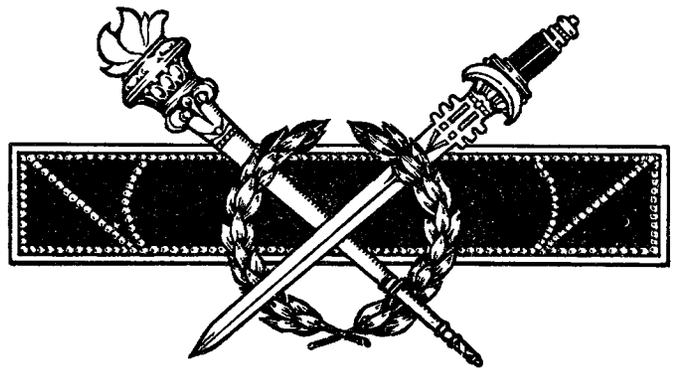
The very next day about 100 men were discharged, 20 or so from each mine. The men had no notion of striking at that time, but immediately sent committees to demand the reinstatement of the discharged men. The operators refused to even see the committees. The men at Greensburg struck. and the strike spread to its present proportions.

The strike is being managed almost entirely by local men though the speakers and organizers are nearly all from outside districts. Many of the strikes of the Mine Workers have been hampered by bickerings and petty jealousies amongst the leaders. Some one wanted to shine and corral all of the glory. If there is any of this spirit present during this strike it is not apparent even to one who has a good opportunity to observe.

West Virginia Next.

When the operators of other districts were approached by their workers for concessions they always said, "Get after Irwin with whom we must compete." They never dreamt that the miners would or could get after Irwin as they are now after it.

West Virginia is the other bugaboo that the operators always spring when the miners demand concessions. Now when Irwin can be stirred to strike, why can't West Virginia? Nothing is impossible after the Irwin experience.



The Impulse Toward Revolution

By

C. W. Garrett



ROM somewhere comes the anti-socialist contention, "that the low caste person can never be raised above his caste. That he is congenitally unteachable. That if temporarily elevated for a time, he will slip back to his earlier environments. That he is least entitled to life, yet he is necessary. In order that his higher caste prototype may disport himself in luxury and flaunt his high caste virtues in the faces of "inferiors"—this low caste human is necessary to bear the burdens of toil as recompense for the right to exist. To this person the high caste individuals owe no special consideration. To be sure their maintenance and comfort, their very physical existence, depends on his labor; but this is "what nature intended him for!"

How do they assume that nature intended anything of the sort? Who first launched such an idea, and for what reason was it kept afloat to be grafted into the learning of our kind? There is an economic reason behind this and some king, some belted knight, some parvenu knew the reason. Such philosophy did not emanate from the ranks of the proletariat.

We have proofs that nature provides the impulse within living organisms to reach for higher perfection in life. When the young mate do they not instinctively become attracted to health and beauty? The reason is obvious. Today we are in fetters and this rule of nature is artificially circumscribed. We simply have the result of centuries of economic oppression—hereditary economic condition—resulting in a final array of extreme castes in the human races with the intermediate gradations, where instead should be mere types and temperaments. The rules of nature have in general been confined within morbid artificial limitations and as a result those of a caste beget their kind, and these in turn beget their kind; the tendency being either upward toward perfection or downward according to environment and opportunity based upon economic condition.

By reason of past and present economic uncertainty, the proletariat of today is composed of the different castes; the lower castes predominating. The bourgeoisie is also composed of the different castes; but can we say the higher castes predominate? Perhaps in appearance, yes. But we must consider here an extreme. You will here find, besides the self-sufficient aristocrat, the parvenu of bloated wealth, and the degenerates of hereditary idleness. In a great measure neither is much better, from a natural standpoint, than the other extreme. If by some chance these should be suddenly reduced to the same economic level as the other extreme, then their true caste would become manifest in succeeding generations of their descendents.

The real high caste element, perhaps the predominating element, of the bourgeoisie are of moderate wealth, more balanced and more refined and cultured. Insure all a plenty in moderation, with work to do and not in extremes, and then, and not until then, can we expect nature to fully assert itself through the human impulses.

Now we come to another impulse, a more primary impulse. The impulse which, if not neutralized, should move the world. The impulse that reaches for a higher economic condition for the oppressed, in order that a race may come

nearer perfection in accord with the objective of nature which provides plenty for all and work for all. The impulse that does not emanate from the class above, but from the class below, who, following a natural course, desire more and better things that they may thereby develop into better creatures. The impulse which is born of the proletariat—**the revolutionary impulse.** Education is not a requisite for this impulse, but education of the proletariat is necessary to enable them to properly and effectively direct an impulse they are bound to use.

I have endeavored to show the true source of revolution and the reasons for it being such. The problem now before us is how to project the revolution and preserve it from neutralization and dilution. To be clear,—how will we meet the tendency that today threatens to neutralize the revolutionary aims and principles of the modern working class—the proletariat? That scientific socialism of the school of Marx along the lines of that classic, the Communist Manifesto?

As I have just pointed out, in part, the education and organization of the proletariat is necessary to enable this class to accomplish the true revolution. "To emancipate themselves." "To abolish the wages system." The belief that this is the only course by which results will ever be obtained, grows stronger each day with many of us, and is being amply borne out by the logic of events.

Whence comes this state of mind among us who are proletarians? We certainly did not invent it. It is just this. This belief among those of the working class, is the result of the great work being accomplished by the Socialist Party and earlier organizations in educating the proletariat along scientific lines. The sowing of the seed of revolutionary and scientific literature among the proletariat is the fertilizing germ that is vitalizing that revolutionary impulse that nature has so unerringly provided us with. And barring anything cataclysmic, that day is not far distant when the proletarian revolutionary body will make itself felt as an organic power, acting for itself and striking the blows that no chains can long withstand. All this I repeat as showing the power of the great educational work carried on by the Socialist Party. But, can an organization of allied economic counter forces adhere to or fulfill a work so well begun. Probably we shall see once political conquest and power begins to come.

The Communist Manifesto has already been put on the shelf. A great American city has just been captured. Some congressional outposts will likely fall next. But is this not pretty quick work for proletarians in America?

The bourgeois educated proletariat of Philadelphia burst forth on a general strike—the first in America.—Yes, the impulse was there alright and operated in the right direction. But did they propose to lay hold of the city—use political power? Well hardly. Was there a well defined revolutionary organization to direct either an industrial or political conquest? No, the proletariat of America has not yet reached that point in the class struggle. An approach to such a condition, with a well directed revolutionary force behind it, we had at Spokane, where the Industrial Workers of the World assisted by members of both the Socialist Party and the Wage Workers Party, achieved some preliminary results. Some revolutionary education made itself felt here.

Spokane, Philadelphia and Milwaukee in the year 1910.—We have here three phases of the movement from which future steps will proceed. But, beware! You who hasten and you who seek alliances. There are shifting sands in that path. Your gratifications will be akin to the past glories of mere politicians, and not a realization of work well done.

Just as sure as strong vinegar can be diluted with enough water to make it insipid, just so sure can the revolutionary proletarian body be diluted with enough interested neighbors from the other side of the street, to neutralize the force of the revolutionary impulse and render it acceptable to the neighbor's neighbor—the capitalist.

Just as sure as socialist farmers whom I know, have expressed their disapproval of "labor unions," just that sure will they be little else than spectators at chain breaking time.

Just as sure as small business suffers

when big capital gets busy with monopoly, just that sure will small business suffer—if there is any left—when the emancipated proletarian and his neighbor begin to take their "full social product."

Are we to succumb to the bourgeois noise and go the way of the unscientific populist, or will we simply smile at those who would descend from above to stand on us and lift?

Give us the knowledge and the force from below will do the work.

Will Roosevelt Save the Country?

"A Step in the Right Direction."

A GREAT deal of to-do is being raised in the States about the recently passed Railroad Regulation Bill, and, unlike most bills over which a fuss is made, it is a measure well worthy of note. Not that it will regulate any railroads, unless they are bad and refuse to play the game. That is merely what it is supposed to do. What it will do is quite another stunt.

The powers that sway the destinies of railroads have, in the past, made enormous "profits" by "watering the stock." From the capitalist view point the legitimate capitalization of a railroad or any other enterprise is the sum of money it costs to build and equip it and pay running expenses. From this standpoint, all the railroads, as well as most of the great industries, are very much "over-capitalized."

Of course, actually, the correct capitalization of an industry is that amount of capital upon which that industry will pay the average rate of profit. But the capitalists, being absolutely ignorant of the economic laws of their own social system, don't know this, and so the railroads are regarded as being very much over-capitalized. Even the great "captains of industry" and "Napoleons of Finance" look at it this way. In fact we have no doubt that they are sure the stock is watered because they watered it, and so, knowing the parentage of this stock, they may be excused for being dubious about its legitimacy.

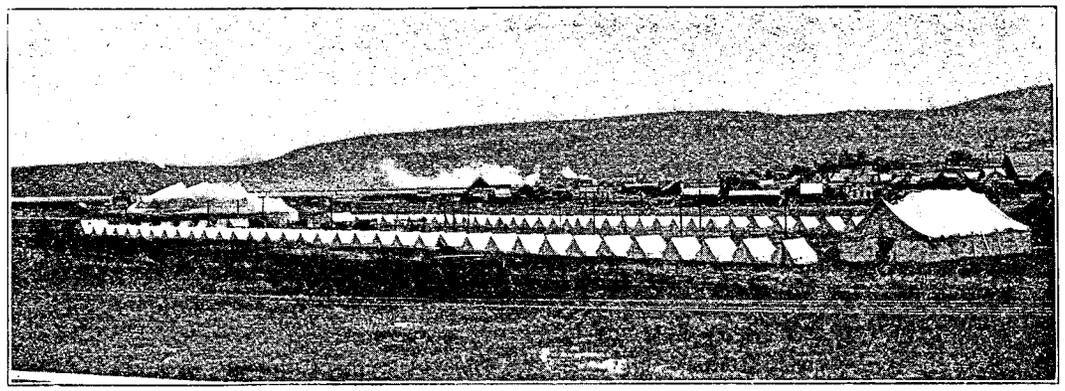
The Railroad Regulation Bill will regulate that. It will remove the shadow of the bar sinister and will legitimize the watered stock in case it should need it.

But why? Well, the great railroad fortunes have been made. All railroads to be "stolen" have been stolen. Their treasuries have been plundered of all they will yield. Bond issues have been frayed to a frazzle. Stocks have been watered till they will not absorb another drop. The systems have been linked up and appropriated by the various groups. There is nothing more in sight except dividends, and dividend drawing is far too slow a method of getting richer quick. Also the Panama Canal is coming. What now?

Only one thing remains. To sell the roads to the Government. And that, we feel confident, is the game the board is being set for. Just imagine the Morgan-Rockefeller-Gould-Belmont-Hill aggregation with railroads to sell and a government to sell them to at their legitimized capitalization. Can one conceive a more dazzling vision of paradise for "malefactors of great wealth"?

So we may expect next to hear of a great popular movement for the government ownership of the railroads. One of these vital national movements that sweep everything before them. And who better qualified to lead such a movement than Teddy the Terror of the Trusts? We shall see.

But the workers, will it benefit them? Not an atom. They will be slaves still and will have to come up with the surplus value as of yore. That their masters will get it as "interest" instead of "dividends" will make not a particle of difference to them. Their wages will be, as formerly, their keep. They will work as long and as hard. If you don't believe us ask the postman.—From the Western Clarion, Vancouver, B.C.



Socialist Camp, Klamath Falls, Oregon. June 1910.

The Oregon-California Encampment

By

KITTIE E. HULSE

THE Socialist Encampment is ended; the tents are folded; of the bivouac fires remain but ashes; quiet reigns on the spot where so recently the stirring strains of the Marseillaise quickened the heart-throbs of men and women who looked into each other's eyes with the comprehending glance of comradeship, more significant than the warm hand-clasp or embrace.

The officers have gone on to choose new sites for bivouacs and positions for other bloodless battles of the Industrial Revolution that is even now in progress.

There is no question that we have gained a victory here and from the bivouac fires of "Camp Progress" have been carried the embers that shall light the fires of revolt in countless other camps.

The Encampment has been a great stone dropped into the current of Western thought and the ripples will spread to its farthest boundaries.

This beautiful city is built like Rome on her seven hills and is destined to become one of the industrial centers of the western interior. It will be henceforth known as the birthplace of the Encampment Idea in the West, and as Comrade Sherman of Ashland humorously announced, will be located as being near the site of the first Oregon-Socialist Encampment. No doubt the back end of Muller's graphophone shop will in time become a historic landmark!

The Encampment at night, with its great canvas auditorium, its hundred smaller tents intended for the accommodation of visiting comrades, illuminated by hundreds of red and white electric lights, was a most inspiring sight to all whose hearts beat faster at the sight of the red flag.

That the Encampment has been a suc-

cess from an educational viewpoint no Socialist who attended would for a moment dispute. There has been a nightly attendance of from two to three thousand during the eight days of the Encampment and fair-sized audiences at afternoon meetings. The attendance of comrades from outside points was much smaller than had been expected, due no doubt to industrial conditions obtaining at this time of year. The most unusual interest has been evinced by the audiences throughout the Encampment.

The local politicians are non-plussed. During the progress of the Cantrell-Smith debate, the valiant defender of the present regime accused the Socialists of having appropriated the "brass band methods" of the Democrats and the Republicans, which, he asserted, had been almost abandoned by the said parties.

Socialists who might condemn the methods used in this instance as spectacular should remember "the first step in pedagogy is to arouse the interest of the child". If, as the Encampment seems to indicate, the shortest road to the understanding of the majority is via brass band and vaudeville, let the anti-sensational element of the party console themselves by reflecting on the words of another great Revolutionist: "The event justifies the deed".

As I looked nightly over the immense throng in the Big Tent, noted the striking absence of dissent to the utterances of our speakers, even the most revolutionary, heard the at times uproarious applause, I recalled the time four years ago when the handful of members comprising Local Klamath Falls held their meetings in a lumber yard. Later the meetings were held at private houses and afterward a hall was hired. The local has had a hard fight and has had its seasons of depressions, also its internal dissensions, but today the movement is progressing at a rapid rate.

The Oregon-California Socialist Band under the efficient leadership of Ernest Griffith cannot be too highly praised for their inspiring work.

Two clever vaudeville teams, Williams and Wright and Mr. and Mrs. Bob Miller furnished the sugar coating to make the Great Remedy palatable to the thoughtless "children of a larger growth" as well as the others.

On our list of speakers was J. Stitt Wilson whose name is familiar to the Socialists.

Cloudesley Johns, journalist, author, revolutionist, who boasts of having had practical experience in sixty-seven lines of work, whose winning personality has his audience half-won before he has appealed to their reason in soft, persuasive tones.

Dorothy Jones, the beautiful and gifted wife of the former, who speaks from knowledge of conditions in Mexico gained from twelve years of residence in the dominion of Diaz, the despot, and whose lecture on "Sovereign Peons" created a deep impression on her audience and received very favorable comment from the local capitalist press.

And last but by no means least, Tom Lewis the Proletarian Agitator—"Good Little Tom," as his comrades call him—once a child-slave in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, then miner, and later an upholsterer by trade.

I was illuminatingly reminded of Whitman's "Dear Love of Comrades" by one of the most significant incidents of the Encampment when a roughly-garbed young cow-puncher threw an arm lovingly around Lewis' shoulders, saying "Good Little Tom!"

Having a keen realization of the real condition and needs of the working class gained from actual experience as a member of that class, he has an indescribable but most effective faculty for forcing the points of his argument into the proletarian consciousness. The most striking characteristic of the man is his utter fearlessness. Some of the more timid comrades were somewhat dubious of the effect of Lewis' revolutionary utterances: but it is a deeply significant fact that of all that was uttered, his words were most eagerly received.

What impressed even the most casual observer at the Encampment was the Spirit of Comradeship that was so plainly manifested, the atmosphere of equality and freedom from conventionality that prevailed. There was utter absence of



Encampment Band.

inharmony and discord, a striking illustration of the familiar quotation: "Where all govern nobody serves; where all serve nobody governs."

Here the lion and the lamb lay down together, that is, Impossibilist and Opportunist, and swapped ginger and oil to their mutual advantage. Of especial significance was the contribution of Oregon comrades to carry on the campaign in California.

The suggestion was made by one of the women members present that the organization adopt the suggestive motto: "Watch my Smoke!" but as it was received by most of the male members with the stony stare of disapproval—especially those from up Portland way—the woman member with feminine tact refrained from pressing the matter.

In the opinion of your correspondent the Encampment Idea is fraught with stupendous possibilities for educational work.

Example Book Talks

By

ARTHUR M. LEWIS



E ARE by this time agreed that the sale of the proper books at lecture meetings is greatly to be desired. In this article we shall consider the chief instrument by which this is attained—the book talk.

We might treat this theme by laying down general rules as to the elements which enter into the make up of a successful book talk, but while this is necessary it is not enough,—so many speakers seem to find it very difficult to apply rules. This part of the question will be treated in a few sentences.

A book-talk, to be successful, must answer the following questions:

(1) Who wrote the book? It is not, of course, simply a question as to the author's name, but his position and his competence to write on the subject, etc.

(2) What object had the author in view?

(3) What is the main thesis of the book?

(4) Why is it necessary that the hearer should read the book?

Above all a book talk should be interesting. How often have we seen a speaker begin a book talk at a meeting by destroying all interest and making sales almost impossible! The speaker holds up a book in view of the audience and says: "Here is a book I want you to buy and read." That settles it. The public has been taught to regard all efforts to sell things as attacks upon their pocket books and the speaker who begins by announcing his intention to sell, at once makes himself an object of suspicion. In the commercial world it is held and admitted that a seller is seeking his own benefit and the advantages to the buyer are only incidental. In our case this is largely reversed but that does not justify the speaker in rousnig all the prejudices lying dormant in the hearer's mind.

A good book talk thoroughly captures the interest of the audience before they know the book is on hand and is going to be offered for sale. About the middle of the talk the listener should be wondering if you are going to tell where the book can be obtained and getting ready to take down the publisher's address when you give it.

His interest increases and toward the close he learns to his great delight that you have anticipated his desires and he can take the volume with him when he leaves the meeting.

This is a good method but where one is to make many book talks to much the same audience there are a great many ways in which it can be varied.

I will now submit a book talk which has enabled me to sell thousands of copies of the book it deals with. This is a ten cent book and this price is high enough for the speaker's experiments. The speaker will later find it surprisingly easy, when he has mastered the art, to sell fifty cent and dollar books.

The speaker may use the substance of this talk in his own language, or, commit it to memory and reproduce it verbatim. Anyone who finds the memorizing beyond his powers should abandon public speaking and devote his energies to something easy .

BOOK TALK No. I.

Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

For some time previous to the year 1875 the German Socialist party had been divided into two camps—the Eisenachers and the Lassallians. About that time they closed their ranks and presented to the common enemy a united front. So great was their increase of strength from that union that they were determined never to divide again. They would preserve their newly won unity at all costs.

No sooner was this decision made than it seemed as if it was destined to be overthrown. Prof. Eugene Dühring, Privat Docent of Berlin University, loudly proclaimed himself a convert to Socialism. When this great figure from the bourgeois intellectual world stepped boldly and somewhat noisily into the arena, there was not wanting a considerable group of young and unitiated members in the party who flocked to his standard and found in him a new oracle.

This would have been well enough if Dühring had been content to take Socialism as he found it or if he had been well enough informed to make an intelligent criticism of it and reveal any mistakes in its positions. But he was neither the one or the other. He undertook, without the slightest qualification for the task, to overthrow Marx and establish a new Socialism which should be free from the lamentable blunders of the Marxian school.

Marx was a mere bungler and the whole matter must be set right without delay. This was rather a large task but the Professor went at it in a large way. He did it in the approved German manner. Germany would be forever disgraced if any philosopher took up a new position about anything without going back to the first beginnings of the orderly universe in nebulous matter, and showing that from that time on to the discovery of the latest design in tin kettles everything that happened simply went to prove his new theory.

Dühring presented a long suffering world with three volumes that were at least large enough to fill the supposed aching void. These were: "A Course of Philosophy," "A Course of Political and Social Science" and "A Critical History of Political Economy and Socialism."

These large volumes gave Dühring quite a standing among ill-informed Socialists, who took long words for learning, and obscurity for profundity. His followers became so numerous that a new division of the ranks threatened and it became clear that Dühring's large literary output must be answered.

There was a man in the Socialist movement at that time who was pre-eminently fitted for that task, who for over thirty years had proven himself a master of discussion and an accomplished scholar—Frederick Engels.

Engels' friends urged him to rid the movement of this new intellectual incubus. Engels pleaded he was already over busy with those tasks, which show him to have been so patient and prolific a worker. Finally, realizing the importance of the case, he yielded.

Dühring had wandered all over the universe to establish his philosophy, and in his reply Engels would have to follow him. So far from this deterring Engels, it was just this which made his task attractive. He says in his preface of 1892:

"I had to treat of all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to Bimetalism; from the eternity of matter and motion to the perishable nature of moral ideas; from Darwin's natural selection to the education of youth in a future society. Anyhow, the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him, and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself of this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason which made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task."

Dealing with the same point, in his biographical essay on Engels, Kautsky says:

"Dühring was a many-sided man. He wrote on Mathematics and Mechanics, as well as on Philosophy and Political Economy, Jurisprudence, Ancient History, etc. Into all these spheres he was followed by Engels, who was as many-sided as Dühring but in another way. Engels' many sidedness was united with a fundamental thoroughness which in these days of specialization is only found in a few cases and was rare even at that time. * * * It is to the superficial many-sidedness of Dühring that we own the fact, that the 'Anti-Duhring' became a book which treated the whole of modern science from the Marx-Engels materialistic point of view. Next to 'Capital' the 'Anti-Dühring' has become the fundamental work of modern Socialism."

Engels' reply was published in the Leipsic "Vorwärts," in a series of articles beginning early in 1877, and afterwards in a volume entitled, "Mr. Dühring's Revolution in Science." This book came to be known by its universal and popular title: "Anti-Dühring."

After the appearance of this book Dühring's influence disapeared. Instead of a great leader in Socialism, Dühring found himself regarded as a museum curiosity, so much so that Kautsky, writing in 1887, said:

"The occasion for the 'Anti-Dühring' has been long forgotten. Not only is Dühring a thing of the past for the Social Democracy, but the whole throng of academic and platonic Socialists have been frightened away by the anti-Socialist legislation, which at least had the one good effect to show where the reliable supports of our movement are to be found."

Out of Anti-Dühring came the most important Socialist pamphlet ever published, unless, perhaps, we should except "The Communist Manifesto," though even this is by no means certain. In 1892 Engels related the story of its birth:

"At the request of my friend, Paul Lafargue, now representative of Lille in the French

Chamber of Deputies, I arranged three chapters of this book as a pamphlet, which he translated and published in 1880, under the title: "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." From this French text a Polish and a Spanish edition was prepared. In 1883, our German friends brought out the pamphlet in the original language. Italian, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and Roumanian translations, based upon the German text, have since been published. Thus, with the present English edition, this little book circulates in ten languages. I am not aware that any other Socialist work, not even our "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 or Marx's "Capital," has been so often translated. In Germany it has had four editions of about 20,000 copies in all."

The man who has the good fortune to become familiar with the contents of this pamphlet in early life will never, in after life, be able to estimate its full value as a factor in his intellectual development. I have persuaded many people to buy it and have invariably given them this advice: "Keep it in your coat pocket by day and under your pillow by night, and read it again and again until you know it almost by heart."

At this point you may hold up the pamphlet and announce its price. If this is done before the lecture have the ushers pass the audience each with a good supply and beginning at the front row and working rapidly so as not to uneccesarily delay the meeting. If the sale is at the close of the meeting announce that copies may be had while leaving and have your ushers in the rear so as to meet the audience. A good deal depends on having live and capable ushers. Our big sales at the Garrick are due to ushers being past masters of their art.

The Effect of Economic Development Upon The American Home

By

LULU SOURS



IT IS an accepted fact that the home is the outcome of economic conditions and that it is the result of ages of evolution. The first home of man when compared with a modern home reveals few points in common. The world has changed, conditions have changed, the ideals of humanity have changed, so it is not surprising that we hesitate to call the natural shelter of prehistoric man "home."

The home life of this age is like that of every age, a reflex of the economic conditions, and the national life is what the home has made it. This is an interesting circle which economic investigations have disclosed, and a struggle marks the endless movement. The life of man is a history of his struggles. In the earliest days it was with other animals. By improved weapons he overcame them; because of his superior strength he enslaved woman, but his struggle with his environment and his fellow beings continues to the present day.

If space permitted it would be interesting to follow man through all the ages, and note his development in various parts of the world. Conditions in this country have points in common with foreign nations, but there are special problems that concern each, and this article must be limited to the effects of the economic developmnt upon the home in this country since the sixteenth century.

The discovery of America and a route to India near the close of the Middle Ages, revolutionized the whole social system. Many Europeans fled to the new World to escape various forms of persecution. They came well equipped for the tasks before them, with habits of worship, with ideas as

to liberty and with a certain amount of knowedge of legal procedure. These early colonists were from the middle class of the mother countries and they represented the best element of the age. There were farmers, carpenters, masons, millers, wheelrights and blacksmiths among the men, while the women could spin, weave, sew, cook and manage a house and family without a maid or servant. In the northern colonies each home became a busy industrial center where everything that was needed for the family was produced, but in the south conditions were modified by the aristocrat cavaliers who came from England during Cromwell's rule.

While many changes have taken place in the national life of this country since the colonial period the changes in the mode of living have been no less remarkable. The simple life of the early days has given way to the complex conditions of the present time. The dwelling place of the past, whether a one room log structure or a big frame or stone house, lacked all modern conveniences. In each there was an open fire place with irons and tongs and a blazing back-log above which hung the crane with its hooks for pots and kettles. On the hearth was a long legged frying pan called the spider and the reflector in which the baking was done. On the mantle the brass candlesticks attracted most attention and the wall near by was decorated with candle molds, snuffers and strings of peppers and drying apples, above the door on wooden hooks the ever necessary gun was placed. Floors were bare or sanded, and the most conspicuous pieces of furniture were the spinning wheel, the reel and the loom. A work basket filled with balls of yarn and long knitting-needles was always to be found in these frontier homes, in which the skill and handicraft of the housewife furnished so much in the way of providing for the wants and necessities of the household.

Today the situation is greatly changed. We have our modern house with steam heated rooms and with gas, electric and water equipments. The modern home is incomplete without a telephone, hard wood floors, rugs, artistic draperies, mission furniture, good pictures and musical instruments. No one spins or weaves in this home. Knitting by hand is a lost art and most of the household sewing is done on a machine or is sent out to a sewing woman. Much ready to wear clothing is bought because it is least expensive. There is little thought as to the cost to the poor women who produce these garments in sweatshops or miserable rooms that are called homes.

As to our food and the manner of preparing it, the contrast is no less striking. In cities and towns, wagons call every morning and leave bread and pastry for the day. The meat-man and the grocery-boy follow with their products almost ready for the table. All sorts of fruit, meats and vegetables are put up in cans and packages in factories, so the canning season and the meat curing work have been removed from the home. In this state (Cal.) a "Jap" comes in and serves the meals, washes the dishes and works elsewhere until the next meal time, while in the southern states a negro woman does the work for the scraps from the table. The laundryman takes the soiled clothes and linen from the well-to-do homes, so the old fashioned tub and board are almost relics of the past, while even the patent washing machines have been pushed out of sight. There is no special house cleaning season, but on almost any day you may see a man with an electric or gas machine in front of a house cleaning the rugs and carpets. It is the work of an hour to put a large house in better order than could have been done in several days by the old-fashioned methods.

Changes in the rural home life, in many parts of this country, are as great as in the towns and cities. In up-to-date communities there is a telephone in almost every farm house; a wind or gas pump furnishes water for the house and stock yards; mail is delivered daily by one of Uncle Sam's rural-delivery men; a wagon gathers the milk of the neighborhood in large cans and conveys it to a creamery; so the housewife is saved the burden of washing jars, pans, buckets and churns, and of doing many of the tasks which of old made her life such a miserable existence of "work never done." Instead of an ox team drawing a plow in the field, you may see a traction engine with several plows attached which turn many acres of soil during the day. Instead of the cradle there is a self binding reaper

which may have a threshing machine combined with it. Everything is being done at great speed and in a manner that requires more elaborate equipment than was necessary a few years ago.

There are many other regards in which the evolution of industry, the changing methods of production and distribution, in short capitalism, has affected the home. For instance we may note that the development of the factory system has caused the breaking up of the old lines which previously existed in trade circles and that there are few skilled workmen in the ordinary manufacturing establishment. Instead of one man making a shoe it now requires sixty. Skilled wagon and furniture makers are almost unknown, because machinery does most of the work, and a woman or child can manipulate the machine as well as a man, and since the expense is less, the man of the home is often out of work while his wife and children are employed in the factory.

Knowledge as to methods of managing the machine is not handed down from father to son or from the master to apprentice because the present system makes this unescessary. There are positions however which do demand skill and training. How to prepare the present generation of young people and the coming generations to meet the demands of this new industrial age is a grave problem. The home cannot solve it so a solution is a demand from the school. Colonial schools were established to prepare preachers of the gospel and lawyers. There was then no need of the manual training and trade schools that are in such great demand now, because the crafts were taught to young men by the methods of the apprentice system. Within the last ten years many industrials schools have been established; but the demand is not satisfied, nor is there yet proof as to what the results will be. Some of these schools are for girls as well as boys and several have been established for girls alone, which proves that the demand for women in the shops and factories is increasing, and this means greater change in the home.

President Jordan in his lecture, "The Blood of the Nation," has emphasized the terrible effect of war upon the homes of all nations. No other cause has produced more serious results in the home life of this country than did our Civil War. The removal of the father, husband and brothers from hundreds of homes necessitated many women, who had been home-keepers, become bread winners. Social changes after the war, enlarged the sphere of woman's activities and new occupations were opened to her. From that time until the present she has been seeking and securing positions in almost every line of industry. It is interesting to note that the last census report lists five million women working in the United States in gainful occupations. This is one sixth of all the workers in this country at that time. There are now according to reliable statistics over six million women thus employed in this country and in California there are eighty-one thousand five hundred females over sixteen years of age, working in forty-nine industries.

Like conditions exist in other states. What will be the result of this is a question that can not be answered now. Various interpretations have been suggested as to this phase of the nation's life. One thing at least seems clear. It is that women's economic dependence is rapidly vanishing. The common consciousness of humanity, the sense of social need and social duty has awakened. The progress of social organization has produced a corresponding degree of individualization which has at last reached women. The woman's movement rests not alone on her larger personality, with its tingling sense of revolt against injustice, but on the wide sympathy for one another.

In the present stage of evolution it is undesirable that women endure the condition of economic dependence, so they are leaving it. The change is evident everywhere in women as to characteristics, desires and objects of life. False sentimentality and false modesty are disappearing. Women are braver, stronger, more helpful, more skillful and more human in all ways than were their grandmothers

The changes in educational advantages offered women is evidence that the need of a better developed womanhood is felt by men of the highest type. There are no longer comments as to "the female mind" by men of recognized ability. Biologists have long known that the brain is not an organ of sex, and educators throughout this country are recognizing woman's rights to develop her

faculties. It is not surprising that her progress in the arts, sciences, trades and professions is inferior to that of men when her history throughout the ages is recalled.

This great forward movement for women has developed within the last twenty-five years. She has been led by natural conditions into fields of economic activity. All women do not welcome the changed conditions. Many work because they must, just as do the majority of men. It is true too that women often marry only that they may be supported. It is also true that men often marry for money, for which unreasonable incident there can be no economic explanation similar to that in woman's case.

Women of comfortable homes, having been relieved of many duties by recent economic improvements turn to the club and devote their leisure time in efforts to improve their own minds or in helping to improve the condition of others. "The woman's club" to some men stands for a great joke, by others the work is recognized as worth while. That club work is today playing a great part in the lives of women as it has for years in the lives of men is clearly recognized, and that the result upon the home and upon the history of the world is worth noting is evident. Social life is conditioned upon organization. The club movement is the first step of women in this line, and it is one of the most important sociological phenomena of the century. Fruit from its field of action has been harvested in many states in the form of child-labor laws, educational reform measures and the anti-saloon agitation. Much local good has been done in the towns and cities of the United States, while in the rural districts clubs among the women are not uncommon.

The creative impulse, the desire to work, is a distinguishing characteristic of woman. It is not a result of her planning that she has been relieved of many houshold duties, nor has she man to thank for it since he has made the arrangements without consulting her and he has done it because of his own selfish interests. He saw in the new methods and devices an opportunity to make profits, so he made the changes without a thought as to the effect upon the home or the home keeper. The changes noted are here to stay. Whether we like the conditions or not is of no consequence.

The so-called "new woman movement" has been pointed to as an evidence that the home is doomed. An idea as absurd as is the suggestion that there is a "new woman." There is no need for alarm as to the safety of the home so far as woman's part is concerned. The deepest forces of nature have tended since the earliest civilization to evolve pure lasting monagamous marriage. The home has not passed its day of usefulness, nor will its work be ended while civilization lasts.

There is ground for objection to rearing children in homes of poverty where sufficient nourishment and personal care can not be provided is certain. For such conditions the state should be held responsible, but that does not make it the duty of the state to take the children from the natural home and bring them up after her fashion. The state should help to improve home conditions in many cases. Ignorance is one great cause of distress in this country, so rational reform laws along educational lines will go far toward solving several grave problems of home life.

Because of short comings in some homes, it does not follow that the institution of the family is not yet the best place to bring up the children of this and every country. It is true that they may be made to grow without the mother love for which the state has no substitute, just as plants may be made to grow without sunshine, but neither child nor plant will ever develop as well as under normal conditions. Destroy the natural function of the home, and the motive power for further economic development will be undone. Children supply the motive power to the parents and the parents supply the neccessary things, physical, mental and moral, for the life of the children.

Reform work must be in the interest of the home. This is the great field which is open to all organizations and individuals that have a real interest in humanity and the nation.

EDITORIAL

The Work of the Working Class. If there is one proposition upon which all Socialists, the world over, are practically unanimous, it is Marx's oft-quoted declaration, that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. In view of this we think it somewhat unfortunate that Comrade Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee, should have been reported as saying in a recent speech:

"It isn't essential that the workers be instructed in Socialism. It doesn't make any difference whether the workers understand Socialism or not."

We sincerely trust that the comrade was misquoted or that he used the language hastily and would gladly withdraw it. But however that may be, the statement should not pass without contradiction. Either the Socialist Party is the party of the workers, or it has no reason for existence whatever. And if it is to be the party of the workers, then its first duty is to educate the workers into an understanding of Socialism. For the control of the party is and must be in its membership as a whole. If for the sake of votes and offices we carry on a superficial propaganda of reforms and "immediate demands", it will not be long before the middleclass reformers are in full control and a new Socialist Party will be needed. Happily, the temper of the recent Congress of the Socialist Party at Chicago proves that the membership has no desire to stop its educational work and put its energy into chasing after votes.

We Need No Leaders. Let us keep on gradually building up a party composed of workers who know what Socialism is, and know that it is what they want. Such a membership will find "leaders" a needless luxury that can be cut off at any time when they try to modify the party's tactics to suit their own ends. Really it makes very little difference how many Socialists are elected to office this year, or the year after. Capitalism has a few important things yet to accomplish in improving the machinery of production so that it may be operated collectively. This the present ruling class is effectively doing. The process is extremely painful to the little capitalists who are being crushed, but the process is in the line of evolution, and if we were to help the little capitalists to obstruct the process, in return for their votes, we would be delaying the revolution instead of hastening it.

The Main Issue. What the Socialist Party has to say to wage-workers is a very simple thing for them to understand, however puzzling it may be for others. The average American wage-worker produces each day goods that retail for $10.00. He gets in wages a little less than $2.00. Part of the other $8.00 is wasted, and part of it goes to swell the fortunes of capitalists or to support them in luxury and idleness. Wage-workers are obliged to hand over most of what they produce because capitalists own the land, the machinery and the railroads. Socialists propose that the workers unite to take possession of these means of production, and that they then keep and enjoy the full value of what they produce. But the capitalists, who own the land and the tools, also own the government. They will not let go without a struggle. This struggle between the classes is beginning. It is not an abstract theory. It is a fact that any one with eyes can see. It is by far the biggest fact of modern times. The class struggle for the possession of the land and the tools is the ONLY issue that is of vital interest to wage-workers; it is the only issue that an intelligent workingman cares for. It is the issue that is bound to come to the front again and again, even if temporarily side-tracked. Let us put all our energy on this issue, and our growth will be solid and enduring.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Argentine. A Capitalist Reign of Terror. For months past vague reports of crimes committed against our comrades in Argentine have reached the outside world. At last we have definite information, and it verifies the worst fears excited by rumor. The government of Argentine must now be ranged alongside those of Russia and Mexico.

More than six months ago the Chief of Police of Buonos Aires was assassinated. Immediately the city was placed under martial law and a gang of police, soldiers and convicts, who had been freed for the purpose, entered the headquarters of labor organizations and destroyed all they could lay hands on. The office and press-rooms of "La Protesta," a labor paper, were completely demolished.

During the month of May these activities were renewed on a larger scale. On May 25, occured the hundredth anniversary of the country's independence. A great exposition was to be held. Workingmen engaged on the construction of the exposition buildings started a strike. The government feared the celebration of national freedom would be interfered with. On May 14, the old gang of hoodlums, this time supported by a body of students, was again called into action. I quote from a statement sent out by the national executive committee of the Socialist party: "These demonstrators made an unresisted attack upon, and destroyed, the whole of the furniture and machinery of "La Protesta." At 8 o'clock they set fire to the ruined building without interference from police or firemen. They destroyed and set fire to two libraries, and at 10 o'clock set fire to our paper, **La Vanguardia.**

"When the demonstrators arrived at the office of our paper after doing damage in the public streets, the police did nothing to prevent the attack — on the contrary, assisting the assailants to carry out their work. The whole workshop, offices, machinery, library, typographic plant, etc., were destroyed by the mob, who used the swords of the soldiers for their work of destruction."

And so, to the music of the national hymn and midst cries of "Viva la Patria," the mob went on wrecking one newspaper plant after another, destroying the headquarters of some half dozen labor unions, destroying libraries, and in numerous other ways showing their appreciation of the "freedom" which had been won a hundred years before.

Needless to say our South American comrades are in great need of assistance. Their national congress is to meet and devise ways and means of meeting the crisis. But they need financial support, and that right soon. Funds for their relief are to be sent either to the Internation Bureau at Brussels or to Jose P. Balino, Calle Defensa, No. 888, Buenos Aires, Argentine.

Germany. A Taste of Victory. ...There are strange looking items afloat in the German papers. For year past, one great strike after another has been lost. Belgium, France, Sweden, Australia, each one has told us a tale of heroic effort and tragic defeat. To be sure temporary defeat is far from the worst fate which can overtake the working-class. An unsuccessful fight is often enough better than no fight at all. It teaches the need of class solidarity and points out the best methods of class organization. But for once it is good to read of a working-class victory on the economic field, to see the employers in full retreat, to see them cast the blame for humiliation upon one another.

All this is what we see in Germany at

the present moment. In one town after another the building trades employers have given in. The boycott has nearly everywhere been declared off. The striking employes have been granted slight increases in wages and the ten-hour day has been guaranteed. And, best of all, in the humiliation of defeat the employers have let out more than one secret which is of interest to the working class. The employers' association of Berlin, for example, has published an elaborate statement as to the causes which led up to the struggle. According to their account this great labor war was caused by a single group of employers who were bent from the first on causing a strike. They and all their works are now roundly denounced. For once it is the employers who have complaining and explaining to do.

The course of this great labor war is a striking vindication of revolutionary unionism. The German Gewerkschaften are, in certain respects, comparatively conservative . They work hard to build up solid organizations, they emphasize their mutual benefit features, they save up great sums of money against times of need. But more and more they have come to organize in the form which we in this country have come to call industrial. In this struggle which is now coming so happily to a close all the building trades of the empire were called out together. And the workers engaged in the manufacture of building materials stood ready to walk out at any moment. This is revolutionary unionism in something more than name. And it won.

Political Victories. Our German comrades are winning one by-election after another. Since the suffrage law was introduced they have gained six seats in the Reichstag, which brings their whole number up to forty-eight. On the average their gains have amounted to 33%. It *is* estimated by their enemies that this rate will be kept up and that consequently in the elections of next year the representation of the Social Democracy will be more than double. Good authrities place the number of Socialists in the next Reicstag as high as 120.

Australia. The Labor Party. "We are in complete control of the government. We have only to say, 'Thus shall it be,' and it is." It is the labor press of Australia which makes this triumphant declaration. Forty-four representatives of the Labor Party in the Federal House to thirty-one of the other parties; twenty-three Labor senators to thirteen of the other parties. This is the measure of the Labor Party's power and responsibilty.

Two questions are of vital interest to the labor movement the world over: What will this Labor Party do for the working-class? and, What will be the attitude of the Socialists of Australia toward the government of the Labor Party?

The Federal Parliament does not meet until September 1, but the Socialist press has not hesitated to comment on the preliminary acts of the new govxernment. The cabinet which is to be responsible for the administration of Federal affairs has been chosen by party caucus, a new and comparatively democratic way of choosing a ministry. Mr. Fisher has been named Prime Minister; but it is the choice of Mr. Hughes as Attorney-General which has occasioned most comment among Socialists and revolutionary unionists. Mr. Hughes was the conservative leader in the recent coal strike, the leader who opposed the general strike, who arranged the final compromise and who was not sent to jail with the other union leaders.

The complacent attitude of Mr. Hughes in regard to the imprisonment of the other strike leaders seems quite in harmony with the mild protests of the Labor Party against the outrage committed by the Fusion government. It is owrth noting that while three of the imprisoned unionists have been released and four more are to be set free in August, Peter Bowling, Socialist and industrial unionist, is to serve a year more in jail.

The Socialist press has objected vigorously to the attitude of the Laborites at the time of King Edward's death. The new Prime Minister cabled his condolences to England and expressed publicly his grief at the loss of "our beloved sovereign." There went with all this, naturally, an outburst of devotion to the Empire. Certain labor papers displayed their grief in black bordered sheets. What can Socialists have to say to a Labor Party which thus supports monarchy?

But there are those among Australian revolutionists who refuse to test the Labor Party by such straws as these. They judge it by its platform. Three demands stand out as the characteristic features of this plaform: the demands for a land tax, for a new protection policy and amendments to the compulsory arbitration law. Premier Fisher states that the first act of the new government will be to pass a land act imposing a graduated tax on large estates. It is proposed to tax estates of more than £5,000 value at 1d. to the pound, increasing the rate for estates over £10,000. The object is to break up the large estates. The tariff is to be revised so as to cut down the cost of living. The compulsory arbitration act is to be so modified as to give the workers of securing redress in the courts.

In order to understand the attitude of the Socialists toward the Labor Party it is necessary to have some notion of the position of the Socialist Party as a factor in the political affairs of Australia. Owing to the expense of registering candidates the Socialist Party is unable to present a complete ticket in all districts. But the necessity of opposing the Labor candidates presents a more serious difficulty. After making a vigorous campaign in West Sidney Harry Holland, the militant editor of the International Socialist, was defeated twenty to one by the Labor Party candidate. The total Socialist vote fell off in the election which sent the Labor Party into Power. It seems that many workers voted for the Laborites thinking they were casting their ballots for Socialism. In fact **The Worker,** the Labor paper of Melbourne, declares (April 23): "Wherever the red flag floated we (the Labor Party) won." The Labor papers are not afraid to write Socialism in big letters across the pages nor to proclaim a belief in the co-operative ownership of the chief means of production. But, as **The Worker** declares, "this does not mean that we (the Labor Party) will have to achieve the co-operative commonwealth. The work of a Labor Party must be the creation of a socialistic environment. What we have to do is to proceed with the carrying out of the Labor platform."

What should be the attitude of Socialists towards this "Socialistic" party? The question is being earnestly discussed in the Socialist papers and will be one of the chief subjects for consideration in the approaching Socialist conference at Melbourne. Two views standing out in clean cut opposition are represented by **The Socialist,** of Melbourne, and the **International Socialist,** of Sidney.

The editor of **The Socialist** asks (June 3): "What then is the position of a Socialist party which officially indorses political action and at the same time is for all practical purposes impotent as regards Socialist candidates in the field?" His answer is: "Temporarily support Labor candidates..... Vote on every possible occasion..... It is wise to prefer the Labor Party before other non-Socialist parties. If Socialism is not the issue, is not Labor better than Fusion?" The adoption of this view of the matter would mean, of course, that the Socialist vote would become only a means of propaganda, not a political weapon. **The Socialist** insists, naturally, that the separate identity of the Socialist party be strictly maintained and its freedom as a critical and fighting opposition preserved.

Comrade Holland, the editor of **The International Socialist,** says (April 30): "That the middle class mind dominates in Australasia—both industrially and politically—is the lesson the result of the 1910 election teaches..... A party of the working-class would find its first work in the destruction of the Class State." Yet Premier Fisher says he will be satisfied if in three years the Labor Government succeeds in passing a land act, new immigration and tariff acts, and an amendment to the compulsory arbitration act. This, says Comrade Holland, is not revolution. To the Labor Party, as to the Fusion Party, the Socialists should form a fighting opposition.

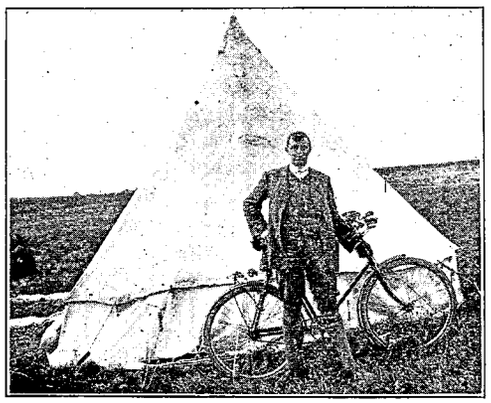
Tom Mann has said that the Australian Labor Party is nothing more than a radical organization. To an outsider it

looks as though he were in the right. It is evident that this party is full of Socialists. The rank and file of it seem intelligent. The Labor papers are very advanced in their views. The trouble seems to be: too much leadership. There are at the head of the party a lot of politicians as clever as any in the world. The Labor Party can hardly expect to do anything worth while for the working-class before they have been sent to the rear. Until that time comes it is difficult to see how a Socialist can ally himself with the Laborites.

Austria. The Dangers of Nationalism. For the moment the labor movement of Austria seems to be caught in a current of reactionary forces. Hitherto the labor movement of this land of many races and tongues has been able to present a solid front. This has given it its chief advantage as against the Bourgeois parties. But the Czechs have finally formed a complete national labor organization of their own. They have separate local unions and a separate executive committee.

The crisis presented by this situation is being met by attempts at compromise. It is proposed to leave the two sets of local unions intact, but to organize them into a single national movement with a single executive committee to insure harmony of action. If this plan does not succeed it will mean a serious set-back for our Austrian comrades.

Work in England. Comrade Fred Shaw, of England ,writes us that his health is failing and that he fears he will not be able to continue selling books of this company and taking Review subcriptions — and in pushing the work of propaganda and education which he has been carrying on so energetically the past few years. Comrade Shaw writes "the work will not stop if I drop out. The comrades here will carry it right on, so do not think their plans depend upon me." This is the spirit in which Comrade Shaw works, and we hope that next reports will bring the good news that his health is vastly improved, and that the English Fighting Squadrons will long enjoy the help of his enthusiasm and his devotion to the Cause. Comrade Shaw believes that the best way to "DO SOMETHING" is to educate the working class in the principles of revolutionary socialism.



COMRADE FRED SHAW

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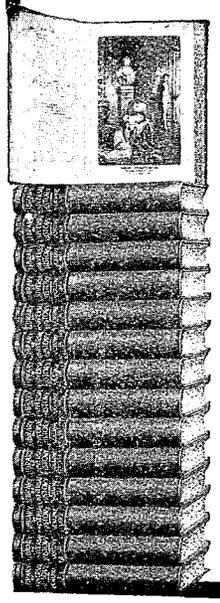
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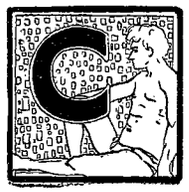
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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.



ONSIDERABLE progress has been made lately in the matter of healing some of the wounds or closing the breaches between rival organizations and getting into shape to present a solid front to the common enemy. Thus the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners have established complete harmony and are perfecting their federation. The two unions in the papermaking industry, whose family dissensions caused the loss of a strike several years ago, have combined and as a result gained some important concessions. The independent locals of longshoremen on the Pasific coast and also at the New York harbor, after being outside of the international union for some years, have reaffiliated with the parent body. The two national unions of railway car workers have amalgamated after five or six years of scrapping among themselves. The teamsters in New York are reported to have again made peace with the international union and joined the organization that has passed through some stormy periods. The two national unions of boilermakers were formally combined last month under the old brotherhood banner.

A state of war still exists in a number of trades, unfortunately. Nobody is reaping any benefit therefrom except the capitalists, and if the alleged leaders could forget their false pride or narrow selfishness for a time and made an earnest effort to get together for the benefit of those they pretend to serve, they would in point of fact be doing a good service to the entire labor movement. The machinists are split into at least four factions, viz., the International Association, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Brotherhood and the I.W.W. The boot and shoe workers are at sword's points in a number of important industrial centers, while the building laborers have been fighting among themselves, but may get together soon, which is also true as far as the tailors are concerned, the independents on the Pacific coast showing an inclination to join the international. The electrical workers' controversey has not yet been adjusted and it now looks as though this famous case will once more bob up in the next A. F. of L. convention. There has been some miserable politics played in this electrical workers' fight, and the longer it lasts the worse it will be for would-be-autocrats in the labor movement. In a nutshell, the Reid faction is willing to hold a joint convention or abide by the decision of the referendum to settle the points in dispute. The McNulty faction will do neither, and, although in the minority, holds the charter and apparently has the support of the A. F. of L. executive council.

The announcement that Carl Legien, president of the federated unions of Germany, and Carl Liebknecht, the well-known anti-militarist, both of whom are Socialist members of Parliament, are coming to America for a speaking tour of six to eight weeks, is creating great enthusiasm among the German-speaking workingmen in the principal cities and the outlook is that there will be considerable clamoring for every hour of their time while on this side. While Liebknecht will confine most of his time to addressing Socialist meetings, Legien will go among the trade unions and it is quite likely that the latter's tour will be so timed that he can get into St. Louis while the A. F. of L. convention meets and address that body. Coming as they do from a conquering proletariat that is marching from one victory to another upon the industrial and political fields in the Fatherland, they will prove an immense inspiraton to the fighting working class of this country.

The strikes of the seamen on the Great Lakes and the tinplate workers in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation have entered their second year and are proceeding along their wearisome course. There

is absolutely no sign of a settlement along the industrial horizon, not even on a compromise basis. The unions are determined to win and the trust claims it has won. The tinplate workers are now developing a plan to start a co-operative mill in this country or Canada and fight the trust in its own market. The seamen will carry their fight to the international conference of transport workers, which meets in Copenhagen, Denmark, this month, and endeavor to inaugurate a world campaign against the octopus. Meanwhile there is talk that the iron ore miners in the Northwest are organizing and preparing to give battle to the trust, having grievances of their own and a lot of sympathy for the transport and mill workers. At the same time the trust is preparing to build another "model" town, like Gary, Ind., in Alabama, which will be called "Corey," after Mabel Gillman's husband, the president of the combine. The enslaving movements of the steel trust are highly interesting.

During the past month the long threatened strike of the cloakmakers and workers on ladies' garments was called in New York, where 75,000 operatives walked out to enforce the demands that are truly revolutionary in that trade. The workers made a stand for (1) recognition of the union, (2) the eight-hour day (instead of working as high as eighteen hours), (3) one day's rest in seven, (4) abolition of sub-contracting and no work to be taken to homes (which means the wiping out of the sweating system), (5) increase of wages and double time for all overtime work, and (6) the abolition of foot power in running machines and no more charges against the workers for electricity. At this writing it looks as though there has been another long, hard fight inaugurated that may spread into Chicago, Cleveland and other Clothing centers. While many of the small bosses have given in, the large manufacturers have combined and announce that they will not yield and that it will be a fight to the finish. Experience shows that if these workers accept a compromise they stand to lose practically everything they demand.

As in the East, so out on the Pacific coast the class struggle is raging. For several years the metal trades have been arranging to inaugurate the eight-hour day and gave notice to the employers to prepare for the readjustment. Several weeks ago the movement was started, but outside of the San Francisco district, where the demand was generally conceded, the men were forced to walk out and the bosses at once nailed up open shop signs and declared that in the future only non-union workers, "independents," would be employed. This struggle bids fair to continue for many months, as the union men are standing solid as a rock, while the capitalists are spending a barrel of money to import strike-breakers from the East.

As a sequel to this contest, the workers in the State of Washington and in Los Angeles, where the brewery workers also walked out, are making extensive preparations to carry the fight into the political field. Great mass-meetings have been held, and the references to the Labor und Socialist governments in San Francisco and Milwaukee have created unbounded enthusiasm and with the result that there will be something doing along the Western coast.

Still another damage suit has been filed under the Sherman anti-trust law. One Sitomer, a manufacturer of ladies' waists in New York, wants $150,000 to recompense him for the damage done to his business by the shirt waist strikers last winter and to soothe his mind and wounded feelings. The foxy Sitomer, realizing that the officers and members of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union haven't got much more than about thirty cents apiece, included in his list of defendants Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Inez Mulholland and other Society women who have money. Sitomer claims he was ruined by what Hon. Taft calls a "secondary boycott," in that he signed an agreement, but that the rebellious workers refused to put their noses to the grindstone because he persisted in furnishing material to scab concerns. The case will be watched with more than ordinary interest because the society women will learn where they step off.

In this connection it might be stated that the Hon. Taft canceled all engagements and worked overtime to knock out a provision voted into the appropriation bill by

Congress that none of the $100,000 voted to prosecute trusts should be used in persecuting labor organizations. By bringing tremendous political pressure to bear Taft won by a small majority, and now the unions must have a care how they proceed.

There is at least one place in the United States where the national agitators of the open shop made a stand by holding a public mass meeting and coming out in the limelight to look the people in the face while discussing the alleged principles for which they stand and the advisability of putting organized labor out of business. This extraordinary occurrence was witnessed recently by the good people of Hartford, Conn., where James A. Emery, of the National Citizens' Alliance, and Walter Drew, of the New York Employers' Association, held forth before a large audience, the majority of the people being doubtless attracted by the announcement that the meeting would be thrown open to persons desiring to ask questions. The speeches were of the usual sing-song, apologetic brand and were liberally interspersed with interruptions, so much so that the gents on the platform forgot their lines and attempted to get funny with personal allusions. Then when the orators got through and the people settled back to hear brief sentences of hot shot from the laborites and enjoy a real intellectual treat, the band began to play, the speakers disappeared and the audience was adjourned. Comment unnecessary.

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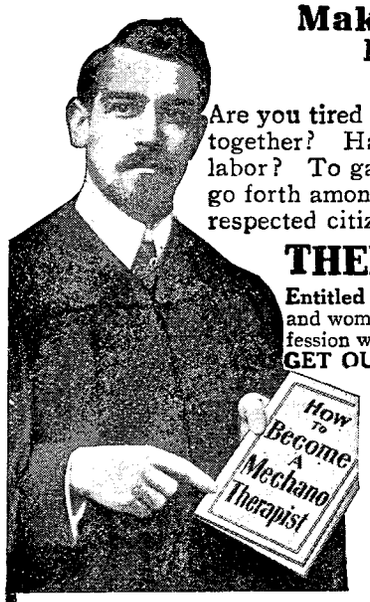
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class



A Union Seaman, Photo by Lewis W. Hine (See page 155.)

THE ROOSEVELT IDEA, BY HENRY L. SLOBODIN
CLARENCE S. DARROW ON PATRIOTISM
AUSTIN LEWIS ON THE INJUNCTION

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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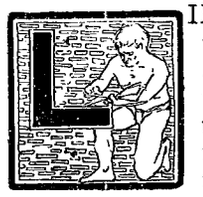
THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI SEPTEMBER 1910 No. 3

Roosevelt's Idea

By

Henry L. Slobodin



LIBERTY or order! Individual freedom or public safety! Sometimes one in the ascendant, sometimes the other; sometimes mutually exclusive, sometimes mutually complementary; these two ideas contended together and with each other throughout the history of all political institutions. It is obvious that governments have come into being as a necessary means of public safety. This meant the limitation of the primitive freedom of the individual. It meant class rule.

* * *

Whenever a government aspires to be greater than the dominating class of whose interests it is the guardian, that class responds by sacrificing public safety and taking liberty for its slogan. The Magna Charta was born of such a struggle. The same happened whenever the King stupidly allied himself with a decaying master class against the aspirations of a rising new class. The French Revolution was the greatest instance of the sacrifice of public safety, so that the dominance of the bourgeoisie be secured. That is all liberty, equality and fraternity meant. Wherever, on the other hand, the advancing bourgeoisie secured control of the government, public safety was inscribed on its banners. When parliament and crown, or the cities and the King, became allies against the robber barons, they said little about liberty and equality and a great deal about law and order.

The ruling class availed itself impartially now of one, now of the other principle, as it best served its interests. Where the political supremacy of the master class was undisputed, the morality of the day consisted in preaching law and order. Public safety became enthroned. The government was a sacred institution. But whenever the government threatened to escape from the control of the master class, then it became in the eyes of that class a thing of evil; to be hardly tolerated; whose activities should be confined to looking for drunkards and mad dogs.

These two policies of government contended for supremacy since the foundation of our government. The Hamiltonians proclaimed zealously the interests of public safety; the noble sovereignty of a strong government. The Jeffersonians declared for the sacredness of individual liberty.

* * *

Our own day and generation seems to have come under the dominance of the Jeffersonian policy. The economic power of the capitalist class is boundless and undisputed. So great has the power of that class now become, that it is in a

position to fulfill, in its private capacity, all the functions of a sovereign government. It can maintain private armies and protect its property and the lives of the capitalists. It can wield force, the chief attribute of sovereignty. It can also issue its own money. And with the organization of the trusts internationally, the capitalist class will be in a position to manage, through its private agents, the foreign affairs of the nation. It is a mistaken notion that political power resides only in the government. Any social class or group which is in a position to impose its will or its interests on any other class or group of society, regardless of state and government, is a political power. Our capitalist class possesses such political power. It has no more need of the agencies of government. It looks upon them with hostility or contempt. It is true that the capitalist class uses the government. But that is contrary to its own desire. It would much prefer to starve the people into abject submission by closing the mines and stopping the railways and factories. Instead it must contend with government commissions. It would much prefer to use the Pinkerton armies instead of the militia. To admit the supremacy of the government; to be forced to contend for its control; is to fight a battle which it must in the end lose. Of this our capitalist class is aware. Hence its attempt to organize its political forces outside of the government. In this the capitalist class is aided by the theory that ours is a government of limited powers. Also by one branch of the government itself—the judiciary. Since the days of Marshal, the judiciary has been assiducusly engaged in plucking the feathers out of the eagle's wings. It was, I think. Comrade Russell, who wrote on the "Treason of the Senate." He has been wasting good ammunition in the wrong direction. His penchant for the unearthing of public corruption has led him on the trail of the thieving United States Senate. The real treason to nation and state was wrought in the courts which transferred political power and sovereignty from the government to the ruling class in its private capacity. As part of the class struggle, there is the struggle on the one side for enlarging, on the other for further curtailing the owners of our government. Invariably, the working class is found on the side clamoring for the extension of the functions of government and, invariably, the capitalist class demand the curtailing of them.

* * * *

Such in brief is the political situation now and such it was when Roosevelt appeared on the arena of national politics.

Roosevelt appeared as a man of destiny. The conspiracy of the Republican bosses to have Roosevelt "kicked upstairs" was frustrated by the finger of Providence or the hand of Cholgosz. While serving McKinley's unexpired term, Roosevelt made a display at carrying out McKinley's policies. This was a decorous make-believe which misled no one. For there was a vast difference in the make-up of these two men. McKinley was a shrewd politician. Capitalism and republicanism were his God and his religion. He took his colors from Hanna. And Hanna, on one occasion, declared earnestly that God was a republican. Roosevelt spoke of McKinley with reverence in public and with contempt in private. On one occasion he referred to McKinley as a "stuffed club." He is too aristocratic to be a mere tool and he loaths the vulgarity of mere money-worship. For all that or because of that he served the capitalist class far more ably than McKinley. For Roosevelt is essentially aristocratic in his inclinations and sympathies. He never concealed his detestation of the ideals and aspirations of democracy. It is writ large in his works. He spoke with contempt of Jefferson as a demagogue. He said plainly that he despised the city workingmen and compared them unfavorably with the lawless, almost savage, cowboys. Certainly, he made use of the popular-catch phrases in his speeches. But no one need be misled by a word or a phrase, as his real views can always be found in his books.

* * * *

Roosevelt is not to be disposed of by a joke nor annihilated by denunciation. His pretensions are not to be laughed at. For they were recognized, not only by the American people, but also by the

governments of the great powers. Nor could the Socialists consistently denounce him. For what reason? Because he stood in defence of interests of the capitalist class? But he never pretended or promised to stand for anything else. In his frankness Roosevelt is almost brutal and stands head and shoulder above the politicians of our time. He compares favorably with Bryan, who is medieval in his observatism, and he towers above Hearst, who never means and is never true to what he says. It is true that Roosevelt denounced the Socialists as enemies of the existing religions and marriage institutions. It is obvious that Roosevelt is ignorant of the subject. The Socialist party declared religion to be a private matter and has nothing to say regarding the family. But there are few Socialists who do not hope and work for nobler religious institutions than the present ones and for a purer family than the existing one. Instead of avowing it frankly, the Socialists have adopted the method of disclaiming any views on these subjects or of asserting that they are positively in favor of leaving religion and family as it is. What good this method does us, I fail to perceive. The harm is obvious. Misunderstanding and misrepresentation become rampant. And Roosevelt is merely a victim of his ignorance. It is said by some that Roosevelt is an inveterate liar. This may be true for all I care. It is of no consequence. Roosevelt is a great public personage. We are concerned not with his morals, but with his ideas and policies.

* * * *

Roosevelt is a man with an idea. He is also an anachronism. He is certainly for the existing order with all his heart. But this is not all that he is. He does not believe that the people are fit to govern themselves; nor does he believe that the capitalists, the mere money-grubbers, know how to govern the people. Triumphant democracy suits Roosevelt not at all, and a mere money-bag civilization does not enlist his sympathies. Roosevelt stands for a governing class, distinct from the owning class and superior to the people.

Roosevelt is a man of "law and order;" a man of "public safety;" of stern capitalist justice. He abhors the shibboleths of Democracy. During the Moyer-Haywood agitation he told a well-known Socialist that if he had his way he would have stood Debs to a wall and filled him with lead.

A story is related of Roosevelt's nursery days. He was playing with some children in a neighbors house. The mother of the children entered the room. She found the children playing church. There was the audience, there was the minister, but Teddy was not in the room. "Where is Teddy?" she asked, surprised that he did not occupy the spot light in the play. "Oh, was the answer, "Teddy is in the next room; he is God Almighty." True or not, the story is characteristic of the man. To govern has become with him a fixed idea. All classes must submit to this idea. He did not hesitate to utter a scathing denunciation of "rich malefactors," and the people believed that Roosevelt was actuated by a holy indignation against the economic injustice. They threw their hats up in the air for Roosevelt. As a matter of fact, capitalism has no abler, no more consistent defender than Roosevelt. But Roosevelt has no patience with the attempt of the capitalist class to emasculate the government. In this he finds himself at odds with his class. Therein lies the secret of his insurgency.

Also the source of his popularity. Roosevelt is a Hamiltonian with a vengeance. He not only believes in a strong, efficient government, but also in a strong efficient governing class, independent of the economic classes. In this he is the most utopian reactionary that was ever prominent in American politics. His task is hopeless. Governing classes are disappearing fast wherever they existed. One can govern in United States in our time by the mandate of the capitalist class only. And the working class is struggling for the control of the government. No other artificial group has any place or chance. But this does not deter Roosevelt. He masks his desires and works with the drift.

* * * *

Roosevelt shows a deep understanding

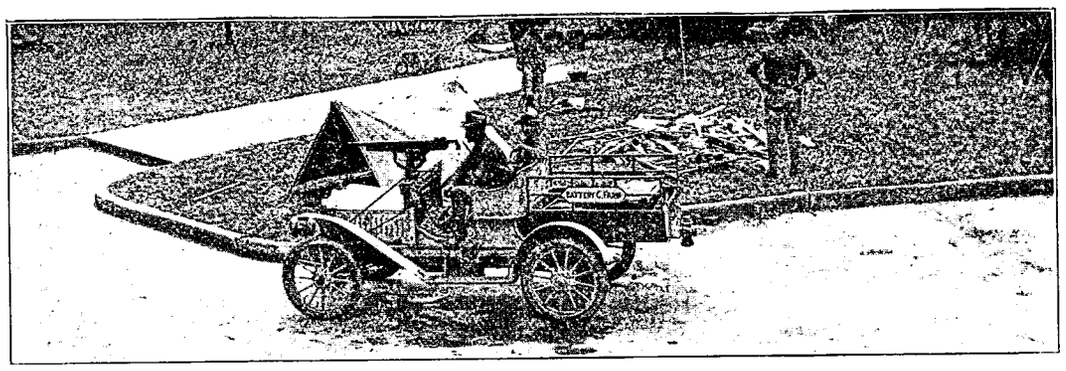
of the game of politics. He appreciates the value of the spectacular. Therein he emulates no less an authority than God himself. According to Heine, God gave the commandments to his chosen people on Mount Sinai, amidst thunder and lightning. Now, says Heine, the thunder and the lightning, the fire and the clouds, added nothing to the value of the commandments, and their absence would not have substracted one jot from their merits. But the dear Lord knew his oxen. He knew that commandments uttered amidst thunder and lightning would have infinitely better chance of being remembered, than if given in a prosaic, work-a-day manner. Our hero has a genius for self-advertising. For this he uses nations, Kings and Kaizers. Just now we find him among the Pennsylvania miners, "incognito." An automobile concern put a car at his disposal. Then it proceeded to advertise the fact, so as to get its money's worth out of the affair. Roosevelt sent the chauffeur and the car about their business for having violated the imposed secrecy. And then proceeded to introduce himself at each step, to old and young! "I am Col. Roosevelt, ex-president of the United States." It became evident that there was no danger of the colonel straining a leg in trying to keep his "incognito." Also that if any advertising was to be gotten out of the trip, Roosevelt was to get it and not any old car.

* * * *

The working class wants a strong government. Roosevelt wants it too. But he has no understanding or sympathy for the aspirations of the working class to be freed from economic exploitation. Roosevelt believes in the right of the capitalists to own the country. He believes it to be right for the workingmen to work and be exploited. But he also believes it to be providential for the Roosevelts to preside over both classes and rule them for their own good. If he had his way, he would have established caste in this country. He called men of his class to power. But they showed no sympathy for his plans. His failure with Taft was particularly ludicrous. It was absurd for him to look to the Bench for a strong government man. The "judicial mind" consists in having no understanding for any other public policy except the "liberty" of capitalist exploitation. The now classic exclamation: "Liberty! What crimes are commited in thy name!" would particularly fit the present situation. "Freedom of contract! By this sign shall we be saved!" the capitalists say, Freedom to work tender childhood; Freedom to keep mine and shop in unsanitary and dangerous condition. Freedom to sell adulterated goods and poisonous foods. Oh, their name is legion, these freedoms of capitalism. They are all equally dear to Taft's heart. No government may be permitted to interfere with these freedoms.

* * * *

People wonder why Roosevelt chose Taft. As a matter of fact he had no choice. He stands alone with his idea of a governing class, supreme over the economic classes. The capitalist class distrust his idea, but it knows that it can trust the man. Should capitalism be really threatened, Roosevelt would be the man of the hour to "save society." There is the making of a Galifet, the butcher of the Commune, in Roosevelt. In blood and iron, Roosevelt would come into his own. No man's future is as pregnant with fateful events, fateful and terrible to the working class, as is Roosevelt's future. The workingmen should watch Roosevelt. The Socialists will watch him.



Gatling Gun Protection for the Scabs

The Street Car Strike at Columbus

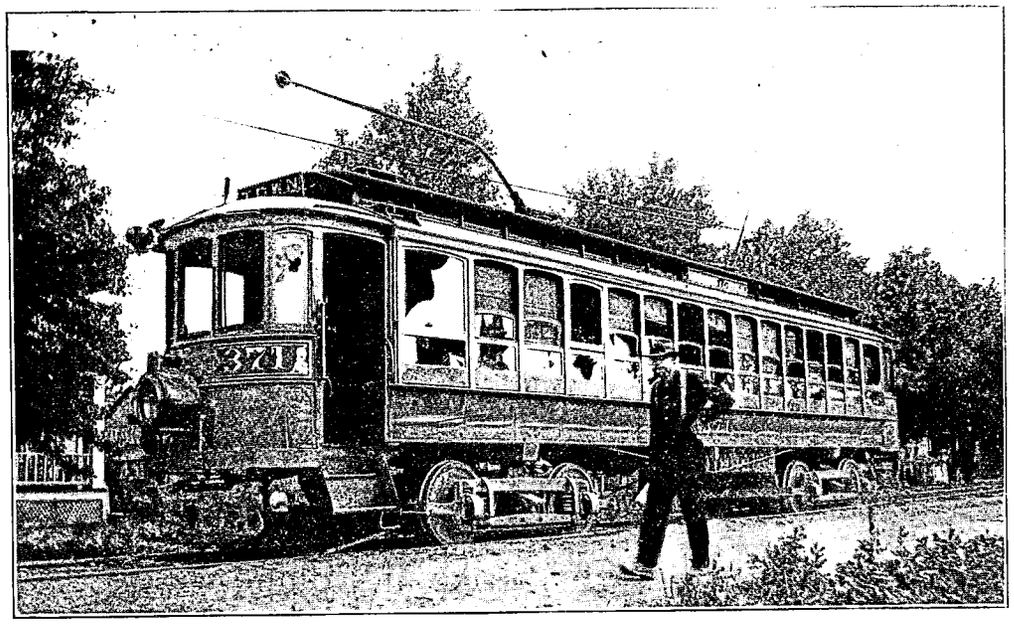
BY

EBER F. HESTON

AFTER a brief struggle of a week's duration against the intolerable and slavish conditions prevailing in connection with their relations with the Columbus Railway & Light Co., the employees, who had recently organized Local 538 of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A., came to an agreement on May 4th, 1910, with the company, whereby, among other concessions granted, there was to be no discrimination between employees because of membership in any union. But the agreement was no sooner made, than the company immediately began to seek ways and means of breaking it and disrupting the union. Among other things, they began to convert Milo Barns into what is now popularily known as Ft. Stewart in honor (?) of General Manager Stewart. They began to discriminate in the treatment of the men ruthlessly discharging many without cause, sending thugs, thieves, spies and strong-arm-men among them to browbeat and intimidate them, hoping thereby to disrupt the union. Although the men were beaten unmercifully by these thugs, insulted by detectives and mistreated by the officials of the company, they hung together valiantly and did everything possible to strengthen their position before the public.

On June 20th, the carmen charged discrimination against the union men on the part of the company, but the company, however, does nothing but deny the contentions of the men, making false statements in order to fortify its position, whereupon, the men unanimously vote to strike leaving the time for it to go into effect with the executive board.

On the 22nd of June ,the boys offered to arbitrate their differences but the company refused. About this time the big



Some One threw Beans and Rice

business interests of the city were about to hold an industrial exposition. Some three hundred of them petitioned the boys to refrain from putting the strike into effect until after the exposition. The minority maintained that the men should strike at once regardless of these interests, stating that no matter what they may say for or against Manager Stewart, these business men were his natural friends; but, that since groups of men follow their material interests, that, if the strike was put into effect at once, they seeing their own interests in jeopardy, would certainly be more inclined to bring pressure to bear upon Stewart then, than later. The majority desired to defer action in order to capture public sentiment. But the same business interests represented by the Chamber of Commerce gave the State Board of Arbitration formal notice of a strike pending, whereupon the board, an obedient tool of capitalistic interests, asserts its power to probe the situation and began June 24th, for the first time in its history, a compulsory hearing.

This hearing, in my opinion, was a farce pure and simple and was only beneficial, in that it afforded a means of placing the carmen's wrongs before the people. The board, itself, allowed evidence to be given and construed in such a way that black appeared white and white, black in favor of the company, yet while this was the case, enough truth came to the ears of the public to overwhelmingly convict the company of discrimination and many other abuses against the union men. The board, with the aid of the company's lawyers endeavored to get each of the men, by means of leading questions and other unfair methods, to construe all relations with the company, its officials, agents and so forth, as such, that the public might be lead to believe that there was no intimidation on the part of the company with the individual, personally, who was being questioned.

In one instance one man admitted no intimidation to himself, personally, when in fact he had been nearly killed by one of the company's thugs. One witness objected to these methods in questioning witnesses and was given to understand that those methods were perfectly proper and the witness left the stand with the absolute knowledge that the board was

but a tool of the corporation interests. During the hearing, the Railway & Light Company admits the importation of strike breakers but the hearing goes merrily on, enabling the company to train men for breaking the proposed strike.

On July 11th the carmen appealed to Gov. Harmon to invoke the law. Nothing doing.

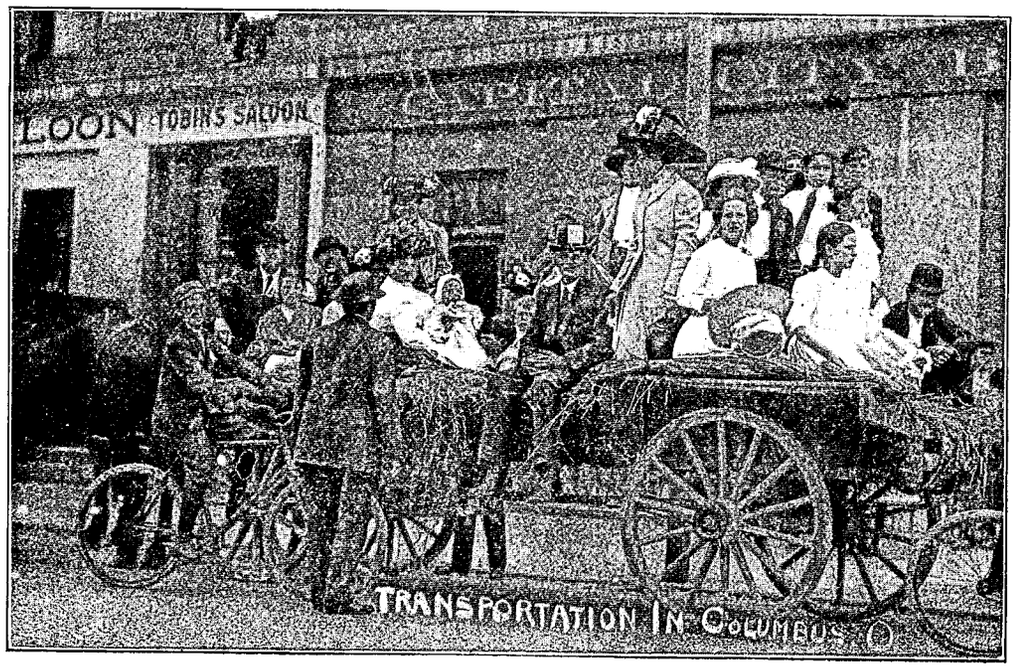
On July 20th the hearing was stopped in hopes of a peace conference, but it seems to be a play on the part of the company for more time, as on the 22nd the company refuses to renew negotiations.

On July 23rd a mass meeting was called in which the men voted to go on strike at 4 A. M.

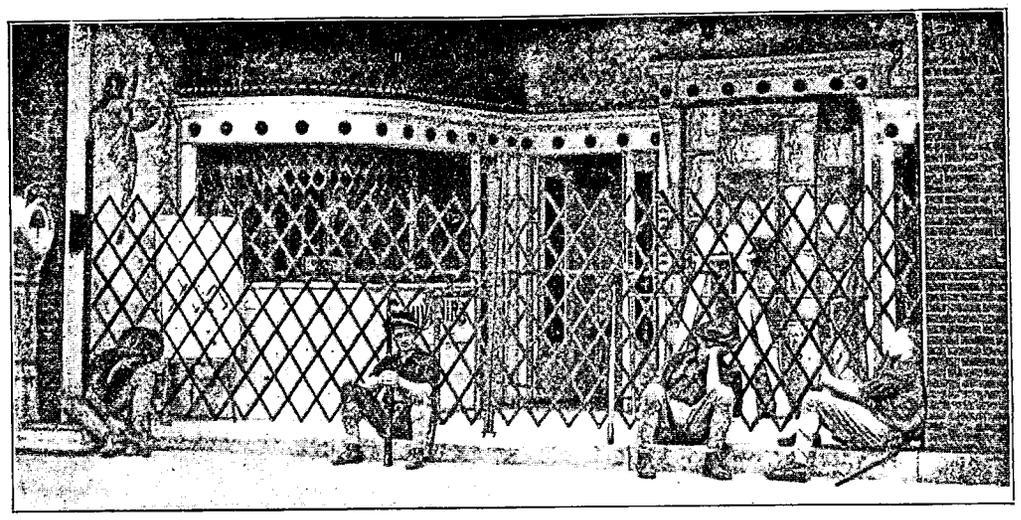
On July 25th, 17 out of 122 cars were operated with automobile protection. There was some rioting in which sixty-one arrests were made. At this time the arbitration board rendered its decision which found discrimination on the part of the company, but it clothed the findings in such language that the company may be able to secure a more or less victory based upon this decision. It was, of course, absolutely impossible for this board to have rendered a decision showing no discrimination, for in face of the overwhelming evidence, it would defeat the purpose of the board, viz. to deceive the carmen and the public as to its real objects and aims in protecting capital from the onward march of the labor movement.

July 26th finds the rioting increasing and non-union men firing into the crowds inciting violence in order to secure the militia and on the next day Mayor Marshall, a pretended friend of the carmen when appealing for their votes but now a willing tool of corporation interests, called, in obedience to their demands, on the sheriffs for assistance, also ordering troops. All cars were ordered stopped by his orders for a day and a half awaiting the arrival and distribution of troops and July 29th at 4:30 P. M. cars again were started protected at each street corner with troops. The rioting, however, continued and the next day reinforcements composed of two regiments were ordered to Columbus.

On Sunday July 31st, there was held a



Transportation in Columbus, Ohio



There are many Union Men Troopers

huge mass meeting on the steps of the State Capitol Building, under the auspices of the Central Labor Federaton. At this meeting, addresses were made by the National Organizer, Fred Fay, of the carmen's union, Attorney Bope, counsel for the union, James Henderson, a Socialist speaker, Secretary Savage of the State organization of the U. M. W. A. and others. This meeting was a success, and was attended with no violence

On August 1st, Governor Harmon brought a proposition to the men from the company, stating that the company was willing to make terms with the men provided they throw away their buttons, the emblem of their membership in a union. Business Agent Miller, for the men, replied that this would never be done, whereupon, Governor Harmon remarked, "Why! you are farther apart than I thought you were," thus disclosing his interests in the welfare of the corporation. There will be many Harmon buttons thrown away this fall, judging from the socialist sentiment developing among the boys.

On August 2nd, the Chamber of Commerce, that august body, that union of business men which has for one of its main objects the exploitation of labor, began to seek a means of peace. It is a notable fact that in one of the meetings that the Mayor was severely criticised for the manner in which he was controlling the situation and that he had remarked in the course of an address before that body, that he had risked his life in order to save the property of Columbus Railway & Light Co. While at the same time to the union leaders, he appeared as their friend in the controversy.

Cyrus Huling of this body, which had been so anxious for the strike to be deferred until after the exposition, offered a resolution demanding that the city be ruled with an iron hand. Rev. Washington Gladden, who would have labor believe that he is labor's friend, seconded this resolution. He who preaches a sermon on the Prince of Peace, advocated the iron rule of a Czar. What does this rule mean? It means that labor must be crushed by Russian tactics. It means that as Gen. Speaks, one of the officers in command, interprets it, that a citizen must be arrested on the slightest pretext, innocent or otherwise. It means that if your wife should forget herself to the extent of calling a scab, a scab, she is subject to arrest. Dr. Gladden is one of those, who are always active in negotiating peace, but always trying to get the men to concede something. It is time that we, as laborers, know this man as he really is,

a tool of the corporation interests. Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of the O. S U., one of the chief negotiators for a settlement of the last strike, declared in a sermon given at the Broad St. M. E. Church,that the people should hold themselves in conformity with the constituted authorities and held that sentiment and passion or acts begotten by them becloud and distort judgment and render it of little value. When we remember this man, acting with Dr. Glidden in the settlement of our last strike, using the influence of his official position, as the head of one of the largest institutions of learning in the land, defending the iron rule instigated and made necessary by the vested interests who rob labor of the major portion of labor's creation, we cannot but feel that there must be some truth in the Socialist contention that our colleges are subsidized and that the sources of information are no longer dependable. May the social revolution which is in the process of formation drive such useless appendages to society to the wall, is the wish of all liberty loving citizens.

Workers of Columbus, it is now up to you to decide what you shall do with your property commonly known as the Columbus Railway & Light Company. Legally, it is true, that certain wealhty individuals living in Philadelphia and elsewhere own a big portion of our streets, but in reality labor has produced everything of value in connection with this corporation. Every rail manufactured and laid, every spike driven, every tie placed in position, every wheel rolled and every ticket taken, represents the blood and sweat of suffering labor and the so-called capital invested, represents the accumulated surplus above the laborer's wage, which he created but did not receive. If labor creates this and did not receive it, manifestly, labor has been robbed of the results of that much of his labor. Hence, the corporation known as the Columbus Railway & Light Co is entirely labor's creation, every job and tittle. And since this is the case, it is deplorable that we have given over our streets to a few Philadelphia millionares with which to grind and browbeat their employees who have asserted their manhood to the extent of demanding a slightly greater portion of what they produce. It is up to the people of Columbus, who have been



Furnishing Coffee to Strikers, Columbus, Ohio

insulted and shot down by hired assassins of this souless corporation, to decide by their votes whether such unjust conditions shall prevail. Above all do not scab at the polls. Vote the Socialist ticket, take possession of your streets, own and control them in your own interests. Own your own job and work will be a pleasure; hours will be short; remuneration will be sufficient to supply generously all the needs of life. Your grievances will pass away; cars will be kept in a sanitary condition; "refrigerators" will pass away into the past history; crowded cars will be unknown; ample service during rush hours can and will be provided. Your fares can be taken in a quiet and gentlemanly way by a quiet, unruffled, calm and dignified conductor, who is prepared at all times to answer all questions. The motormen, no longer performing the service for three or four cars, can stop and start cars gently. Thus accidents will pass away into the ridiculous department of History. Vote the Socialist ticket and rule the disposition of labor's creation.

Some of the signs of a new approaching era are seen in the fact that the 6th Regiment contributed $500.00 towards the support of the men, showing that when we are ready to capture the reins of government, we need fear nothing from that score. **The soldiers wore "United We Walk"** buttons and were on the whole in sympathy with the carmen. The people have nobly walked long weary miles to and from work in order to achieve labor's victory. The unions have been with us without regard to any affiliations. It is a fine spirit expressed by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, an organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, when this class-conscious body contributed $500.00 to the cause, bespeaking the coming solidarity of labor in its future battles.



I Hate a Scab

On August 9th, the last regiment of troops was removed. The special police and the regular force are to police the city while the sheriff has deputized his assistants to police the lines outside the city. The rank and file of the regular police are with the carmen. They have their own troubles, since Mayor Marshall vetoed the ordinance giving them an eight hour day. The Mayor claimed that the city must economize but he permitted his own salary to be raised without protest. But since the company is offering a reward of $200.00 for the arrest and conviction of offenders against its property, the boys can expect many false arrests and arrests for minor offenses at the hands of the special officers many of whom belong to the riff raff of the country.

As this article goes to press, the strike committee have proposed to submit their demands to the State Board of Arbitration but the company remains unmoved from its former position. These demands include absolute recognition of the union, an arbitration clause by which all future differences are to be settled by arbitration and a wage scale of 25 cents an hour for the first years service and 27 cents an hour thereafter. Fifty-six policemen have refused to ride the cars and will be dismissed. The sheriff has deputized fifty strike breakers and the Governor has again ordered the troops out. not to protect the striking citizens but to aid the professional strike-breaking thugs. How this government of-for and by the capitalists loves to protect the workers when they demand a little more prosperity.

Military Dick of Ohio

By

R. U. Wise

SENATOR Charles Dick, who is division commander of the Ohio National Guard and Father of the iniquitous Dick Military Law, spent some time this month showing the street car strikers at Columbus what the army is maintained for.

The reports have it that everytime the boys on strike tried to get together to talk over the situation or attempted to remonstrate with scabs, Senator Dick (going to "run" again this fall") would order his troops to disperse them. The papers say the officials have ordered that the crowds shall not be permitted to form under any circumstances. "Go to any lengths to prevent this," is the order given.

It is a little bit unfortunate that Senator Dick should be called upon to show his hand so close to the fall elections, but the working class in Ohio has shown itself willing to be fooled so many times in the past, that Military Dick probably thinks he will be able to bamboozle them again this fall.

Under the Dick Military Law military service is made compulsory. Men on strike against their employers can be commandered at the will of an army officer and dragged into service.

This outrageous law was sneaked through both houses of Congress and signed by Theodore, the best friend the trusts have ever had.

But we are not surprised to see Senator Dick turning the troops against the workers of Columbus. We expected the Grand Trunk Railroad to call for the militia to be sent to Durand, Michigan, to intimidate the men on strike there.

The army is maintained to subdue wage workers when they unite to demand a little more of the goods they create. It is the tool of the capitalist class, the weapon used by them to **keep the workers in subjection.**

Thanks to the growing intelligence of the workingmen and women, and the lessons taught us so well in Columbus and elsewhere, the workers no longer can be wooed into joining the Army. All the pathetic dribble of the Willie Hearst, and other capitalist papers about Boy Scouts is unable to bring into life any spirit of patriotism among the men who work and who are beginning to use their brains.

They know the workingmen have no country—the capitalists own them all. They have reached the point where they refuse to lend themselves to schemes for increasing an army that is organized for the purpose of crushing down their efforts to secure better living conditions.

You can look for the patriot in Pennsylvania and you will find him not. The boys along the Grand Trunk know what the troops are maintained for. They have just met them in their last victorious strike.

In Ohio too they are learning their lesson well. The Army is gaining the ignominy it so surely deserves. for we have come to see that it is one of the instruments that makes slaves of workingmen and working women. It is in the service of the CAPITALIST CLASS.

* * *

Extracts from the Dick Military Law.

Section 1. That the militia shall consist of **every ablebodied** male citizen of the **respective** States and Territories and the District of Columbia, and **every able-**

bodied male of foreign birth **who has declared his intention to become a citizen,** who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, and shall be divided into two classes: The organized militia, to be known as the National Guard of the State, Territory, or District of Columbia, or by such other designations as may be given them by the laws of the respective States or Territories; the remainder to be known as the **Reserve Militia: Provided,** That the provisions of this Act and of section sixteen hundred and sixty-one, Revised Statutes, as amended, shall apply only to the militia organized as a land force.

Section 4. That whenever the United States is invaded or in danger of invasion from any foreign nation, or of **rebellion against the authority** of the government of the United States, or the President is unable with the regular forces at his command to **execute the laws of the Union,** it shall be lawful for the President to call forth such number of the militia of the States or of the States or Territories or of the District of Columbia as he may deem necessary to repel such invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose, through the governor of the respective State or Territory, or through the commanding general of the militia of the District of Columbia, from which States, Territory, or District such troops may be called, to such officers of the militia as he may think proper.

Provided further, That when the military needs of the Federal Government arising from the necessity to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, or repel invasion, cannot be met by the regular forces, the organized militia shall be called into the service of the United States in advance of any volunteer force which it may be determined to raise.

* * *

AT THIS MOMENT THE MILITIA IS ENGAGED IN INTIMIDATING STRIKERS IN MICHIGAN; IT IS HELPING THE STREET CAR COMPANY IN COLUMBUS IN ITS FIGHT AGAINST THE MEN: IT IS BEATING, KILLING AND ENDEAVORING TO CRUSH OUT THE SPIRIT OF UNION AMONG THE MEN IN THE IRWIN MINING DISTRICT, IN PENNSYLVANIA THIS IS WHAT THE MILITIA IS USED FOR!

But what confounds intelligence is that in all Countries, the beggars, the poverty-stricken, the disinherited, the over-worked beast of burden, ill-fed, badly housed, badly clothed, badly educated as are the three-fourths of the inhabitants of every Country, march like one man, at the first call, whatever may be the cause of the war.

People who would not take one step to render a service to their neighbours, workers like themselves, march hundreds of miles in order to get killed for the masters who sweat them.

Hervé.



Stockade at Herminie, Pa.

The Class War in the Coal Fields

By

THOMAS F. KENNEDY



HE Strike" are the words most appropriate to designate an article dealing with the situation in the Irwin coal field, because it is the strike of the year if not of the decade. There was nothing out of the ordinary about any of the other strikes that have occurred so far this year. The biggest strike in point of numbers and duration is that of the Illinois miners. It has been since its inception strictly orthodox, including the conflict of authority between the district organizations and the National Board and President Lewis. In Illinois both sides were, and had for years, been organized. All of the arts of diplomacy and bargaining were exhausted before the strike was declared. It is warm, pulsing stomachs against steel safes full of gold.

The Irwin strike is rashly unorthodox. Excepting the formal declaration it has all of the characteristics of a violent revolution.

More persons have been killed, injured and taken prisoners than in many of the bloody uprisings in the Balkans or South America which are so regularly exploited on the front pages of the "Joinals."

Fifteen persons, two of them women,

have met violent bloody deaths. Some of these were killed in open conflict, others in skirmishes, but most of them were brutal, cold-blooded murder of men who dared to tell a prospective scab that there was a strike on.

Nobody knows how many strike breakers have been killed at work owing to inexperience and their bodies burned or secretly buried at night. When a big mine is running with experienced men there is hardly a day passes without some being killed or badly injured, but if there are any accidents now nobody ever hears about them. Of course they are killing men and like wise of course they are burying them secretly, probably with the connivance of the county authorities.

Some of those arrested were deputy sheriffs. One is in jail for the most brutal, cold-blooded murder in the criminal annals of Pennsylvania. Three others are out on bond charged with murder. One operator is out on bond for having kicked and killed a pregnant woman.

Some of the strikes that received so much notoriety from both the capitalist and socialist press were but child's play alongside of this. The waist maker's strike in New York was a case in point. Proximity of course had much to do with it. The capitalist papers could safely excoriate the little capitalists that are engaged in the waist industry. They did not own the papers. They did not furnish any of the advertising and gave the "Jionals" a chance to prove to the workers how they love them.

For shocking sensations, intensely dramatic incidents and solid elemental tragedy this Irwin strike surpasses anything since Homestead.

There were not fifteen killed in the skirmish of the waist makers, no three hundred injured, no 1100 prisoners taken as has been the case in Irwin. There were no fourteen foot stockades to keep strike breakers in and strikers out. There was no regiment of "Black Hundreds" collected from the slums and barrel houses of Pittsburg and other cities, armed to the teeth and sworn in as deputy sheriffs. There were no evictions from company houses and an enforced life in overcrowded tents like nomads of the desert.



Family of John Potlar who was Murdered by a Deputy

The whole labor press of America have neglected not only their duty but their opportunities in this Irwin strike. While they are discussing craft autonomy and shouting with joy about Bucks, one of the greatest battles of the class war is raging and they don't even seem to know it, excepting in Pittsburg.

The Greensburg Argus, a Democrat organ published in Greensburg has done good service in exposing the insolent, drunken thugs that parade around armed to the teeth looking for trouble and if they can't find it—making it. The Washington Labor Journal edited by William Black, a printer and published or edited in Washington, Pa. has published every word it could secure about the strike.

When the deputies commit an especially vicious act of villany in true bandit style, they always cut the telephone wires so that the first report that reaches the rest of the world is their own cooked up account.

Of course the operators being the most powerful and wealthiest capitalists in Pennsylvania can easily muzzle the capitalist press. They have muzzled it and only very small harmless items appear in their inside pages except in the "Leader."

They are offering $6.00 an oven for men to pull coke. A man can pull three ovens a day so that they are offering

$18.00 a day for strike breakers. They are offering all kinds of minor inducements such as free fare, free furniture, moving and free rent. The regular price for pulling coke in the Irwin field is about 75 or 85 cents an oven.

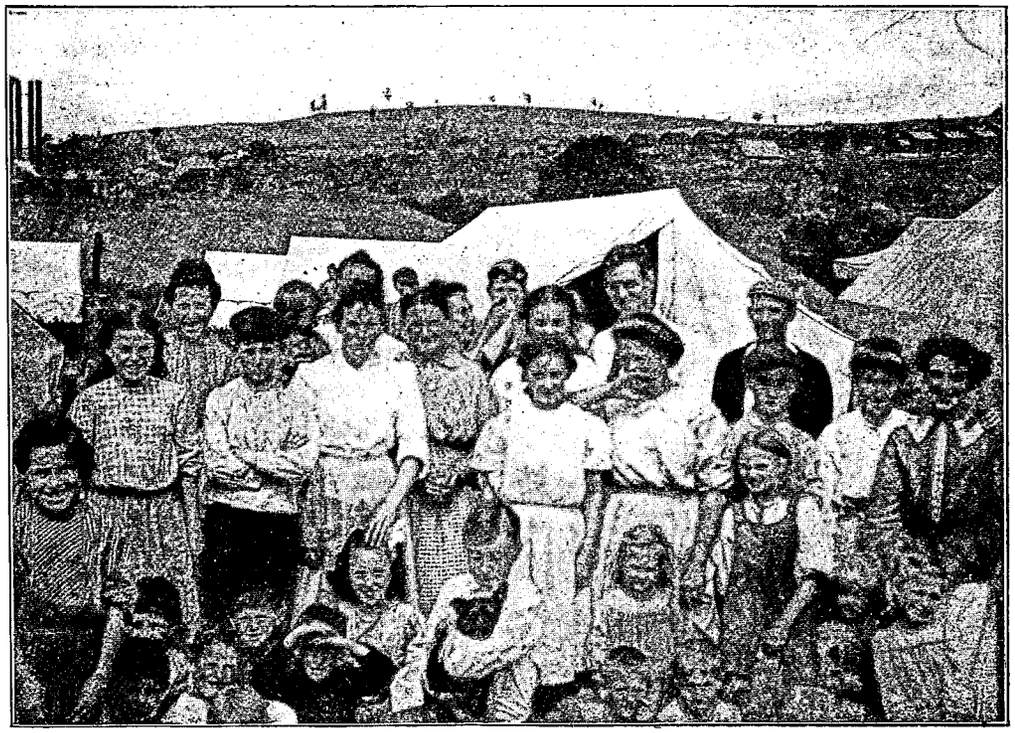
The Union War Chest.

The Syndicalists can scoff at the war chest, but had it not been for the war chest of the Miners' Union, the strike would be but a memory. As soon as the slaves revolted they were ordered out of the company houses. Had the strikers been obliged to get out of the district there would have been no difficulty about getting and keeping strike breakers. But in anticipation of the evictions the officials of the Miners Union ordered 400 tents used in Alabama and bought 100 more, making 500 tents now in use. In many cases where a man rents from a private individual or owns his own home as some of the miners do around the larger towns, the men and boys occupy the tents while the women and smaller children sleep in the houses.

The camps are a constant reminder that there is a strike. The stupidest strike breaker is bound to discover the meaning of the camps before he is very long on the job. So long as there is one single striker's tent in the Irwin field the strike is not over.

At first living in the camps was a picnic and was the first holiday some of the miners and their families have had in their lives. But now summer is on the decline. Already the nights are chilly and crisp October is only a month ahead so the strikers are chaffing and growing impatient. The growing frequency of clashes with guards and scabs is evidence of their growing desperation.

The scab hunters tapped a rich vein about the middle of August. In 1903 the Meyersdale region was swamped with new importations to break a long drawn out and bitterly contested strike. The Union was annihilated and the strikers driven out and pursued with a relentless black list. The scabs were never white washed and never forgiven but



Camp at Madison, Pa.

were treated by the survivors of 1903 as traitors and enemies. For several years the operators in the low coal of central Pennsylvania have been so hard pressed by competition with the cheaply mined coal of West Virginia that the mines have been idle or partly idle. For several years work has been slack and times hard around Meyersdale so that it was not difficult for the scab hunters to prevail on those that had scabbed in 1903 to scab again.

They know what they are doing too. They are not being deceived as are so many. They are going to stay. They are going armed and to a comrade who spoke to a batch of them going to Latrobe, they said they would shoot the first man that dared to attack or molest them even so much as by telling them there was a strike. These are the first experienced miners that have been brought in to take the places of the strikers. They are foreigners and of the same nationality that is the backbone of the strike in the Irwin field. These fellows should be able to get at least $10.00 a day and I have no doubt they will.

Cossacks vs. "Black Hundreds."

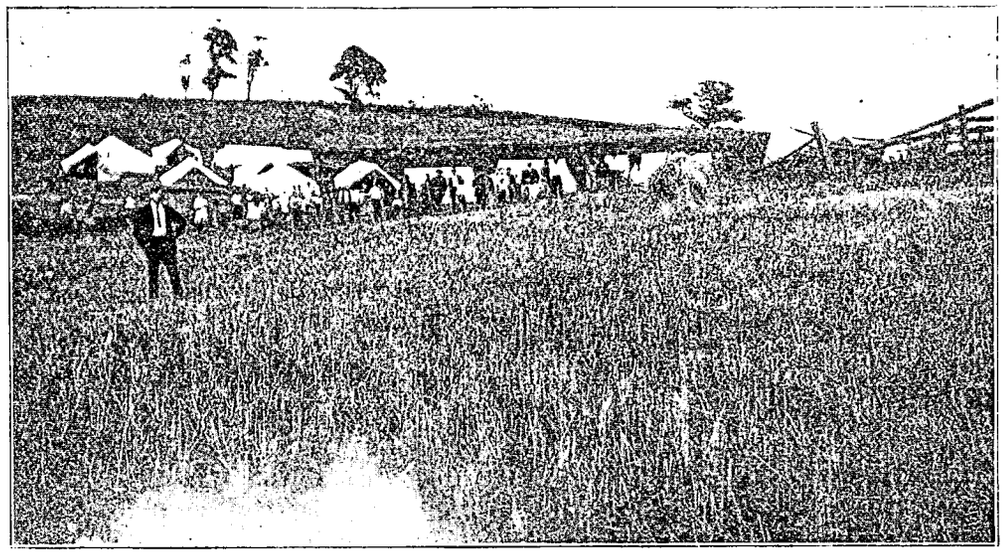
Brutal as the state constabulary have shown themselves on numerous occasions the testimony on all sides is overwhelming that compared with the thugs and bums engaged as deputies by the coal companies the State Police are gentlemen.

One of the odd developments is the cordial dislike of the State Police for the deputies. The State Police are not backward about declaring that practically all of the rioting and killing has been caused by the deputies. You must understand that economic interests are at the bottom of this feeling of these two forces for each other. The rank and file of the Police get $60.00 a month and board, no matter what is doing. When all is quiet they get their pay for patroling some country road on a well groomed saddle horse. If there must be a strike they would much rather see a nice quiet orderly one where there are no riots.

But the deputies are in a different boat. If all were quiet they would have no occupation. So to make their jobs secure they must keep something doing all the time. They explode a charge of dynamite under the corner of an unoccupied house, fire a lot of shots some night or when they meet an unarmed striker on the highway slug him or arrest



Camp at New Alexander, Pa.



Camp at Edna, Pa.

him. When there is any real duty to perform, when there is a batch of strike breakers expected who must be prevented from talking to the strikers the first thing they do is fill up with whiskey. At one hotel where a bunch of them stopped, six drinks of whiskey in their stomachs and a half pint in their pockets was the regular ration, before going out on any special duty.

Who They Are.

Not only every race but every combination and every cross of every race that ever came from Europe is represented from the Artic Ocean to the Persian Gulf and from the Caspian Sea to the Bay of Biscay. Around Bradenville and Latrobe there are a great many Italians, the staunchest and most resolute group engaged in the battle. At Claridge and Export there are large numbers of Poles. John Potlar of Claridge who was brutally murdered by one of the "Black 100's" was a Polish Catholic. Around Greensburg, where the strike started, there are many Americans and Americanized Germans. At Madison on the Hempfield branch, I saw more Scotch and Irish miners than I have seen since I worked in the mines on the Pan Handle 27 years ago. The Arona mine, where these men work, has not turned a wheel since the first day of the strike. A car has stood half loaded since the last day they worked. Not even one man has deserted at Madison.

Alert and Suspicious.

In the early days of the strike the Socialists at Greensburg engaged a big hall and advertised a meeting of striking miners for Sunday and had John Slayton make an address. The bills did not say anything about who was calling the meeting and as soon as the strikers, especially the foreigners, arrived they wanted to know, "Who calla that meet?" They admitted after the meeting that they suspected that it was the bosses had called it to make some move to disrupt the strike. They were delighted when they found it was a working class political party wishing to give them instruction and encouragement.

It is really dangerous for a stranger to enter the mining camps alone without something to show, some pass or some credential. I was rash enough to venture out along the New Alexander branch visiting the camps at New Alexander and Salemville. An organizer or some officer of a local went with me or I knew some one at all the camps I visited excepting those at New Alexander. The "Black Hundreds" and the state police eyed me suspiciously.

When I got to one camp, I stopped in the road opposite where a group were standing inside the fence, but there were only scowls for me. I walked over and made as if to enter when one of them asked in a low, menacing tone, "What you want?" The instant I saw the first scowl I knew I was under suspicion. I did not in the least resent it. In fact I was rather pleased to find that these latest recruits (they were the last to join the strike) were so alert that they suspected anyone that even spoke to those whom they looked upon as enemies of their class. The fellow that acted as spokesman while I was squaring myself and proving that I was not a spy nor a scab is holding the paper in the photograph. The paper is the charter of the newly organized local. This experience taught me not to visit camps without a conductor. Both the srikers and the guards are suspicious of strangers.

The Injunction.

The injunction is sweeping. It forbids marching in bodies anywhere in Westmoreland County. It forbids the strikers from coming anywhere near the mines, and is such a thoroughly workmanlike job that when the strikers wanted to attend a funeral they had to get a permit from the judge and then the deputies violated the terms of the permit and Tom Jamison compelled the man that carried the American flag to lower it passing Jamison No. 2.

This No. 2 manned by the same kind of foreigners thousands of whom are on strike, is one of the mines that the strikers have not been able to close or even cripple. It is a coke plant and many of the workers work outside. Jamison felt that it would have bad moral effect on his submissive slaves who refuse to revolt to have the American flag carried along the public highway, so backed by his armed retainers like a feudal baron of medieval times he ordered the AMERICAN FLAG LOWERED. I wonder what some of these patriots think of it, some of these fellows who are always waving the old flag until they dull the points on the stars.

The injunction of course forbids the strikers under penalty of imprisonment for contempt of court, to speak to any strike breaker in order to tell him that there is a strike.

After the injunction was secured and especially after it was made permanent, the operators with a child-like faith in its efficacy began to send strike breakers in on the regular trains. The strikers either ignored the injunction or never heard of it. Anyhow I have seen them on train and trolley scanning faces and sizing up passengers and when they suspected one, ask him for a match or a light or find some excuse to engage him in conversation. Nobody will ever know how many men have been turned back by these scouts. Lately, however, the companies have been waiting until they collected a car load or part of a car load and then they would have a special haul the car in at day light in the morning. The strikers have ignored and dodged the injunction, but hundreds of them have been arrested and held for court.

The Storm Centre.

Although only one killing has occurred at Export it has gained the most notoriety. The few sensational items that have appeared in the capitalist press of Pittsburg have nearly all borne an Export date line. The biggest mine of the Westmoreland coal company employing over 1,000 men, is located at Export. It is a wretchedly dirty, straggling settlement twenty-eight miles from Pittsburg on a branch of the P. R. R. that runs up from Trafford City along the winding banks of Turtle Creek.

The company made desperate efforts by means of threats and cajolery to operate a big mine at Export, but the best they have ever been able to do was about ten per cent of the normal output.

They erected a big seachlight on the tipple and kept swinging it around all night. The searchlight was threat, menace, irritant and challenge all rolled into one. Some persons began to shoot at the light. Strikers of course were suspected but there was no proof against them. It may have been deputies to keep up the excitement and make their jobs secure. It may have been farmers or other sympathizers. Whoever it was they were good shots because they fired from the different points on the hills always a mile or more distant. They broke the light a number of times and made it so hot for the operator that he skidooed and left the light to penetrate the night in one direction. The sharp shooters were always very considerate and fired a big charge of powder or dynamite as a warning to get out of range before the shooting began. In addition to the searchlight they perforated the shacks erected for the scabs called scabtown, but no one was ever hurt. It was a sort of retaliation for the insolence and brutality of the deputies. Most of the alleged dynamiting was done around Export.

The Scabs,

The few scabs that have remained at work from amongst the strikers at the few mines that are running are not working for the sake of the trifle of money they expect to earn during the strike, but for rewards in the form of soft snaps after the strike is over. They are usually disappointed in this.

Andrew Carnegie is the only man that ever rewarded his scabs, or has his hirelings Schwab and Corey do it. And by the same token he pursued the strikers the most relentlessly.

The fellows who go in to scab expecting and being promised "Something good when it is over," are by long odds the most dangerous. They are usually the fellows who believe what they have been taught by their capitalist masters that there is a chance for every man to rise in this glorious land of liberty. And they mean to rise even though they have to cut a few throats to get there. They are the fellows who accept that delicious bit of lickspittle, sucker philosophy attributed to Fra Albertus that "Only those that do more than they get paid for ever get paid for more than they do."

The other kind of scabs are men who never work only during a strike. Men who do not want a steady job. Men who could not keep a steady job for any length of time. Some of these fellows that come in really don't mean to injure the strikers but want to work for a stake.



Camp in Church Yard near Salemville

This is especially true of the American hoboes.

Of all those engaged in the struggle, the most to be pitied are the few workers who own a little home or who are trying to pay for one. After the battle, whether the miners win or lose, they will be the special objects of the master's wrath. If the home is partly paid for they are liable to lose it. If it is clear they will likely be obliged to sacrifice it when they are driven elsewhere to hunt for another master.

Those that lived in the company camps, who have only about two wheel barrow loads of furniture, being "independently poor," are in better shape to fight the battle than those that have something to lose.

They cry out for Roosevelt to save them!

This strike, now (August tenth,) has reached about the same stage as the Anthracite strike had reached when Roosevelt interceded with the miners in the interest of the defeated operators.

Baer and his allies were defeated and if ever a body of workers in the wide world were robbed of the fruits of their victory it was the Anthracite miners in 1902.

If tying up an industry and stopping the output is the test of a successful strike the Irwin strike is a success. Only a moiety of the normal output is being shipped, and it is costing so much that about a year of such operation would put the operators in the hands of the sheriff.

If Roosevelt or Taft or any other politician intercedes it will not be in the interest of the miners, or the public, or in response to the squeals nor hysterical shrieks of the small business men, but to save the face of the defeated operators. It will be a repetition of what occurred in the Anthracite fields and an attempt to rob the workers of the fruits of their well earned victory.

Watch when the capitalist press begins to notice the strike. That will be the preparation for intervention on the part of Governor, President or his Majesty at Lobster Bay. If they raise their voices it will be after a conference with the operators and athteir request. If the operators of the Irwin coal field permit Roosevelt or any other politician to come in to the fight it will be equivalent to unconditional surrender. It will be the same as a positive declaration that their rebellious slaves have been victorious and have forced concessions from them. Concessions which if even hinted at a year ago would have caused them to laugh in their sleeves.

Your Job

By

ED. MOORE



OUR job fixes your standing in society.

Working on a job tells everyone that you are hired by a master.

Where there is a servant there is a master, and there is also two classes. A master class and a servant class.

There cannot be equality and freedom in a land where there are masters and servants . In the eyes of the law, a servant is not the equal of his master. One who must obey another's orders to get money to live on, is not free.

While working for a master you are his property. He buys you for the wages he pays you. Sold into slavery for wages, the law does not recognize that you have rights equal to your master's. It gives him the right to make you do what he wants, and it lends him police, deputy sheriffs, state militia and judges to force you to obey them.

In every case in which the rights of the masters and the servants are brought into question, the masters have the advantage, for it is members of their class who run the courts. Law makers and judges are masters, and they want cheap servants. They are not going to voluntarily do anything to encourage an independent spirit in the servants. They do not want the servants to think they are as good as their masters.

Servants do not come into and go out of a shop when they like, nor do they pick out the kind of work they want. The time is set and the work is given out by a boss.

When the servants stick together and get the boss to agree to let them start later and quit sooner, they do not change from servants to masters. They are still servants working to make wealth for a master.

While the law says you must be a servant if you are not a master, you cannot be " a free citizen." The job holds you in bondage. The right to vote does not change the standing of a servant. At common labor or at skilled labor, the native and the foreigner get the same rate of pay.

Citizenship is not something you can eat. It is not clothes, nor will it do for a lodging place. A citizen who is a servant, if he wants to live,must eat, has to wear clothes, and must find a lodging somewhere. To get these he must sell a part of his life to a master. For this part of his life he is paid wages.

It is customary to call the masters the wealthy, and the servants, the poor. It is easy to tell who is a master and who is a servant. Masters are well fed, well dressed, and live in fine houses. Servants have a half-starved look, wear shabby clothes, and live on the side streets and alleys. The masters live on the money they get from the wealth the labor of the servants make. The servants live on the money they get for making the things the masters own.

Business is the name the masters call getting the wealth made by the servants. There are many kinds of business, for instance: banking business, insurance business, liquor business, advertising business, stock broking business, law business, railroad business, produce business, and —one is tempted to say—funny business of all kinds.

Business is different from working for wages. The difference is that you get more out of business than you put into it. Getting more out of business than you put in, is called profit making. The profit is that part of the wealth made by the servants for which they did not get anything. The servants that make the wealth, have to keep themselves, the masters, and the other servants they hire to keep them comfortable and amuse them.

Wages are paid for work. Servants call work a job. Work makes you tired and breaks down your health. When you are sick or tired, you do not care to look at things or read. If you do not go to look at things and you do not read, you get stupid. It is the work that makes the servants stupid, that makes the wealth the masters use to get automobiles, yachts, race horses, flying machines, city, seaside and mountain homes, elegant clothes, and expensive food. Masters enjoy the wealth made by their servants.

A servant who has a short work day and high wages, says he has a good job. He means that he does not have to work as long for his master for the food he eats, the clothes he wears, and his lodgings, as some other servants have to for commoner food, poorer clothes, and less comfortable lodging. But he still must obey his master, for he can only hold his good job while he pleases him.

Servants are always looking for good jobs. To hold a good job, they will let a master swear at them, cheat them and then laugh at them, and still pretend that they respect him.

Masters like servants who do not kick when they swear at them. Masters have a big opinion of their own dignity, and they think it is respected when servants do not talk back when they are cursed. To reward these meek servants, the meekest of the lot, are given enough money to keep them out of the poorhouse after they have their legs and arms chopped

off in the service of their masters, or after they get too feeble or too old to do profitable work. Masters who give back to the servants enough to keep them from being paupers, are praised by their hangers-on and timeservers for being kind and good. Workingpeople have a short, plain word that tells what sort of people sing praises to get favors. They call them suckers.

Servants who have families are very much afraid of losing their jobs. A father would rather be kicked and cursed by a master than see his children go hungry. He will let his master cheat and abuse him to hold his job. Masters know that the love of parents for their children fastens the servants to their jobs better than the strongest steel chairs.

Married and unmarried servants must have a job to get money. They have only a poor chance of getting money any other way, unless they beg or steal it. For a servant to steal, in the opinion of the masters, is almost as wicked as to murder one of them. They also think begging is one of the meanest things servants can do. "Patriotism" is what the masters call the murder by workingmen they dress up in uniforms and send out under a flag they call the "Banner of Freedom." "Promoting public welfare," is what the masters call the begging they do to get the government to give them money to help them in their business.

Congress and the Legislatures always do what they can to help the masters get wealth from the labor of the servants. They give them Panama Canal contracts, Alton railroad bonds, Alaska land grabs, incorporate mining companies, and legalize strikebreaking agencies. The jobs Congress and the Legislatures give the servants is to put them breaking stone as convicts if they strike for higher wages.

Jobs and the government are owned by the masters. Owning the jobs, the power of life or death, over the servants, gives the masters control of the government. Control of the government gives them the authority to vest the titles of the ownership of wealth in themselves, and the legal power to set the length of the workday and the rate of pay. The length of the work-day sets how much of their lives the servants must sell to the masters, and the rate of pay sets how much they shall get for it.

A political party, the masters find, is a better burglar's tool than a jimmy. Congress and Legislatures are far better pals than expert safe blowers. Courts a better fence (A place where stolen goods are sold) than pawnbrokers' shops; police, army and militia better strong-arm men than any gang of footpads.

Intelligent servants, who do not want to fight against each other to get jobs to make wealth for masters, have organized a working people's political party. It is called the Socialist Party. When it gets hold of the government it will change the law of ownership and make the masters work to make the wealth they get. They now get their wealth by giving jobs to servants to make it for them.

The Injunction

By

AUSTIN LEWIS

AS for the Injunction there is "much talk about it and about" and no definite conclusion among the talkers. It could not be otherwise. The Injunction is a concrete fact, and, as such, cannot be got rid of by any amount of talking. One may walk about it and tell the towers thereof, and saving an accumulation of technical and, for the most part, worthless knowledge, there is nothing gained thereby. The Injunction in spite of all analysis still remains a very present enemy and obstacle to the labor movement.

Clarence Darrow recently disposed of the question rather tersely when he said "In a labor case it depends altogether upon the point of view of the judge. If the judges are your friends you will get favorable decisions." This reduces decision to a mere matter of prejudice. And so it is, where there is a great economic struggle pending—prejudice plus economic interest. The two combined are the factors in interpreting the law as between a possessory and a revolutionary class.

And since the possession of the means of declaring what is law is the most cherished prerogative of power as indeed it is the best evidence of the possession of that power, it is obvious that before we can get working class law, we must have judges who have the working class point of view, and that implies a considerable advance upon anything which looms before us in the immediate future.

Lawyers and others who are enamored of abstract legal ideas have fulminated against the use of the Injunction in labor disputes upon several grounds. They contend that the Injunction is an equitable remedy to be employed by the chancellor in order to prevent a person suffering an irreparable injury, for which there is no remedy at law; that to employ the injunction in cases where there is no legal transgression is bad law and leads to tyranny, as is also the use of the injunction to prevent the commission of a public offense; that to punish for contempt for the violation of such an injunction is really the assumption by the judge of powers which do not belong to him and a denial of the fundamental right of trial by jury. No doubt, this is all very true. No doubt, the use of the injunction in labor disputes is a new departure, and not in accord with former practice. But, what of it?

No ruler ever yet failed to use a convenient legal remedy because it was new. No class battling for supremacy will ever hesitate to use any usable instrument to defend its interests or to aid itself in its aggressions. Now and again it is true a ruling class, as in Spain, will fall back upon a barbaric and stupid method of reprisal which only brings contempt upon itself. Such acts, however, are evidence of unfitness and lack of sagacity, which is perhaps the reason why they have been more frequently favored by ecclesiastics than by other rulers.

The injunction labors under no such burden of archaism. It is not barbaric; on the contrary, it is very civilized. It is a weapon which could have been forged only in a highly developed country. It is a beautifully polished rapier with the

cynical sneering light which plays on the surface of the weapon of refinement. It is clever, mocking and paradoxical. In a country which expilicitly provides certain methods of trial for the accused, it sweeps them away without ceremony; it places the judge above the law; it punishes disobedience to illegal decisions with fine and imprisonment. It works quietly and securely. There is no ostentation about it. It has a Star Chamber method and a peculiar procedure, all its own.

Can one successfully attack such a remarkably clever invention by merely pointing out that it is unusual? Is it any argument to say that it does not conform to recognized legal standards? Will those who have promoted and those who profit by the use of the new machine discard it because it does not correspond with older models? To think so is absurd. You may attack the injunction with logic, knowledge, wit and eloquence; you may prove it tyrannical, you may even establish that it is ridiculous. But the injunction will persist as long as the class that finds it useful can safely use it.

The fact of its novelty is so much the greater testimony to the ingenuity and astuteness of the legal servants of the dominant class. To have overcome a whole system of law and to have wiped out a constitution, so far as the intent of that constitution goes, is an achievement which will place American jurists high in the heaven or deep in the abysm of legal distinction. The skill of American mechanism is again vindicated. We can make all sorts of machinery for the greater capitalism, even new legal machinery, warranted to work noiselessly, accurately and with speed.

But if the injunction is a machine, it has the inherent weakness of all machines, it must be driven by a man. Behind the injunction is the judge. And as a machine occasionally fails to operate correctly by reason of the failure of the nerves of the operator so even the injunction will not always be employed, when the nerve of the judge fails, when there is a very distinct manifestation against its employment. Thus, we see what while the injunction may be readily obtained and stringently enforced in some circumstances it can neither be so readily obtained nor so readily enforced in other localities, though the circumstances are practically the same. This it may be remarked is particularly true where strong labor organizations exist, if it is known that these labor organizations are in the habit of voting unitedly, and that their political stand is decisive of political success in the locality in question. In other words, the nerve of the mechanic operating the injunction machine responds to political pressure.

An ordinary judge is dependent upon politics for his livelihood and must take notice of political conditions and the variations in those conditions, even when he is writing opinions.

So far, the people who have demanded injunctions in labor disputes are also the controlling figures in politics. Though they remain in the background they still command the political situation.

It is for them that the conventions are held and the tickets arranged. In their hands rest the industrial and financial interests of the dominant class in the community. By reason of this fact they are able to exercise their influence in politics and to control the judiciary. This must be so even where the judge himself does not recognize the fact, because his economic position is dependent upon those in control of the political situation and because, as Darrow points out, his associations give him a point of view antagonistic to that of labor.

These people who want injunctions are in control practically everywhere, and naturally as a rule succeed in getting what they want. This is the prerogative of political power.

But political power is dependent upon voting strength and that in turn depends upon the votes of individual men of whom a preponderating number are workingmen. Hence, when workingmen go into politics on their own account and complicate the situation they render the political position of the judges more insecure and to that extent make the action of judges with regard to injunctions more uncertain.

Judges, at least those whose tenure of office depends upon success at the polls are divided in their allegiance and they tend to swerve away from the dominant class wherever the grasp of political power by that class becomes at all uncertain. This is only human, after all, for a judge is a lawyer who wants a job, and is very frequently not even a good lawyer, certainly not a first rate lawyer, for in the latter case he would be much better off in a private practice.

When we come to the Federal judiciary, however, we are on other ground. These judges, holding office for life, and not dependent upon a popular vote are safely entrenched in the very citadel of capitalism. They cannot be dislodged, save by an overthrow of the present system. They sit in security and issue their injunctions protected by all the power of the greater capitalism. They have at their back and call "all the resources of civilization." Their mandates will be obeyed for their utterances are the declarations of the greater capitalism, the dicta of the industrial and financial overlords. In order to break the power of the injunction in the hands of the federal authorities nothing short of the complete overthrow of the present political system will suffice.

But it has already become axiomatic among those socialists whose opinion is worth anything that political power is only the reflex of economic power and that a political victory which does not have behind it an economic support is for all practical purposes worthless, a flash in the pan, a momentary upflaring of popular discontent, such as has happened many times without producing any practical results.

Such a political overthrow as would result in the abolition of the injunction cannot be looked for unless there is an economic working class movement of sufficient magnitude for the acquisition of political power and the keeping of it after it has been acquired.

In other words, the capitalist class will not surrender the use of the injunction in labor disputes as long as labor disputes exist, that is as long as the present system continues. It is a weapon with which it will not part and with which as a matter of fact it cannot afford to part.

So that all rhetoric and fiery denunciation directed against the injuction had just as well cease for this method of attack will produce no practical results. There is little benefit or dignity in shaking one's fist and shouting at a fact. That sort of futility should be left to the insurgents and the populists.

Organization, effective labor organization on the industrial field is the great need of the hour. The injunction is effective only for the protection of scabs. Where there are no scabs or few scabs or insufficient scabs the injunction of course fails to achieve its purpose, it ceases to be effective. It is the business of the labor organization to reduce the number of scabs, to eliminate the scab in fact. In so far as this is not done, to that extent the labor organization does not effect its purpose.

In this respect it is plain to see that the old-fashioned trade union and craft organization is at fault. It fails to deal with what is called "unskilled labor" while the fact is that "unskilled labor" under the new conditions dominates the situation. This so far practically unorganized mass which has no interest in the present dominant form of trade organization is the preponderating factor. Its existence renders the injuntion possible and for its protection the injunction is used. The first problem is obviously to get rid of the scab and that is essentially a trade union problem.

Again, another and more complete form of industrial organization is necessary. Industrial unionism must prevail, if the term were more closely defined and its content more accurately apprehended even by those who are most in the habit of using it. An organization which is as broad and deep and high as the industry itself and which can strike every part and department of an industry, which operates upon the mass and upon the molecules composing the mass leaves but little room for the employment of scabs and so little room for the use of the injunction.

It is thus that we find the real remedy for the injunction, thus and not other-

wise. The laboring class must by virtue of its organization prove itself capable of controlling the industry before it can control the industry and before the owner will give up the injunction. The naked truth is that the fight around the injunction is a fight determinative of victory for either side. The possession of the injunction enables the capitalist class to bring all the resources of the capitalist state against the workers, the loss of the injunction practically means to that class the loss of it position. Further, the detruction of the injunction as a weapon is dependent upon the extent to which the working class can organize and can marshal its forces.

In the meantime what is to be done with the injunction while it is in actual operation, while it is a weapon in the hands of the enemy? That depends upon the circumstances of each separate case. As we have seen, the political action of the working class may in some instances be effective to prevent or to cripple its use. In other cases, there is only one course and that is to disobey the injunction. This of necessity implies the punishment always meted out to transgressors of the edicts of the ruling class. It implies a certain amount of suffering and of loss but it also implies a tremendous amount of agitation and of popular execration of the injunction and incidentally of the class in whose interest the injunction is employed. All this is of first class importance to any revolutionary body for agitation is the very breath of life of the Revolution. Besides sooner or later the revolutionary working class must of very necessity come into collision with capitalistic law.

Socialism groups men, poor against rich, class against class, without taking into account the differences of race and language, and over and above the frontiers traced by history.

We admit one war only: the civil war, the social war, the class war, the only war which at the present time, might bring some real profit to the exploited of all Countries.

Hervé.



Boy Scabs

ON THE

Great Lakes

By

The Cleveland Press

THE Lake Seamen's union, on strike to years, scoffs at the Lake Carriers' "welfare plan," and charges the strike breakers on steel trust and independent boats are treated like coolies. The Lake Carriers, on the other hand, maintain conditions aboard the boats are better than eevr under a "closed shop," that cargoes are moved more efficiently and expeditiously, and that they never had a better satised lot of sailors. The ress assigned one of its staff men to ship on one of the vessels and learn, at first hand, real conditions. The following is what he found on a 900-mile voyage on the steamer A. G. Brower from Ashtabula to Milwaukee.—Editor The Press.)

They sent me out to investigate conditions on the Lake Carriers' association boats involved in the strike of the Lake Seamen's union, While I am not a seaman, I think I had perception enough to see, so far as the boat on which I daily peeled potatoes, scoured pans and did the thousand and one odd jobs falling to the lot of the second cook on a freighter was concerned, conditions are as bad as the strikers for the past two years have represented them to be.

The seamen charge the boats are manned by an assortment of mere boys and saloon and wharf hangers-on. The steamer A. G. Brower was. They say when a man ships on these boats, which, independents and all, are dominated by the steel trust, he must sign away his allegiance to all but his religious belief and citizenship. I had to forswear all allegiance to unions before I was admitted to the Lake Carriers' association.

Sleeping Conditions Bad.

The seamen charge sleeping conditions on board the boats are vile; that stewards are so restricted in the amount of money they can expend for food per month that food is often poor in quality and scant in quantity, and that hours are long, too long. I found all these things to be true on the Brower.

Take the picture of the three boys. The

boys represent a type performing the actual, active seamanship on the great lakes these days. The doorway opens into a room which is typical of the sleeping quarters that these strikers are talking about.

Behind those three boys are five grimy bunks, piled three high on one side and two on the other. The room is dark, ill-smelling, and poorly ventilated. It is situated in the fantail of the ship. On one side there is the constant clanking of the steering apparatus. From the other come oily fumes from the engine room. The only light comes through a small "dead light."

Fine Dream Shattered.

These boys are strike-breakers. One of them, like many others, was picked up while playing on the docks by shipping agents of the Lake Carriers' association. The prospect of $1.05 per day, with endless trips over the bounding waves, was held as a lure to take boys from their homes to help the companies carry down the mountains of ore from the mines about Duluth to the furnaces of Cleveland.

The lads' dream of pleasant voyages, with nothing to do but sit and watch the waves, was soon blasted when a two-inch hose was put in their hands by a gruff mate and they were ordered to scrub the decks, handle heavy hatchets, drag hawsers and cables until their limbs were near giving way from exhaustion. It was a 12-hour day they were compelled to work, in two "watches," six hours on and six hours off, day and night, with no time for a good, wholesome sleep, and no place for it if they had the time.

Since the lake seamen struck in 1909 hundreds of them have been shipped aboard the big freighters. Many of them quit with the first trip, but many stayed, and these are the ones I watched and studied.

I found them hardened and matured beyond their years by association with the riffraff from the lodging houses and jails. They, too, have shipped on the lakes and their influence has left its mark in the hardened faces and coarse language of boys.

Watchman Boy of Sixteen.

The Brower is owned by the United States Transportation Co., one of the independents forced into the Lake Carriers' association by the steel trust, which is fast getting control of lake shipping. Conditions on the Brower, I was told, were far above the average.

The Brower carried a crew of 21, four of them minors. Three of the boys, Walter West, Walter Davis and Joe Sawdusky, were deck hands, or "deckeroos," in the lake lingo, and the fourth, Ray McTavish, was a watchman. He boasts sixteen years.

Deck hands' hours were 12 a day on the lake. In port they might be asked to work any number of hours. A 20-hour shift while the vessel was loading or unloading, I was told, was not unusual. A deck hand might just have turned into his bunk after finishing his watch when the vessel came into port and the order come, "stand by, all hands on deck."

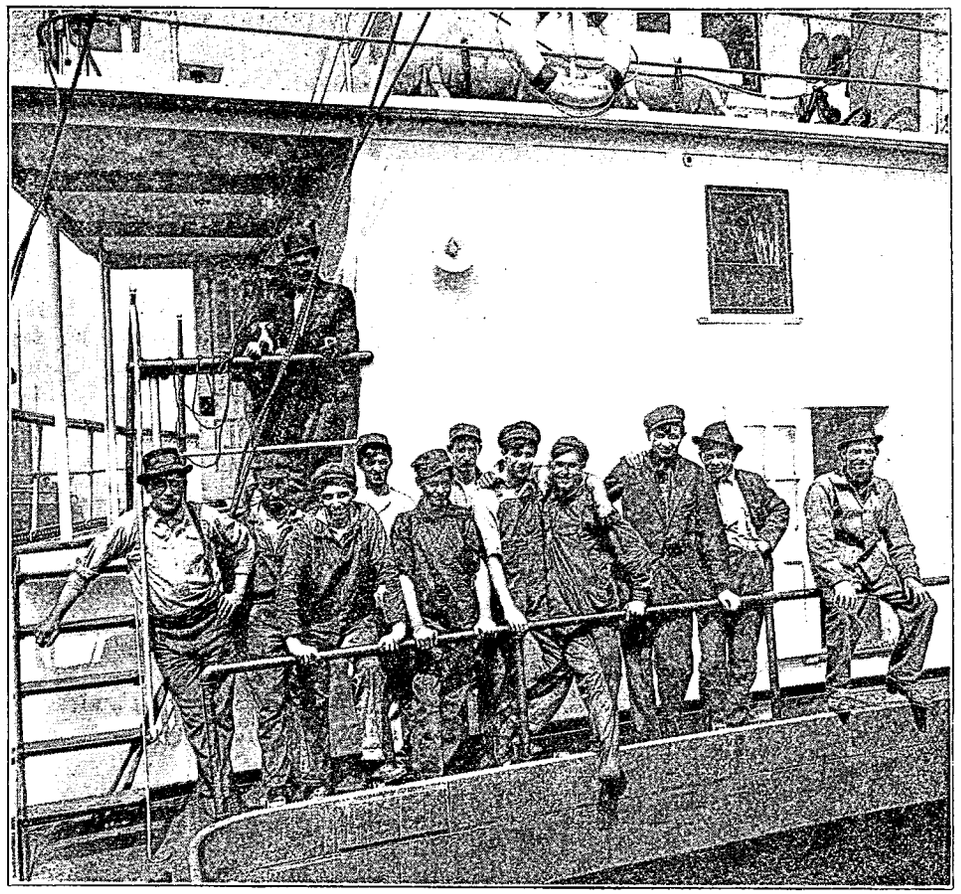
Beds Changed Once a Trip.

Bed clothing was changed once on a trip, and it might be 20 days before a change was given. Eight men quit the Brower when she reached Cleveland on the trip before, but there were no bed clothes for men taking their places. Chas. Mason, the steward, shipped at Cleveland, slept on sheets used by the negro cook on the previous trip.

The "forward" quarters, occupied by the ship's officers, were not bad, but the bunks in the fantail were. In rough weather the deadlight had to be closed and the heat became almost unbearable. Often the boys would bring a pillow above and catch a nap on the steel deck in the shade of the kitchen galley. But the deck was always warm from the sun's rays.

I soon found the company limited the Brower's steward to 48 cents a day per man. This included the three meals and a midnight lunch for the change of watches. The steward managed it by a "steward's rule of thumb," that member being jabbed into the remnants left in the messrooms to search out bits that might be used for the next meal.

There was a notice posted on the boat giving direct directions for the fire and



Minors.

accident drill the law calls for, but inquiry from the crew revealed fire and accident drills were dead numbers on all boats. "Fair weather seamen," the striking union men call the strike breakers. They cite the following as proof:

The steamer Etruria, manned by experienced union seamen, was rammed in a summer fog in Lake Huron five years ago by the Amasa Stone. Half the crew was abed, but the boats were lowered and all were saved in the minute they had to save themselves. A few months ago the steamer Goodyear, manned by strike breakers, was rammed under exactly similar circumstances by the James B.Wood. The crew was "above" at the mess table and had twice the time of the Etruria men to save themselves, but 18 were lost through inexperience in handling the boats. Marine men declare the loss of lives and property on the lakes in the past two seasons since the strike has broken all records.

When the closed shop prevailed on the lake boats only men of experience, able to stand a rigid examination, were placed in positions of responsibilty. A candidate for a watchman's position was required to pass an examination of 50 practical questions. McTavish, the sixteen year old watchman on the Brower, told me he had been sailing only three weeks when he got his job as watchman, and a large part of the responsibility for the safety of the ship and crew placed in his hands.

Only Nonunion Men Hired.

Union men declare they will never submit to the terms of the association, which

means the renouncing of their affiliation with the unions and entire submission. The Lake Carriers have advertised their battle as one for the open shop, pure and simple, but their attitude toward union men has shown them to be acting on the steel trust's principle of eliminating the unions entirely. Letters filed by V. A. Olander, Lake Seamen's union vice-president, with the congressional committee on merchant marine and fisheries, show their attitude plainly.

"Hereafter you are to take nonunion men only," Al Rumsey, Cleveland, chief shipping master for the Lake Carriers' association, wrote a dozen ship owners and captains. The letters from Rumsey begged absolute secrecy from the captains and vessel owners, and in one or two instances asked the recipients to burn the letters immediately after reading.

A committee from the Detroit central labor body met with three vessel owners during the last shipping season to find out if something couldn't be done to settle the strike.

"The ship owners told our committee they were powerless to help the situation," Vice-President Olander told me at Chicago. "They were independent owners. They told the committee if the officials of the Lake Carriers' association knew they had even met with a union committee it would go hard with them."

The explanation is, according to union officials, that the steel trust has it in his power to crush any independent it chooses. The steel trust controls the ore mines near Duluth, upon which the independents depend for their cargoes. By simply refusing to let them have the ore it can cut off their business.

Lake seamen say the steel trust owns the lakes. A steel trust boat pulls into port and there is a dock awaiting her, while an independent may wait a day or more before her cargo is loaded or unloaded.

I found seamen seldom ship the entire season on one vessel. The Lake Carriers' association is kept busy supplying men to take the deserters places. This has been a serious obstacle in the way of captains of independent vessels, but the steel trust found a way to get around it.

When a man signs up with the Pittsburg Steamship Co., the steel trusts' fleet, he signs for 30 days. If he quits before that time he forfeits his right to his pay. In nine cases out of ten his term expires in some port far from home. Unless he signs up for another term of 30 days he must go ashore and take his chances of getting another berth or pay his fare home. The result is in the majority of cases he stays.

In addition to the enlistment scheme the steel trust has another safeguard against being caught short-handed. Last season it began paying by check. If a trust boat lands at night she is usually ready to leave again in the morning, so that if a sailor wants to quit the boat at night he must take chances on being able to have his check cashed in a strange port or sign again on the boat for another term.

The Lake Carriers' discharge book, is what union men denounce as a legalized blacklist under the guise of a welfare plan. If a man's services are good and if he is found by the spies furnished by the Corporations Auxiliary Co., Chamber of Commerce building, Cleveland, to be a safe nonunion man, his captain will mark in the blank left for the character of service "good," if otherwise, he is instructed to withhold the book and the association has him blacklisted forever with a Bertilon record to identify him.

The welfare plan, designated by the union as the "Hell fare plan," promisses the association member $75 in case of death or disablement, and the use of the "Assembly halls" when in port. If all the assembly halls are like that at the Main avenue bridge, Cleveland, they are smelly, dirty barracks.

Patriotism

By

Clarence S. Darrow

"There is no such thing as patriotic art or patriotic science. Both art and science belong, like all else that is great and good, to the whole world, and can only be promoted by a free and universal interchange of ideas among contemporaries with constant reference to that which we have inherited and learned from the past."

Goethe.

This sentiment of Goethe has been expressed over and over again by the great and wise of every age and land, still, after long years of so called civilization, the shoddy sentiment of patriotism is almost as strong for mischief in the human heart as in the days of the savage who knew only the members of his own tribe, and knew no trade but war.

From the time of the primitive man, rulers and robbers have used the sentiment of patriotism as their chief asset in their selfish schemes. Whether the strong Nation wished to conquer and despoil a weaker land or plunder the people of their own, they have ever appealed to patriotism to blind the ignorant to the real motives behind their schemes.

With a primitive people knowing little and seeing little, there was some reason for the belief that their own tribe held all the greatness, intelligence and virtue of the world, but in modern life it is only the narrow and ignorant who can really think that their own land is better, wiser or more advanced than many others on the globe. Even as to governments, no one can tell which is best or which is worst, and in fact, the real governments of every land are much the same amongst people of a like grade of intelligence.

Forms of government, like forms of religion are matters of growth and development and, all things considered, fit the particular time and place where they hold sway.

The history of the world shows the ruin and bloodshed and destruction that the spirit of patriotism has caused. Ambitious rulers have always appealed to this blind, senseless passion to move their dupes to give their lives and their fortunes to help the ignorable schemes of a few. In the great wars of the world, waged for no real cause, the rulers and they alone have reaped fame and fortune, while the people have given their labor and their lives.

The common people, the ones who toil have done the fighting, have shed the blood, have borne the burden. And these common men have had no cause to fight and no land to serve.

The real work of the world to-day is not for destruction. True, the vainglorious, those who like applause or offices or honor, are as ready as ever to shed the blood of the innocent and helpless. It matters not who may suffer or die, if they be made generals or colonels, or even majors. These schemers want notoriety; they must be talked about in newspapers; must hold offices; must acquire money. Neither life nor liberty can be permitted to stand in their way. Still it is true that the work of the world is along peaceful lines. The builders of to-day are subduing the wilderness; they are tunnelling the earth; they are sailing the seas, not with men of war, but with ships laden with the food and clothing and comforts that conduce to modern life.

The real men are studying the laws of the universe and the laws that make for the happiness of man. One almost nameless biologist, working patiently and obscurely to coax from nature the secrets of life and learn the mystery of death is worth more to the world than all the generals of antiquity. The man who discovered and applied anesthetics is of more value than all the armies of Europe. And the man who can find a way to pull one tooth without giving pain, is of more consequence than all the vain strutting colonels who were anxious to assassinate Spaniards and Fillipinos, so they might run for office when they came back from the "front."

Truly no country has any monopoly of the geniuses of the world. If you study the heavens, you can find no American or English astronomy. This learning reaches back to the nomadic tribes who tended their flocks and herds on the lonely plains and looked up at the trembling stars at night to learn some of the infinite mysteries that the heavens hold.

Wise men and great, in all lands, have builded on these small foundations to perfect the marvelous science of astronomy we have to-day. So too, not the patriot, but the student, has read the history of the world during the long silent ages before man was born; has read it in the rocks and soil and constructed a tangible theory of the earth and life. Science, not patriotism, has ministered to the afflicted, has vanquished pain, lengthened life and destroyed diseases that once scourged the world. Science and Industry have utilized the blind forces of nature and made it possible for man to produce amply, to satisfy his needs and desires.

Art and Music and Literature owe nothing to Patriotism, although this blind and narrow prejudice has wrecked and destroyed them with the new ambitions of almost every lunatic who strove to conquer the world and wished to make his own name so great that he might furnish the topic of conversation for all time to come.

Art and Literature and Music were not born in any one land, nor nurtured under one flag. They were born of the sky and sea and earth and of human souls that could be inspired and moved by feelings universal to the race. Their devotees and patrons have lived and worked through all time and have made all nations great. Their thoughts and feelings have been as universal as humanity itself. The great artist and poet have never known the narrow lines which bind the feelings of the patriot.

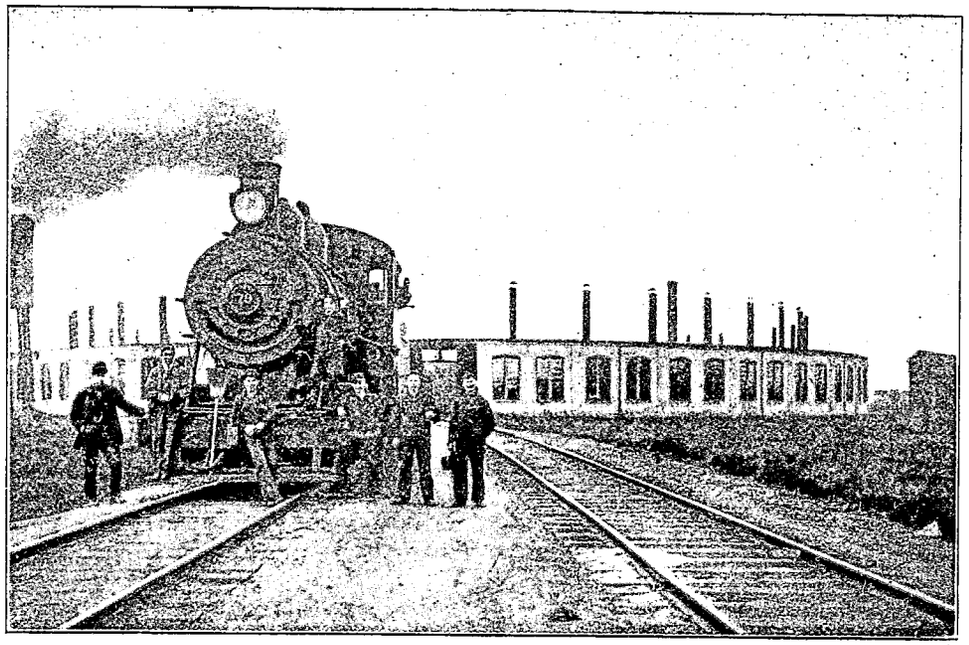
To him, injustice and oppression is no less sordid and mean when practiced in his native land. The claims of the poor, the weak and the oppressed appear no different to his heart, whether the victim live far or near.

The scientist, the student, the artist that knew nothing of the work or literature of any, but his own land, would be poor indeed. In fact, this could not be, for the knowledge and achievements of all the world are so woven into a complex mass that no chemist could be clever enough to separate the particles that form the whole.

As the world grows older and more complex, the lines of states and nations become fainter. Commerce and Industry, like Science and Art, make all lands one in intent, thought and feeling. The good that comes to one land is reflected to the rest and the calamities of one leave the whole world poorer for the suffering of a part.

Modern life and common interests must leave the feeling of patriotism to the politician, the vainglorious and the cunning. When a man waves the flag with his right hand, it is well to see what he is doing with his left.

In the aspiration and work for social justice there can be no state lines. The workers of the world have always had a common interest and should always have a common Cause. Under any ideal social system, every man who produces something in any land helps all the rest and every man who is idle in any land lays a burden on every worker of the world. The social cost of armies and navies and other paraphernalia of patriotism is a heavy burden on the poor and the social cost in the narrow, brutal sentiments of the race cannot be told!



The Boys on the Grand Trunk

By

MARY E. MARCY

THE Grand Trunk boys won their strike! They stuck together and gained better working conditions and a little more money in their pay envelopes. But that is not all.

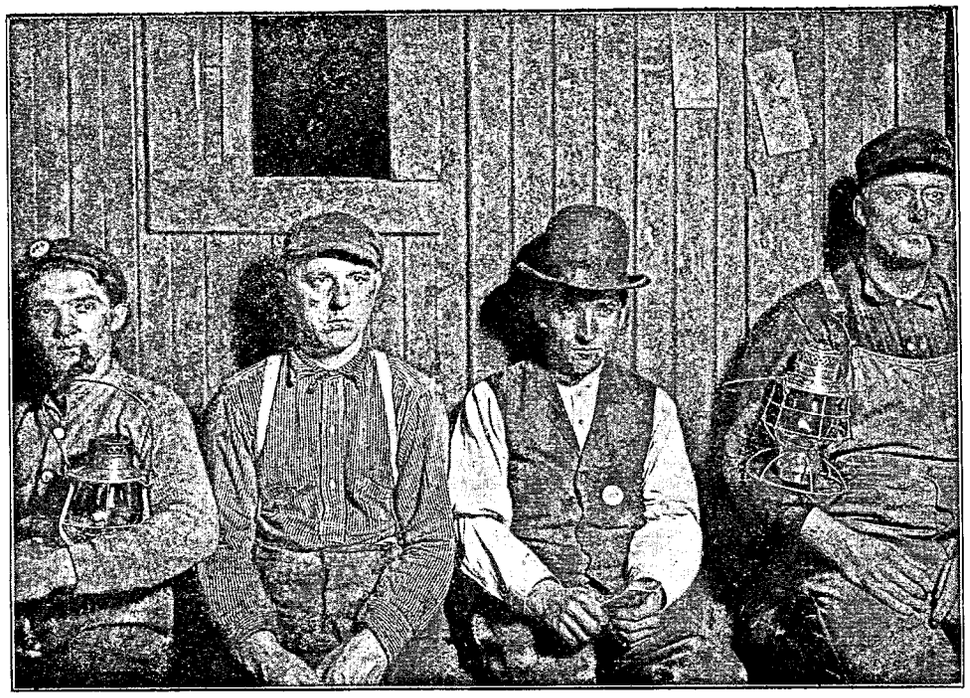
The strike has taught them many lessons. It has taught them that the governor of Michigan is serving their bosses. That he stands ready to do what these bosses want him to do; that he holds the troops in readiness to crush back workingmen when they make any attempt to gain a little more of the wealth they produce.

They are beginning to ask why the men who operate the railroads should not own the roads. They are beginning to ask why the men and women who own stock in the roads should be reaping big rewards without doing any of the work. And when men begin to ask these questions they are pretty nearly ready for socialism.

There is no doubt that there is a class war raging in America, and in Canada, and England and France and Germany. Wherever there is an exploiting class that lives on the labor of those who work, the class war is on.

The people who own the railroads, the coal mines, the street cars (in Columbus) are using every weapon at their command to hold down the workers who operate the roads, and dig the coal and run the street cars, while the workers everywhere are trying to get a little more of the wealth they produce.

And everywhere the governments are



Waiting for a Run.

aiding the master class; the judges are issuing injunctions forbidding unions from paying strike benefits; the congresses are making laws to protect the bosses and the armies and police forces are being used to force the workingmen and women to submit to the further degradation the masters have planned for them.

But every strike, every struggle between the owning class and the producing class, teaches the workers how strong they are and what great things they can accomplish if they will only fight together, strike together, vote together and unite in one big industrial organization.

On the Western coast the capitalists are telling the wage-workers that the Japanese and Chinese are their enemies; that if the Japanese and Hindus were prevented from coming into America there would be more jobs and higher wages for the American workingmen.

In India the caste system which keeps the workers from uniting to fight their exploiters, prevents successful organization among the men who produce things, and it is only organization, and class solidarity among those who are exploited that will enable them to abolish exploitation.

In the South there are many socialist workingmen who refuse to unite with their colored proletarian comrades. The capitalists there tell them in their papers that if there were fewer colored men competing for jobs, there would be better conditions and higher wages for the white wage slaves.

WE DO NOT REALIZE THAT THE HINDUS, the NEGROES, the JAPANESE and CHINESE WORKINGMEN are our exploited comrades and that our common enemy is CAPITALISM.

The Grand Trunk boys are still organized along old craft union lines. Some ofthem still believe they are able to fight and to win some small victories through their own particular little craft organization, and this is true, but how much stronger and how much more certain of victory would they be if they were organized industrially—every single man who works on the railroads in one big union!

Suppose we elected socialists to office who would send troops to protect the LIVES of the WORKERS instead of the PROPERTY of the CAPITALISTS!

We must remember that there is just one enemy that we are fighting, and that is CAPITALISM—wage slavery.

We must remember that every wage-worker in the world is our natural ally and that our only hope and only aim is is the abolition of the wage system.

Boys of the Grand Trunk, your place is in the ranks of Socialism. This is the movement that is determined that the workers shall reap the rewards of their labor. It stands for the ownership of the railroads by those WHO OPERATE the roads. It stands for the wealth of the world for those who create that wealth.

We want to take the mines away from the mine-owners; we aim to take the mills and factories from the men and women who own them; we mean to give the land to workingmen and women who will use it; we are going to take the railways away from the bosses.

Socialists propose that the workers who work in the mines and mills and upon the railroad shall OWN THEM.

Think it over; talk it over with your friends; discuss it at your union and you will want to get busy and help your own cause along.



"Sure, We Won!"

"The Friends of Labor"

Taft and Roosevelt.

By CLARENCE T. WIXSOM

"Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." Jesus, The Carpenter.



THIS saying is the philosophy of friendship. Would labor know its true friends? Then judge them by this principle.

Let us begin with the noisy Roosevelt. He, more than any other, has proclaimed himself a "Friend" of the workingman. When the great Croton Dam was being built, Roosevelt was governor of New York. The laws of New York made eight hours a legal work day. The contractors wanted to extend the hours. The men refused. A strike was called. The workers demanded of their "Friend" Roosevelt that he enforce the law. Roosevelt instead sent state troops and helped the contractors break the strike.

Again: The miners of Colorado were engaged in a desperate struggle with the

mining trust. The workers sought to compel the legislature to enact an eight hour law to which the legislators were pledged before election. The mine owners turned the state troops upon the workers. Scores of husbands and fathers were exiled; homes were broken up; pregnant women turned into the streets where many died in premature childbirth; hundreds of men and many women were thrown into a foul "bull pen;" property of the workers worth thousands of dollars was piled up and burned. The suffering toilers appealed to their "Friend" Roosevelt for aid. Roosevelt answered and said, he could do nothing for them as he had no right to interfere in a state's business.

The miners of Goldfield, Nev., struck against company stores and payment in script. They were winning the fight. The mine owners called on Roosevelt for help to break the strike. Roosevelt sent the regular troops to Goldfield. The Department of Commerce and Labor sent men to investigate the conditions. Their report showed no cause for sending federal troops. Yet Roosevelt kept the troops there until the Governor of Nevada could convene the legislature in special session to enact a law creating a force of Cossacks such as Pennslyvania has. The workers were beaten. Whose, commands did Roosevelt obey?

Time passed. Roosevelt wanted to go to Africa to kill something. He put Taft forward as his successor, telling the workers Taft was as good a friend of labor as himself. For once Roosevelt told labor the truth, as we shall see.

In 1894, Debs had succeeded in organizing the western railroad men. They formed the famous American Railway Union. A strike tied up every western road running into Chicago. The men were winning when the federal troops came in and broke the strike. Debs was arrested and sent to jail. His crime consisted in breaking an injunction issued by Taft who was at that time a federal judge. The union was broken up.

When the Bethlehem strike was raging, a party of business men of Bethlehem called on President Taft to urge him to use his influence to send government contracts to the Bethlehem Steel Co. In discussing the strike, President Taft told the committee that he was not interested in the quarrel between the Bethlehem Company and the workmen. This when in the Bethlehem plant men were working from 10 to 18 hours daily for 12½ cents per hour. Here also Cossacks helped break the strike.

When the last Congress was about to adjourn, President Taft used all his influence to defeat an amendment to the Appropriation Bill, which, had it passed would have made it impossible to use the Sherman Anti Trust Law against the workers. Whose commands was Taft obeying?

These two men are high types of Labor's "Friends" in political office. And from the office of President down to township constable, these officeholders have proven themselves enemies of Labor whenever the opportunity to be so was offered. What can you expect? What have they to hope from Labor once they are in office? You gave them your vote. You have nothing else to give. But with the employers, who are the real master, theirs as well as yours, it is different. They have the wealth they are taking from you daily with which to pay for service from these "Friends" whom you elect to office. The service the employers require of them is help in keeping you in subjection. So when you strike for better wages; shorter hours, safer conditions of labor; your employers call on their hirelings whom you call your "Friends" and they promptly send Cossacks or militia or federal troops, as the case may require, and beat you back to work. Then when election comes around again they try to explain to you. They tell you that what they did against you in your last strike was the right thing to do. They say you were violent and were going to break the law and in order to save the community it was necessary to send troops against you. The community they were concerned about was the community of your employers. The laws they feared you would break were the laws made by them to keep you in bondage. They know they can get away with that line of talk because you forget so easily. But your employers never forget, nor forgive. If once your false friends fail to do their bidding, they are cast out. And the amusing part of it all is, the employer gets you to help him do the job. Thus have you been doing these many, many years. Marching up to the ballot box like a flock of sheep and casting your ballots for the men who tell you plainly that you have no rights that they are bound to respect. What a comedy it would be if it were not such a terrible tragedy for you.

These fellows have a great contempt for you. They think you never will wake up. They are so bold that they print books showing how much wealth you produce each year and what a small portion you get as your share in wages. These books say you create about $3,000 worth of wealth in a year and get an average wage of $437. Now think of that a minute. Does it not make you feel cheap? What would become of a business man who would sell an article worth $3,000 for $437? Well he would not do it morethan once if he found it out, else his friends would have him examined as insane. But you do it year after year, even though you are warned, and starved and beaten, and jailed and sometimes shot.

You have been betrayed so long by these false friends. You have been sadly deceived. You have voted them into office and marched, a joyful mob, in countless parades as though you had won a victory. But the real victors, the employers, they are not in your parades. They are too busy always laying plans to further enslave you and the hands that fasten the new chains on you are the hands of the "Friends" in whose honor you paraded.

Wake up Labor. The time is near when again you will have all the power in your hands. You are many. Your employers are few. But they are well organized. You likewise must organize. In shop, mill, mine and factory, organize into industrial unions within which there will be no divisions. On the political field, organize with the Socialist Party. Choose your friends not from among the hirelings of your employers, but from the ranks of your fellow workers. You have no need of any other friends. Labor itself alone can serve Labor. None can nor will help you but yourselves.

> It is not to reform the evils of the day, but to abolish the social system that produces them, that the Socialist party is organized. It is the party, not of reform, but of revolution, knowing that the capitalist system has had its day and that a new social order, based upon a new system of industry, must soon supplant the fast decaying one we now have.
>
> Eugene V. Debs in "The Growth of Socialism."

Something Doing in Los Angeles

By

ANDREW J. GALLAGHER

FOR years it has been apparent to those holding responsible positions in the San Francisco Trade Union movement, that the attitude of the merchants of Los Angeles and the moneyed interests of that city toward trade union organization would some day become a most serious menace against the permanency of the trade union movement in San Francisco, which is admittedly the best organized city in the country.

Labor union officials of San Francisco have made visit after visit to the city of Los Angeles, ostensibly attending to detail trade union matters, but really to get an understanding of the conditions so as to determine which was the most suitable time and the best craft to attack in organizing that city.

No one unacquainted with the calibre of the average Los Angeles merchant can have the faintest idea of the intense hatred he as a class has against organized labor. They have repeatedly boasted to the world, and to the commercial world especially of their freedom from trade union organization, of their superior independence, and have laughed the San Francisco merchant to scorn because of the strength of unionism in that city.

They have repeatedly boasted that it was impossible to organize the city of Los Angeles in a trade union sense, and seemed to be over anxious to invite a war with the organized forces in San Francisco, particularly, and the country in general, to the end that the merchant of Los Angeles could demonstrate that it was impossible absolutely to make a break in his ranks.

Quietly, however, the International Unions operated through their affiliated unions in San Francisco.

It was noted by the representatives of the San Francisco unions who visited Los Angeles investigating, that a desire was becoming more and more apparent on the part of the workers to revolt against the evil conditions under which they were working; business agents of unions were treated in a manner calculated to make it impossible for their unions to progress; men who had the temerity to accept positions as officers of unions were discharged; the employers had, as they thought, honeycombed the unions with their agents under the guise of members, and they went their way in the foolish belief that their open shop position was impregnable.

Wages in that city were far below those paid San Francisco in every given line except perhaps the printing trades, a fair estimate would be that the wages in Los Angeles in any craft were from $3 a week to $2 a day below the San Francisco scale.

The merchant was ever on the lookout for any move on the part of the unions of Los Angeles to the end that it could be strangled at birth.

On the occasion of the dedication of the new Los Angeles Labor Temple, February 22, (Washington's birthday by the way), the merchants of that city were officially warned by the representatives of San Francisco, that their vicious tactics against the organization of unions in Los Angeles must cease. The San Francisco unions had hired a special train, and had sent down a delegation of about 200 persons to the dedication ceremonies, and right here began the fight for freedom of the workers of Los Angeles. Instead of heeding the advice of unionists from the north, the merchant became more active if anything in his endeavors to prevent unionism from progression in Los Angeles.

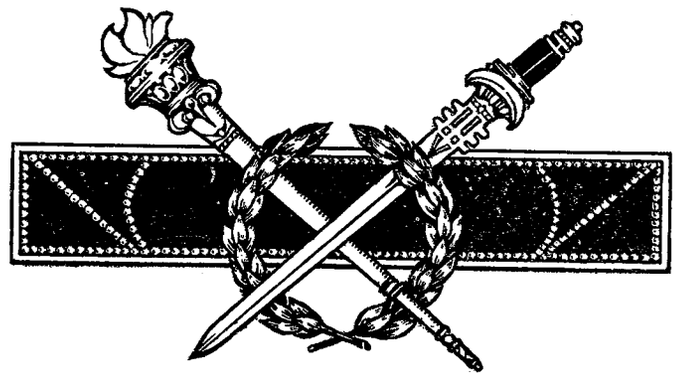
On the promise of the financial support of the San Francisco union officers a great impetus was given to the organizing of unions in Los Angeles, and on May 19th, 1910, the battle opened by a refusal of the brewery proprietors to further deal with the unions of the International Brewery Workers Organization by a declaration of open shop on the part of proprietors of said breweries. These brewery proprietors immediately cast their lot with the merchants and manufacturers association of that city, which, for a "union-busting" aggregation, has no peer in this or any other country; however, the brewery workers met their defiance and on May 20th, 1910, every member of the Brewery Workers, Beer Wagon Drivers and Beer Bottlers, walked out not to return until their demands had been conceded.

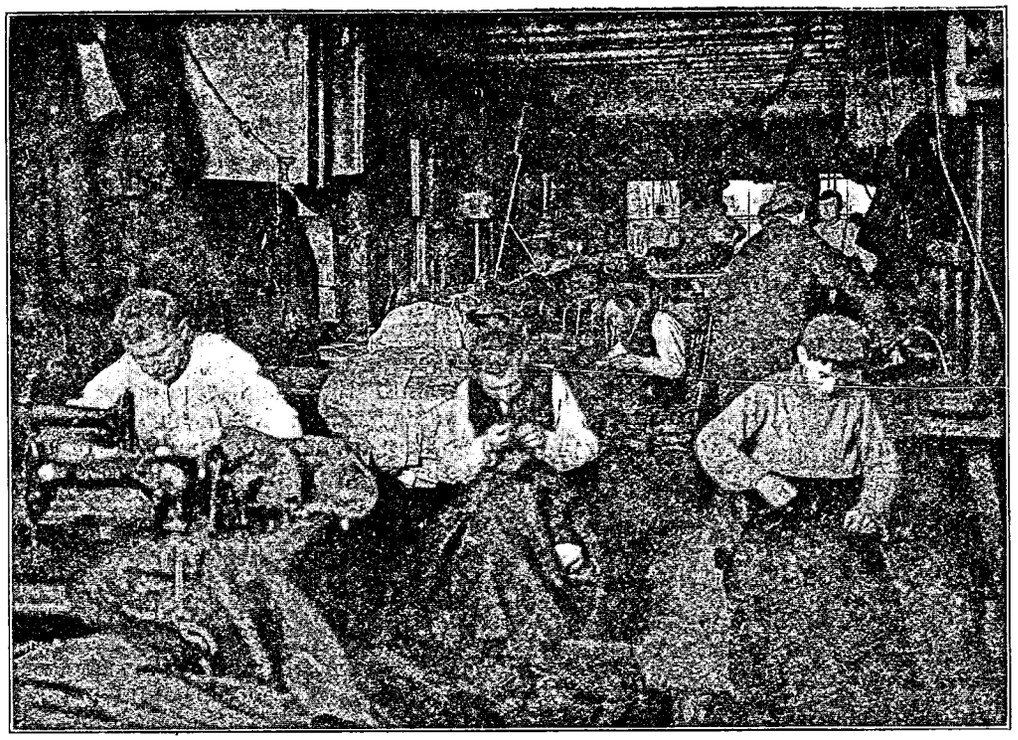
On June 1st, the Unions of the Metal Trades Council of Los Angeles sent a respectful request to their employers asking for a conference on conditions for the coming year. The Los Angeles Times reporting the reception which the merchants gave to this communication stated, that it was "thrown in the waste-basket." On receiving no reply the Metal Trades Unions met at 12 o'clock on the evening of June 1st, and declared a strike in every craft in the Iron Trades.

To the tremendous surprise of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and to the agreeable surprise of the organizers, (ten of whom had been quietly working in that city for months), 1,200 men responded to the call and completely tied up nearly every foundry in that city. San Francisco, redeeming its promise, immediately placed an assessment upon every member of every union in that city which was followed by similar action on the part of the California State Federation of Labor and the California State Building Trades Council.

The ten organizers above referred to were picked men from the San Francisco movement, who were sent down to Los Angeles with instructions to "organize the men of Los Angeles" and to not report until they had results to report, no one organizer knew anything about the other; friendly merchants were keeping the San Francisco leaders in touch with the movement of the head of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and the so-called detectives in the labor organizations on being found out by those organizers, allowed their report to be written by the organizers, and thus the Merchants and Manufacturers Association went its way blissfully ignorant of the volcano under its feet.

San Francisco has sent alone and unaided over $50,000 to the assistance of the Los Angeles Unionists, from outside of San Francisco has come about $2,000; this too in spite of the fact that the building contractors of San Francisco attempted to tie up the building industry, refusing to grant the eight-hour day to the hodcarriers and throwing about 3,000 men out of work.





Sweat Shop.

The Cloakmakers' Strike

By

S. A. STODEL

THE cloakmaking business is dead."

Standing with a friend of mine in the lobby of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel I heard these scraps of conversation pass between two men, unmistakably buyers from some large western department stores.

"Yes, I tell you the d—m business is dead. I can't contract for anything. My house wants cloaks and suits, but cloaks and suits ain't made anymore apparently."

"I can well agree with you. Been here ten days", said the second buyer," and I am unable to do any business."

Little did these two buyers know the soundness of the economic principle they were uttering when they said "the cloakmaking business is dead.' The cloakmaking business is as dead as a door-nail. It died when the hordes of cloakmakers deserted the establishments, leaving the tables and the machinery standing idle and alone.

It was a grand exhibition of working-class solidarity. These great numbers of different nationalities had been welded together in the seething furnace of capitalistic exploitation and had come out in one solidified mass, the proletariat. Seventy-five thousand quit at the time agreed upon.

At the beginning of the strike, or, rather when the strike talk first started, there were probably less than eight thousand organized cloakmakers in New York city and vicinity. Now it is safe to say that upward of thirty thousand have joined the union, so that the union embraces fully one-half of those on strike.

And the struggle they are waging is a marvelous exhibition of endurance. These thousands of men, women, and children for many of them are here also, have been most of them at least, months out of employment. They had stared hunger and want in the face long before the gage of battle was thrown down.

Thousands of them knew that in the long struggle that was to come, there was scant likelihood of their getting any relief whatever. They had no union strike benefits to look forward to. They belonged to no union. Many thousands now sticking sturdily out on strike don't even now belong to the union.

It is not for themselves that they strike, it is for the trade, for living conditions and against a system which has become insupportable.

The employers are quoting the high wages earned by the cloakmakers through the columns of the papers favorable to their interests. This is done for the purpose of attempting to prove that their employes have no cause for grievance on that score. When they say that a cloakmaker earns from $25 to $30 per week, they are telling only a half truth. They fail to state that the work is only seasonable and the cloakmaker works but a few months in the year.

The business usually starts up about July 1st, becomes accelerated about the middle of August, and dies out about the middle of November. In the few months that the cloakmakers are employed, so intense is the strain under which they work that they spend double and treble the strength used in an ordinary working day. They work from five in the morning till long past the midnight hour. Fathers are compelled to press into service every member of the family able to



Piece Work at Home.



Cloakmakers at Work.

lend a hand. Even babies are taught to pull out basting threads.

And he who has worked twelve hours in the shop in the evening carries home a huge bundle upon which he and his family spend almost the entire night working, stitching, stitching, until they fall asleep amid their chairs or on the floor.

This is the man who earns $25 or $30 a week.

The manufacturers hold, that to raise the pay of their employes, they will have to raise the cost of the garments. Nothing could be further removed from truth than that statement.

The average consumer has but little idea of the cost of making a suit that she pays $25 to $100 for. Almost the highest price paid for the making of any kind of a coat is $10. The material in such a coat will cost probably up to $3 per yard, and the trimmings about $10. Thus, the entire cost of producing the garment, material, labor and all included is about $35. For such a garment the manufacturers get $100 wholesale.

The labor cost of producing the cheaper grades of suits, those that sell for $25, is about $2.50. This is considered a high price. Many jackets are made for twenty to thirty cents apiece.

There has never been such a strike as this one in the history of the cloakmaking industry. Every worker has joined in, and intends to stay out until he has the assurance of better pay and better working conditions. They want a chance to lead better, more rational and human lives. They want the system of taking home work, abolished. This home work is a violation of law and the bosses know it; but it saves them money. It saves loft rent, the cost of power and light and these money-hungry manufacturers are fighting tooth and nail for more profit.

There has probably never been a strike in New York that was fought with the resolution of this one. Thousands came out of shops—and are keeping out—that never were organized,—when there was not a single union man or woman in the place. Many of these the employers have attempted to draw back with promises of better work at higher prices; but in vain. No inducements, however subtly presented, have caused them to desert their fellows.

Attempts were made by out of town factories to do the work of some of the "struck shops," but as soon as this was discovered, that firm had a strike on its hands also. One Boston firm, Joseph Rudy and Son, accepted some work from the National Cloak and Suit Company. The entire shop walked out and stayed out until the employers were compelled to ship the goods back to New York.

Another Boston concern got itself into deeper trouble. When the shop struck and refused to do scab work, the firm advertised for help in the papers and failed to comply with the law which makes it mandatory to state whether a strike is on, or not. The union got after them and warrants have been issued for the arrest of the members of the firm.

Of course, and unfortunately as is almost always the case in a big strike like this, there is the irrepressible "labor leader" who would exalt himself, by even standing upon the prone bodies and reputations of his fellows to do so. The snob, who is anxious for notoriety. One of the officials and we are happy to state—one who will undoubtedly be gotten rid of after the trouble is over was anxious to have his picture in the papers and a story told of his "greatness, tact," etc.

On the whole the best feature of the strike so far is that the workers are beginning to realize that industry depends upon them. They see that since they have struck, although millions of dollars of money has been invested in the 1,600 factories and shops, now idle, not one single garment can be made without their labor.

They are realizing that capital is impotent and Labor is—Invincible—when labor understands its value.

Suppressing Socialism in Argentine

By

William E. Bohn

CAPITALISM is international. So are the methods and manners of capitalists. In some countries, however, these methods and manners can exhibit themselves better than in others. Look, for example, at almost any region but lately brought under control of the capitalist system or at any in which the backward condition of the working-class gives the masters free rein. In such a land capitalism can do its perfect work. Looking there we can see what our own lords of lands and mines and mills would do if they but dared. The reader will immediately think of South Africa, of Congo Free State, of Mexico. Or he may think of Argentine, that great, rich domain of South America. Your school geography told you it is an immense expanse of wheat-field and meadow. If you remember your geography lesson you may wonder at the sounds of strife which have recently been coming up from the south. Then you may turn to an encyclopedia and discover that Buenos Aires, the capital of the country, is a metropolis containing near a million inhabitants.

This tremendous country is, in truth, being rapidly laid hold of by the captains of industry. The great prairies have been taken from the Argentinians just as Alaska has been taken from us. Industrial centers are being built up with all speed. The census of 1895 recorded the presence of 150,000 industrial laborers. Since then

immigrants have been imported by the thousand every year. With the great stretches of fertile soil in their possession, with industrial cities growing by leaps and bounds, the captains of industry have had a fine opportunity to build up a great country. Great for them, of course.

One thing has been constantly in their favor. The working-class consists mainly of as promising a lot of slaves as the most rapacious capitalist could wish. It is made up of two elements, Creoles, that is, native half-castes, and comparatively recent immigrants. Both elements are for the most part ignorant and submissive. It is only with the greatest difficulty that they can be organized.

But there is a socialist and labor movement in Argentine, and a very vigorous one. The Socialist Party was organized in 1893. It has met with great difficulties. But it has been from the beginning intelligent, energetic and uncompromising. At present it has a sure hold on the working-class of the country. The labor union movement is revolutionary to the core. In general it looks to an outsider like that of Italy on a smaller scale. Like this latter movement it is strongly tinged with anarchism, and many of its leaders, in consequence, decry the use of political action. The Socialist Party supports a daily paper and an excellent monthly review. The unions support a daily and at least one weekly publication. All of these periodicals are filled with the spirit of class-conscious revolution. It would be hard to find anywhere in the world's working-class press clearer or more spirited editorials than those which they contain.

These facts taken in combination do much to explain the story which is to follow. We have here in Argentine an all-powerful capitalist class, a backward working-class, and a determined, clean-cut, revolutionary socialist and labor movement. Here is an ideal chance for a capitalist class to assert itself, to show its real nature. What that nature is the sequel will show.

For a long time the labor movement of Argentine has suffered from restrictive legislation. Working-class papers have been censored, labor leaders have been thrown into jail. In May of this year an exposition was to be held at Buenos Aires in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the nation's "independence." During the past year the unions of the various crafts have been drawing together and forming a common organization. Before the buildings for the exposition were complete it occurred to some that a favorable moment had arrived for a strike. On Sunday, May 8, in a great mass-meeting, a general strike was finally decided upon.

Then things happened. Just what they were the outside world was a long time in finding out. For at least a month the working-class press was put out of business. On June 14 **La Accion Socialista** finally got by the censor and sent across the frontier the account from which the following paragraphs are taken.

On May 13 more than a hundred socialists, among them a number of editors, were cast into jail. The entire edition of La Batalla and part of that of **La Accion Socialista were confiscated.** A procession of students marched up and down the streets singing patriotic songs and crying "Long live the fatherland! Down with anarchy!" Meantime the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were declaring the fatherland under military law.

May 14 was the real gala day. At five o'clock in the afternoon an assembly of leading citizens, representing the Chamber of Deputies, the titled aristocracy and the aristocracy of wealth, gathered at the headquarters of the principal sporting club of the capital. A certain Baron Demarchi was the presiding officer. Calmly, and with the full knowledge and approbation of the government, these worthies decided upon "direct action" to achieve their purposes.

At eight o'clock that evening a mob of several thousand persons attacked the office of the Anarchist paper **La Protesta.** It was a mob of most remarkable character. For the most part it rode to the scene of action in carriages and automobiles. It was made up of students, capitalists, statesmen, government employes, policemen and military officers. All these, "exquisite flower of capitalism," as they are called by the editor of **La Accion Socialista,** swarmed round the building, smashed in the doors, and wrecked everything which they found within. Finally a great pile was made of machinery, furniture, books and papers. Amidst wild rejoicing and patriotic songs and cries fire was set to the mass. As it burned, a circle of ladies who were looking on from a distance laughed gaily and cried "Bravo!" to the heroes of the great triumph.

The offices of **La Batalla** was the next to receive attention. Quickly the entire plant of this paper followed that of **La Protesta.** Linotypes, presses, books, all were destroyed completely. Then it was the turn of **La Vanguardia,** the Socialist daily. The editor of the journal had sent to police headquarters for protection. He had been told he had nothing to fear, and in order to make assurance doubly sure the chief of police sent twenty sailors from the fleet ostensibly to stand guard over the property of the paper. What was the surprise of the editor when, on the arrival of the mob, these sailors turned with the best of good will to aid in the work of destruction. As in the other cases, this work was well done. Nothing of value remained after its completion. When the editor protested to the chief of police he was told that he might, at some future time, be reimbursed by the government.

The attack was next directed against the Socialist headquarters, Calle Mejico 2070. These headquarters serve, or did serve before they were destroyed, as a sort of maison du peuple for Buenos Aires. Here were located, besides the offices of **La Accion Socialista,** those of the national Federation of Labor, of the working-men's Mutual Aid Society, of the union of cabinet makers, and of numerous other labor organizations. At this point the mob met its only reverse.

A number of comrades had concealed themselves in the building and as the attacking column drew near they opened fire with revolvers. At least two students were wounded. At this the valiant patriots withdrew in great disorder. The following night, however, they renewed their attack, and the office furniture, libraries and supplies of all the institutions which centered here were ruthlessly destroyed. When the ruin was complete the national banner was run up over the building as a suitable symbol of this capitalist triumph.

Shops were ransacked, houses burned, men beaten, and women violated. It is unnecessary to recite all the revolting details. Nothing that a rabble of wild demons could think of was left undone by these, the most respectable and most patriotic citizens of Argentine. The editor of **La Accion Socialista** made careful investigations in order to be able to record exact facts. He gives in his edition of June 14 the addresses of many of the places raided, the names of persons maltreated and, in great numbers, the names and titles of the leaders of the mob. The whole account bears the marks of painstaking truthfulness.

Our South American comrades are doing all in their power to rouse the working-class to the needs of the hour. The central committee of the Socialist Party has notified the local groups to choose delegates to a congress and hold them in readiness to be sent to a place of meeting as soon as the necessary preparations can be made. The Federation of Labor has sent out a ringing appeal to its members urging them to make fullest use of the events of the past few weeks in the effort to swing the whole working-class into line for conflict. The general strike is being kept up, and in some industries is fairly effective. Working-class propaganda is, however, carried on only with the greatest difficulty. Martial law is to be maintained indefinitely. The Socialist and labor press has been disabled. Our comrades in Argentine are in dire need of funds with which to carry on the necessary work of organization. The international working-class movement has come nobly to the aid in many a conflict of recent years. But there was never greater need than exists in Argentine at the present moment. Had the events recounted above occurred in Europe the whole world would be stirred up over them. Funds intended for the assistance of the working-class of Argentine should be sent to the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels or to Jose P. Balino, Calle Denfensa No. 888.

New York City and the Revolution

By

Louis Duchez



HAVE just returned from New York City where I spent three months as a reporter on "The Call." During that time I "covered" strikes and labor troubles and conventions in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the surrounding places. Besides, I did considerable street speaking there. Also, I spent most of my spare time in studying labor in New York from a revolutionary point of view.

New York City in many respects is peculiar. It is essentially a commercial city. There are no big industries there such as exist in the Pittsburg district. There are many little industries but these, in a large degree, turn over their work in lots to families which take this work home (perhaps I should say to their dark, unsanitary existing places) and when it is completed it is taken back to the bosses who pay them paltry sums for long hours of labor. Entire families of six and eight are often engaged in "rolling" cigarettes, stringing beads, making toys, wigs, etc.

How soon will the workers of New York be ready for revolt? This is the question that thundered continually in my ears. Much as I would, I could not banish it from my thoughts.

On the one hand I saw the terrible misery of the workers. The largest city in the United States—the second largest in the world! I saw the midnight bread lines. The thousands of homeless sleeping in the parks, upon the sidewalks and in the doorways of large shaded buildings in the off-streets. I saw them perched on the fire-escapes for eight and ten stories upwards, in order to get a breath of air that might possibly sweep through the long, narrow streets. I saw hundreds of ragged, half-starved children rumaging through the garbage-cans early in the morning before the carts came along to empty them. And the thousands on the streets, men, women and children, begging from the passers-by!

If there is one place in America where the workers have reason to revolt against capitalism and this thing called "civilization" and to overthrow it, it is New York City.

All this I thought about. But there is another side to the story. Besides the poverty, the hunger and the suffering of the masses there, there is a large lackey class, with flunkey souls, ready to do anything—anything—for the master class and their hangers on for an existence.

There are scores, perhaps hundreds of hotels where the industrial barons of the United States pay for the board and rooms of thousands of strikebreakers, so that they may have them ready when ever they are needed to be shipped off to any part of the country where a strike is on or there is prospect of one.

These men live and lounge about the city. Many of them are the business agents of the tenderloin and perhaps the promoters of the white slave tarffic. A large percentage of them are labor spies, employed by the detective agencies. Some of them, I have been reliably told, are officials in some of the conservative labor unions.

For the most part they are not ignorant men. They are men who have been hardened by capitalism. The individualism of capitalism has taught them to follow the lines of least resistance.

Religion and patriotism are foreign to their minds. Their love for humanity has

been crushed, or at least sidetracked, by the brutal individual struggle for existence.

I talked with one of these men. He was a Pinkerton man. I had met several in the West and I won his confidence. He was frank, I believe, but his philosophy of life is a brutal philosophy.

He understood Socialism. He knew what it meant to himself, as well as to humanity. He believed in it thoroughly—as a theory.

He had read the books of many of our leading writers. Much of it he called "hodge-podge." His main criticism of Socialism, judged from its official representatives, was that it could not be carried out, peaceably, quietly as most of its writers lead him to believe. He believed a great revolution, which would not only abolish wage slavery but the existing State, was necessary for the realization of Socialism. Until the time comes when that conception begins taking hold of the masses of workers he said he feels justified in playing the part of the Pinkerton, the thug and the Nietzschean.

I simply report his attitude. The reader is left to judge.

I looked into the labor unions of New York City. The building trades is the backbone of the A. F. of L. there. These workers are fairly well paid—when they work. It pays the bosses to pay them well—when they need them.

Here are the facts. By paying the few "skilled" men fairly good wages, the tendency is not only to keep the unions of these "skilled" workers conservative but to keep the "unskilled" from organizing. In this way the bosses have the cooperation of the few union (?) men in keeping the mass in subjection. They can well pay the few four and five dollars a day if by so doing they are able to get the biggest part of their work done for a dollar and a half a day per wage slave.

No secret to that. But that is not all. In New York with sky-scrapers as many as twenty stores high, it is an important item to get a building completed two or three months sooner than it ordinarily takes. On some of these buildings the rent reaches $150,000 a year.

So the "skilled" men, the fairly well paid men, are encouraged, and generally compelled, to "speed up." This speeding up, of course, makes the poor devil working at a dollar and a half a day "take up the pace."

Truly, it is to the interest of the boss to perpetuate the conservative, aristocratic labor union!

I could point out a similar condition in the next industry in importance in New York City—that of printing.

But back again to the question of revolt. Do I think it will come in New York City? Yes. How soon? I don't know. But it is not many years away.

The momentum for the revolution in the great cities, especially for New York, will develop in the two basic industries—that of mining and the metals and machinery. The workers of the Pittsburg district, and Pennsylvania in general, will lead the way.

In that part of the country the workers are reduced to a revolutionary level more than anywhere else. A more pronounced mass psychology is developing there than anywhere else in the United States. Out of this collective struggle in production, there springs a collective aim, a direct, a definite plan, a tremendous confidence in each other, and a feeling of working class power which is unconquerable.

But New York City in itself is not as hopeless as the superficial observer would think. I "covered" several strikes of the unorganized, I talked with hundreds of workers who do not know there is such a thing as the Socialist movement, I attended the cigar makers' convention and several labor conferences, I talked with hundreds of workers on the unorganized street railway lines of New York and Brooklyn.

Everywhere I saw, perhaps I should say felt, the spirit of revolt. A battle cry is listened for. A spark is needed— expected. The heavy police force there, always on the alert to club and shoot the workers who show the least spirit of revolt, know that something is coming.

But they cannot stop it. They can only spread it, so that the uprising may be more extensive and powerful. The business agents of the conservative unions, too, may hobnob with the bosses and these aristocratic organizations may cooperate with the capitalists in keeping the mass of workers in submission. But this will not last much longer. Their actions, too, have the same effect upon the revolutionary movement as a whole, as that of the "cops."

We have reached a point in capitalis

development where capitalist oppression only stimulates revolt. The days of feudalism and the Middle Ages are past.

The millions in New York City and everywhere else, for that matter, are not going to stand for capitalism much longer. The good things of life are here, and they are going to take them. He who does not believe in Social Revolution is blind to the great social forces, indeed.

The repetition of the great French revolution and the Paris Commune in any country will now mean but one thing—the Social Revolution and the establishment of Industrial Democracy.

The sooner it comes the better. The minds of all classes are ready to accept the inevitable. Power is recognized everywhere. The flunkey-souled preacher and journalist, the unscrupulous Pinkerton, the brutal "cop" and capitalist thug, for the most part, see and know—in theory. They will all recognize working class POWER—and yield to it. Once a hopelessness in the capitalist order begins to develop in their minds, they will begin to "cave in."

Then, as Marx says, "the integument is burst asunder; the knell of capitalist private property sounds; the expropriators are expropriated." Revolutionary propaganda and the appeal for SOLIDARITY is the demand of the hour. The workers are beginning to feel their power. The Revolution is coming! What are you doing?

Vagrancy

By

FRANK CORLISS



AWOKE with a start. The bull's-eye of a dark-lantern within a foot of my face began to assume the proportions of a gigantic searchlight, and as I mingled my sleepy glances with its inquisitive rays, could make out what I mistook to be the form of a human being holding the light between me and itself. Then a voice came from the throat on the other side of the light and that voice framed the words: "Come on Bo."

On the instant, as by long familiarity, I knew the voice for that of a "bull." Remembrance flashed back to a month of penniless, workless days during which John Law had been hot on my trail, driving me and my kind from one place to another, rounding us up in the box-cars by night and on the tie-piles by day, never allowing us to "light" anywhere, putting the fear of God into our hearts by living up to sundry signs posted on telegraph poles and telephone poles, on fences and in all conspicuous places, advertising that taxes were high, food scarce and uninviting, rocks plentiful and hard to break, and intimating the advisability of immediate, rapid and continuous movement on the part of Willie, John Yegg and their ilk.

It was not until I had been safely arrested and was on my sure way to the barred cage that tardy retrospection was born and began to urge its irk of reproach. I berated myself roundly. Surely I had violated all the known tactics of trampdom in choosing a place so conspicuous in which to "kip" for the night. No one but a "gay-cat," or hobo new to the road would have chosen to bivouac in that newly-painted Studebaker wagon-bed, so close to a main artery of travel and right under the noses of the police. But then the railroad yards had been hostile and infested with the presence of many "fly-mugs," Cerberus had barked and frightened me away from a clandestine entrance to a private barn, and anyhow the wagon-bed was very nice and clean and my eye-lids heavy with little sleep. So I had hoisted to a berth in it, and giving a tramp's thanks to a tramp's God for that chance to rest, had fallen asleep.

There was a rattle of great keys, the click of a lock, the creak of hinges, the clank of an iron door, the click of a lock again, and—I had been tarred with the jail-bird's brush. Never again could I truthfully aver that my record was spotless and clean or inform prospective employers that I had never been in jail. And yet what crime had I committed? Whom or whose had I injured? Hoping to let the world alone and that the world would let me alone, I had simply crept into an unused wagon box which on the morrow would be none the worse for my having slept in it. Then in the daylight I could continue the search for work and if that were not to be had, well, it was becoming a routine now: into a town, a wash-up at an un-used or unwatched hydrant or under the drip of a water-tank, wiping face and hands on soiled handkerchiefs or drying them in the wind; then uptown and downtown, scouting around everywhere for work, in return for which I would accept money, chalk or marbles, unmindful of threat, insult or contemptuous look; and then when it became evident that the town held for me no job or situation, being hungry, there would be nothing to do but obey nature in defiance of man-made law and "slam a gate" where a wood-pile was in evidence. Usually, after asking at three or four such places, (shaming Ananias to the blush when the plain, unvarnished truth would not avail) a meal of some kind would materialize, 'tho sometimes no work would be accepted. Then down to the railroad yards again, blotting myself out of the landscape until a train came along in the direction I wanted to go. Then into an "empty" or an ice-box of a refrigerator, up on the "deck" or swinging under the rods, all depending on the kind of train and the way the "fly-mugs" and train crews sized up. And so away from the town.

Two things would be certain: In the place from which I was going I knew there was for me no work and in the place to which I was going I did not know there was no work. So, ever the fires of hope were fed and every fresh rumor of work brought the droop out of shoulders, made the chest swell and took the aimlessness out of my walk. Yet I was only one of thousands living and moving thus over the land, their clutch on home and place or on thoughts of home and place all gone, and for the passive phase of criminality in my lack of being other than one of these, O Tucson, right in the shadow of the stars and stripes that represent our boasted liberty (not to do others but to keep from being done), did you take from me my heritage of freedom and steal from me my time.

It seemed strange to me to be able to look up at the stars when one was in jail but there they were. This part of the jail was simply a court with no roof but with rafters made of two-by-four lumber, placed about five or six inches apart and eighteen or twenty feet from the cement floor. There were six cells and they were ranged along one side of this court and had a roof over them. At one end of the court was a shallow, disreputable looking sink, and in a corner near this was what was supposed to be a water-closet, 'tho there was no screen nor partition to save it from the gaze of all the inmates. It was simply a filthy, reeking flush-bowl, black with the accretions of ages and in a very bad state of repair. The sink leaked badly, sending its sickening, microbe laden stream across the cold floor, tributary to other refuse that gravitated sluggishly into a cess-pool which was indicated by a grated, iron depression in the middle of the floor. Near the sink was a tub or half-barrel into which was dumped the solid garbage that came from the prisoner's food. This was wet and had fermented, while around the inside of the receptacle was a macadam of hardened swill which had encrusted the

staves so that they might have been removed, leaving garbage holding garbage. The aroma from this slimy mass of stuff lingered all too long and too caressingly before ascending cloudward from the man-high stratum of air that kept up the life of the lungs.

Yet even this overpowering assault upon the olfactory nerve failed not for reenforcement, for from the cells came the odor of unwashed, sleeping bodies and sweaty clothes of men and of women —the women of their ilk and kind.

I was still sleepy but no effort of the imagination was required to drive away all thought of sleep in such a place. Besides there were no cots nor boards nor railroad ties—just the plain, concrete floor with its burden of oozy wet. So I, walked the floor until the daylight began to filter into the jail.

And then the living things all round about the country side awoke from cleaner beds than ours and lifted up their dawn cries, joining in a matin song, far-flung, exultant, mocking, proclaiming a universal belief that life is inherently good and that only human relationships make it otherwise. Were those other orders of life mocking us? Did they say to us—"You humans, there in the jail, you have become so low that your brothers have had to lock you up?"—or was the mockery for the world outside, that breathed the clean, sweet air and denied the same to us? Was that proclamation of a clean, new day invested with Nature's authority to say: "Shame upon you, World. If jails must be, why such an abomination as this jail we see?"

Rattle of keys, clank of iron door, creak of rusty hinge, and the day jailer came in. He aroused his sleeping charges, unlocked the cell doors and went out. He could get out.

The cells unlocked, the inmates came out into the court in which I had spent a part of the night. There were five white men, and the rest, including the women, were Mexicans. There was none of the mystery of sex between women and men. There was no privacy of any kind for anyone.

Rattle of keys, clank of iron door, creak of rusty hinge, and the food was brought in. Food? Forgive me, it was grub. The prisoners lined up with round tin pans and tomato cans in their hands. Each one received a generous slice of bread, a cup of black coffee—in the tomato can—and a helping of beans, stew or whatever happened to be the piece-de-resistance of the meal. Then they squatted on the floor and ate, sopping the bread in the watery piece-de-resistance, using the bread as a common carrier between the pan and face, for 'tho the mouth was target, the marksmanship of some was hit or miss. No knives, no forks, no spoons, no chop-sticks. No nothing, as one of them expressed it with a conciseness foreign to better grammar of the èlite.

These starved men and women ate in the manner of primordial life and with the bestial, ravenous gusto of primordial life. The mind of me wondered if they were gorging as a duty, if the life spark in them cried so loudly for replenishment of its fuel. Did any pleasure reside in eating it was not in the taste of their grub but in the swiftness with which their stomachs could be made to receive that grub. Eating, as a social function, appealed to them not at all. Duration of hunger-hurt had written the jungle story into their faces and brought the beast a-top of the man. Each treasured his bit of provender with solicitation pathetic, gloating over the diminishing mite, straining alertness to shield it with furtive gestures of arm and hand, conscious of security, confident in possession, yet vaguely, instinctively aware that some triumphant beast might suddenly pounce upon it and snatch away the grub, the life.

Betimes the hunger cried less loudly, the beast crept down and away somewhere, and human looked out of the eyes for a space. But there was another hunger look and it came always with those fleeting, transitory glimpses and peerings-out of that strange, elusive spirit within. It evidenced hunger a thousand times more terrible, more insistent while it lasted, than the mere jungle craving; for something a thousand times more indefinable than grub, a thousand times more satisfying; an indescribable longing that had been starved a thousand times more terribly and shamefully than their bellies had been starved. They were the losers in the race for a thing called success, in a race for which they had never been prepared nor had a chance to prepare, their names duly entered with no consent of theirs and with belated information that there was to be a race. Not theirs sufficient guile to trade one rotten apple for two good ones. Not theirs the brute strength of intellect to overcome. Not theirs to command life. Theirs only to do what the world told them to do; to dig the world's ditches and wash the world's dishes, to scrub and sweat and stoke and tug and pull and haul; and because of a mere difference in occupation, to forfeit clean sheets, bath-tubs, pure air, wholesome food, clean friendships and the "nice things" that mental occupations, somehow, gather the medium to buy.

I counted the noses. There were twenty-one—but twenty-two persons. Three of us were vagrants, one had stolen something, and the eighteen, including the women, were drunks. I did not eat, 'tho I was very hungry. But I would have to be very awfully hungry before I would eat from such filthy tins and drink from such filthy cans. Instead, I gave my ration to the man with only half a face in return for which he took me on a trip through Diaz's penal hells.

Breakfast was over and the door swung open for the night's gathering of human derelicts to walk before their judge. We filed out meekly and faced an important-looking individual who sat behind a desk with his hat on and looked at us out of a pair of red-lidded eyes. Machine-like speed ground out the grist and my turn came with a rush that swept away two-thirds of my resolution for defense. "Charged with vagrancy. Guilty or not guilty?" "Guilty," I said. "Twenty days," said the judge. "Your Honor, if you will telephone ———" "Send them out to work," said he. "If you will telephone," I insisted, "to Mr. ———— of the ——— cafe, I think you will find that I have prospective means of support." "Have they got a job for you?" he asked. "No," said I," but they told me I could work for my board while looking for a situation." "Oh, you worked for a meal,"said he, as if to dismiss the subject. "Then will you allow me to send a note." I asked. "You wouldn't have been sleeping in a wagon-box if they were going to take care of you," he came back. "But there's a limit to a man's imposition upon kindness and I didn't want to let them know," I parried hopelessly. Whereupon he instructed the keeper to telephone to the proprietor of the cafe I had mentioned, to find out the truth or falsity of my assertion, and, if true, to release me at once. In the meantime we were marched out to work. Upon coming in at noon I asked the keeper what news for me. "Aw, I didn't 'phone," and he slammed the door, turning the key in the lock.

That afternoon I borrowed paper and pencil from our kind-hearted guard and smuggled a note to the best-natured darkey chef that ever led mens' minds through 'possum hunts in Dixie; whose whole-souled phrase of invitation had been, "Come around occasionally if you don't strike work. You can do an odd task now and then and board with us a while 'til you get on your feet." That evening, I ate some supper and ate it from one of those dirty pans and drank coffee from one of those dirty tomato cans, that no amount of scrubbing (with cold water and no soap) could cleanse of grease and rust.

The next morning we went out to work—in the shadow of the books. From a near-by school-house floated a song. From a mast on the schoolhouse floated a flag. A prisoner by my side said something about the triangularity of the song, the flag and us. I looked at him with wide eyes and did not understand. But then I was only beginning my second day while he was beginning his thirty-fourth.

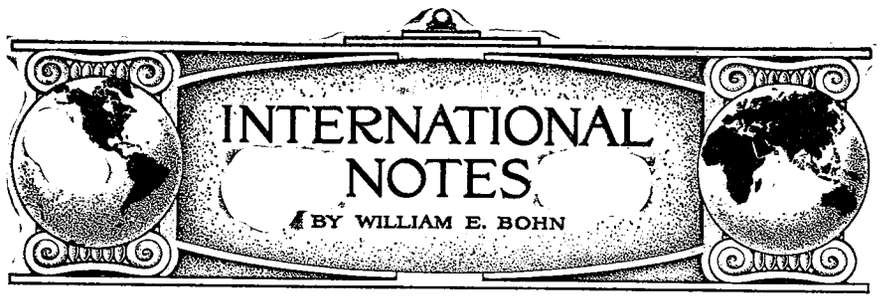
At ten o'clock we were approached by a man who drove a horse that was hitched to a light trap. He called for Harry Wilson. I had forgotten my name but guessed that was it. So, at his invitation, I climbed to the seat and we drove down to the cafe—the straw at which I had grasped with surprising result. "You're going to work now,"said the man, driving away. "Take care of yourself."

EDITORIAL

Organized Labor Becoming Revolutionary. Trade unions in America, as in England, were organized for immediate, practical ends. They served those ends admirably. Isolated, the laborers were at the mercy of any employer who desired to exploit them. They had to accept his terms or starve. United, they found themselves able to treat on something like equal terms. Where "free competition" among employers prevailed, and the workers in a craft formed a strong organization, they frequently obtained real concessions in wages, hours and working conditions. As long as they could hold the advantages thus gained, it was natural that they should be conservative. But capitalism does not stand still and the capitalists have learned to organize. Their combinations are stronger than the labor unions. They are backed by judges, policemen, soldiers. And all the while, new machines are threatening to make worthless all the special skill of the union men. Gradually they are coming to see that their old tactics are out of date, that their own welfare is closely bound up with that of the rest of the working class, and that nothing but REVOLUTION will do.

The Socialist Opportunity. Old party names are losing their magic. Republicans are splitting into stand-patters and insurgents on lines of business interests, while democrats are ever and again deserting their own party to help one of the republican factions. All signs point to a fresh line-up of parties in the near future, and to this process we Socialists may look forward with little to fear and much to hope. Our course now is plain and easy. If we agitate for middle-class reforms we simply strengthen the "insurgents," or whatever the politicians who voice the hopes and fears of the little capitalists may call themselves. If we keep to the straight line of the class struggle, irresistible forces will be found fighting on our side. For the class struggle is no longer a mere Marxian theory to be confirmed or dispelled by later events. It is a grim fact staring at every reader from the headlines of every daily newspaper, and closer still to the eyes and ears of every wage-worker who knows that he must have more wages if he is even to maintain his past standard of living, and that he will not get them without a fight. More and more brutally, ruthlessly, the capitalists are using the clubs of the police and the bayonets of the militia to crush out the resistance of the wage-workers. And the sight of the latest improved machine gun mounted in a swift motor car on the streets of an inland city a thousand miles from any possible foreign foe is a new and valuable help to clear thinking on the part of wage-workers. There is just one party that dares propose to put the wage-workers in control of the machines they use, and that is the Socialist Party. And there is just one issue on which the Socialist Party can make an appeal that will unite the working class. It is that the workers shall be the rulers and the owners.

Aim at the Center. There are plenty of objectionable things about capitalistic politics and capitalist society in general. We might scatter our fire on any or all of these and accomplish nothing. Or we might even help the "insurgents" to "remedy" a few of the "social evils" successfully. But what good would this success do us, the wage-workers? The trouble with us is that under the capitalist system we can receive and do receive only a small fraction of the wealth we produce. This trouble will not be remedied in the least by electing honest men to office, or stopping graft, or compelling wicked capitalists to pay their "just" share of the taxes, or by any of the other reforms over which so much breath is wasted. And it is encouraging that the propertyless wage-workers are taking no interest in these issues. What they want is more of what they produce. The Socialist movement shows them the only possible way to get this. Here is the line of argument that wins. The straight road is the best road; let us keep in it and press on.



England. John Bull on Industrial Unionism. Up to the present time the principle of industrial unionism has been represented in England solely by a small but vigorous branch of the Industrial Workers of the World. In Socialist and labor union circles the members of this organization have been looked upon as malicious trouble breeders. **Justice** and **Clarion** have denounced the principle which they represent as an outlandish heresy which was to be put an end to with short shrift.

Under these circumstances it has been with great curiosity that the friends of industrial unionism have watched the reception of Tom Mann in English labor circles. Comrade Mann returned from Australia to his old field of battle an advocate of the newer form of unionism. In fact it is doubtful if there is in the entire labor movement of the world a more ardent and influential advocate of it than he is. And he has thrown himself with characteristic force and frankness into the effort to swing the English labor movement into line with the world movement. From the very first remarks with which he hailed the comrades who greeted him at the dock to his latest writings and speeches everything he has said has teemed with the spirit of working-class solidarity. If one is to judge from reports in the English Socialist papers his opinions have been received with wonder and misgiving. Even now suspicion has hardly been supplanted by real understanding.

For example, notice the reception given Comrade Mann's pamphlet, "Prepare for Action," which, by the way, is announced as No. 1 of the "Industrial Syndicalist." A reviewer in Justice devotes more than a column to this exposition of industrial unionism. After explaining in a rather patronizing way that all the ends sought by Comrade Mann can be attained by political action the author tries to smooth things over by the following conclusion: "Tom Mann comes back here from Australia; it is against his good nature to libel and slander his old comrades, as the previous apostles of industrial unionism have done; he is impressed, as we are, with the fact that the General Federation, given the spirit of class solidarity, is quite capable of working the thing out. Really, Mr. Mann is so reasonable an industrial unionist that he is hardly an industrial unionist at all." This is hardly graceful or gracious, but it means at least that the author feels obliged to accept a form of unionism represented by so influential an advocate as Tom Mann.

In this connection it is with pleasure that one records two recent expressions on this matter of the old and the new forms of unionism. One represents the most advanced opinion in the Social Democratic Party, the other that in the Independent Labor Party. In the **Clarion** for July 29 an editorial writer discusses the causes for the recent defeat of the workers in the famous North-Eastern Railway strike. The author concludes: "As things stand the workers tend to lose by strikes. While they are willing to sulk together in sectional camps, the enemy will use one regiment against another. But that only proves that sectional striking is played out. The workers must learn to strike properly. They must take a leaf out of the capitalist book and link up their many interests into a national and international federation. Had the workers been properly organized, there would have been nobody to drive the train in which Mr. Sidney Buxter traveled to Newcastle. But as things are, the capitalist can always rely upon ignorant or cad-

dish workers to convey even blacklegs to injure and defeat the strikers.

"The strike is not an obsolete weapon. Its uses are only just being discovered. Out of the roving and disunited bands an army is being organized. And when that army is ready to strike as one man, our righteous capitalists will be ready to spill more than ink."

In the same issue of the Clarion is reported a speech by Keir Hardie on this same railway strike. He expressed his admiration at the fine energy and spirit of the strikers and went on to say that he hoped the day was not far distant when the power of the working-class would be further consolidated. When the railway men, the colliers, the dockers, and the iron workers would all be members of one great brotherhood. Given such a combination, he continued, the strikes would be practically over.

No doubt Victor Grayson correctly represents the attitude of the average English Socialist in an article which he recently published: "It is sufficient to mention the words 'Industrial Unionist' to send the average Socialist lecturer into involuntary shudders and cold sweats." Then he goes on to show how the English Industrialists have carried on their propaganda by forcing Socialist orators to run a gauntlet of questions on class-struggle economics. But what follows is more encouraging: "Whatever the manner of the message may have been, its matter should compel the immediate and serious consideration of Socialists. It is not for us to greet it with bovine indifference..... We must carefully sift and weigh its arguments and proposals. This has not been easy for the average Socialist, partly because of our futile wanderings in the fog-bound labyrinths of politics, and our preocupation with the literature of parliamentarianism; and partly because there has been no well-known or accessible literature upon the subject. With the return to this country of our clear-thinking and hard-hitting friend and comrade, Tom Mann, this difficulty has begun to be overcome."

Socialist Unity. At the annual conference of the Social Democratic Party, held during the Easter holiday, a resolution was adopted looking toward the unification of the various Socialist bodies of England. It is now reported that this resolution is being carried out. The secretary of the S. D. P. has arranged a conference at which are to be represented, beside his own organization, the Fabian Society, the Independent Labor Party, and the Labor Party. English sectarianism has hitherto failed to yield to the repeated resolutions of international Socialist Congresses. But there are still Socialists in England who have not lost hope of attaining unity. The comrades from all over the world will wish them success.

Turkey. A Fight for Unionism. Hardly has the last shot of the bourgeois revolution died away in Turkey, but already we hear of the beginnings of the proletarian revolt. During the month of July the police of Salonica endeavored to suppress the Tobacco Workers' Union. They closed up the union headquarters and dragged the union officials into court. The defense was based on the new constitution. The comrade who made it closed with the words: "To suppress the liberty of the unions would be to suppress the liberty of a great number of citizens, and there would no longer be a constitution in Turkey, except in name." The men were acquitted and, amidst great rejoicings carried at the head of a procession about the city. It is interesting and instructive to notice how soon bourgeois "liberty" begins to play out.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

The long fight against the Buck Stove & Range Co. was finally ended during the past month by a complete surrender on the part of that concern, and at the present time the unions involved—the metal polishers and brass workers, iron molders, stove mounters and foundry laborers—are working out the details of the conditions under which the plant is to be operated upon strictly union lines.

A son of the late J. W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, is the present manager of the Buck Company and in the settlement proceedings announced that the old policy of opposition to union labor would be abandoned by himself and his board of directors and union labor would be fully recognized in all departments.

It is going on six years that the elder Van Cleave resorted to the unusual scheme of forcing the metal polishers to abandon the nine-hour day and return to the ten-hour system, despite the fact that metal polishing is regarded as one of the most dangerous of all trades on account of the workers in that occupation being an easy prey to the white plague. A strike followed and the Buck company was placed on the unfair list of the A. F. of L. in a prefunctory sort of way, and little attention was given to the concern except by those directly interested, but still enough damage was done to arouse the ire of Van Cleave, who made the mistake of his life by going into court and obtaining nation-wide notoriety by suing for an injunction.

After securing his restraining order against Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison and others he had the former brought into court under charges of contempt, and every subsequent move reacted hardest on Van Cleave and his stoves and ranges. Finally he stepped out of office in the National Association of Manufacturers, a broken man and died in St. Louis several monhts ago.

The settlement will not affect the contempt case against Gompers and his colleagues, as this legal fight has reached the United States Supreme Court and is being prosecuted by the American Anti-Boycott Association, the organization which stood behind the plaintiff in the celebrated case of Loewe versus United Hatters, and which is a sort of auxiliary to the National Association of Manufacturers and the Citizens' Alliance and probably other labor-hating bodies. However, it is possible that those wise old owls who grace the Supreme bench may find some way of getting around this somewhat delicate situation without squarely facing the issue, now that the main cause of the legal battle has been satisfactorily arranged. It's not such a hard job for the learned limbs of the law to get out of an embarrassing position by digging up some technicality and postponing a final decision upon some vital principle for several years.

The supreme judges don't want to imprison Gompers and make a martyr of him and give the labor movement the benefit of the moral effect. They remember that Eugene V. Debs came out of jail a much more popular man than when he went in, which was also true of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The final outcome of this cause will prove interesting.

Meanwhile the Buck settlement is one more fine example of what the working class can accomplish when it is true to its interests, thoroughly conscious and demonstrates its solidarity.

Meanwhile a victory here or a defeat there doesn't seem to affect the general tendencies or evolution of capitalism to any great extent. The movement to outlaw boycotts and strikes and completely enervate organized labor is proceeding slowly and surely. Not long ago the United States Court of Virginia enjoined the miners from going on strike. Then the Illinois Appellate Court restrained the Chicago street car men from walking out on strike.

Now, right upon the heels of the announced settlement of the Buck Stove trouble, comes the Superior Court at Boston, at the behest of a combine of bosses, and issues a sweeping injunction against the striking photo-engravers. The latter are enjoined from doing almost everything except breathe. They are not only restrained from talking to or making gestures at strike-breakers, but they are enjoined from 'continuing or proceeding with the strike already called against the plaintiffs" (the bosses' combine), and are forbidden to pay strike benefits or to impose fines or other punishment on any members who desire to play the role of strike-breakers.

It used to be the boast of the capitalists and their legal hirelings that labor had the right to work or not to work, etc., and, indeed, certain labor leaders, so-called, were very fond of repeating that nonsense like so many parrots . Labor has no right to work under present conditions—it has a right to **hunt** a master, and that's about all. Now the courts are beginning to rule that, having found a master, labor has no right to quit serving him or advise others to cease work.

True enough, injunctions like the foregoing are not the general rule—not yet. In robbing the people of their freedom, tyranny susually proceeds slowly, insidi- learned opinions of the other petty szars **court** lays down a precedent, then another builds thereon, then a third **quotes** the learned opinions of th other petty czars and adds a few wise thoughts favoring the master class, and gradually a dozen rule in the same vicious manner ,and the practice becomes "good law."

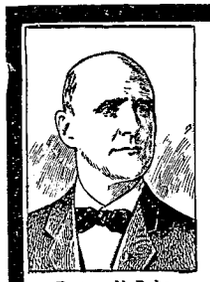
Then we have a few boneheaded "labor leaders" who brag about how much more "free' and "independent" we are than the European **paupers.** Isnt it rotten?

President Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners ,has made the suggestion that Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., be retired on a pension to make room for a younger man. Gompers retorts that it is up to the delegates to the Federation convention to decide that matter. If its the idea of Moyer that Gompers should be pensioned and some present vice-president promoted or other "standpatter" picked from the delegates for the place, then the miner man is wrong. If there is to be a conservative at the head of the A. F. of L., let Sam remain as long as he likes. I don't know of one of his followers who could fill his shoes.

Moyer should be very careful how he expresses himself, as he is after a charter for the W. F. of M., which has already been protested by certain craft union officials, who would like to rip the miners to pieces just as they tried to serve the brewery workers and other industrial organizations, excepting, of course, the United Mine Workers, with whom the W. F. of M. is now in alliance. The little craft advocates have always been afraid of Mitchell and Lewis, who have stated plainly that all men who work in and about the mines must remain in theU. M. W or get out. But they are going to try to bar the W. F. of M., just as they are trying to drive out the progressive element in the electrical workers, and just as they have barred the flint glass workers, the Amalgamated Engineers and other radicals The A. F. of L. is "stand pat," par excellence It is more conservative or reactionary than it was fifteen years ago, and it is quite natural that the friends of Gompers dont want to hear any radical talk from Moyer.

In this connection it might be stated that Speaker Cannon, the prince of "standpatters," is throwing some nice bouquets at Gompers. In his tariff speeches Cannon quotes Gompers quite liberally to show how much better off we are under an "American System" of high tariff than the Europeans. You know Gompers, when he was abroad last summer, could see and write about nothing but poverty and slavery—which, thank God! we haven't got in this country—and now Cannon reads his audiences liberal extracts from the Gompers letters and says they are as true as gospel Politics surely does make strange bedfellows.

About the only bill that successfully ran the gauntlet of the politicians who



Eugene V. Debs

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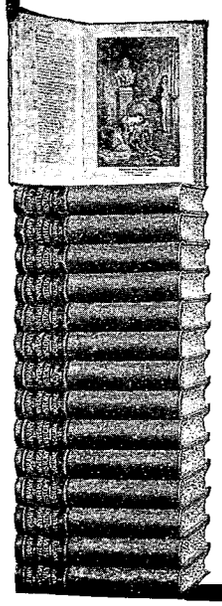
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Occupation.....

assembled in Congress at Washington during the year and spent over a billion dollars that appeared to amount to anything to the working class was the one to create a bureau of mines and mining. It is a notorious fact that in the United States more than double and treble the number of miners are killed every year than in any other country in the world, due to the driving and profit-grabbing methods of the American capitalists. For years the men who take their lives in their hands and work underground have protested against the needless dangers that they are compelled to face while their masters enjoy themselves in luxurious ease safe from explosions and constant accidents. Finally Congress, after hemming and hawing for several years, voted to establish a bureau to save life and limb, but only after a number of disasters occurred while the bill was pending. Now comes President Moyer and informs the convention of the Western Federation of Miners at Denver, that the bureau is no good unless the law is radically amended. So that once again the workers seem to be humbugged by the politicians who pose as saviors of society.

There is no change in the battle that is being waged against the United States Steel Corporation and the seamen on the Great Lakes and iron and steel workers. Although the labor organizations throughout the country, the labor press as a whole and many daily newspapers continue to expose the slavish conditions that the steel trust is attempting to enforce upon the workers, the corporation is not the least disturbed and is pushing its project of building a "model" town near Birmingham, Ala., which is to be named Corey, after Mabel Gillman's husband, who divorced the wife of his poverty days and who reigns as president of the new feudal institution, better known as the United States Steel Corporation. The steel trust is the head and front of the movement to smash the trade unions, and it is pointed to with pride by the various employers' associations which are trying to emulate its example. At the same time the workers refuse to surrender and acknowledge themselves out-and-out slaves. The fight will not only continue here, but will be spread into foreign countries, more news of which will be given later.

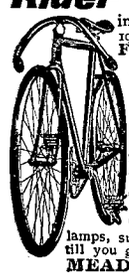
It is unlikely that a Labor party will be formed in Los Angeles, where a fierce class struggle is raging between the unions and the open shoppers as a result of the metal trades for an eight-hour day. The unionists have held big mass meetings and declared their intention of leaving the old parties and starting a new party, but so many of the members have been joining the Socialist party lately, more than doubling the number who pay dues, that it would look like splitting the labor vote, and the indications are that the unionists will work with—and through the Socialist Party.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, the largest city central body in the country, adopted a committee report advising the severance of all connections with the old parties, and the local unions are now voting upon the question of starting a Labor party or joining with the Socialist party to fight for political concessions.

In Seattle about fifty unions formed a Labor party and will finance it by levying a per capita tax of 5 cents a month. The new party is the outcome of strikes and capitalistic oppression.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Still at it in Portland. We held an excursion and picnic down the Columbia Sunday, the 17th of July. It certainly was a success and we had to turn 200 people away as the boat was crowded to the rails. We had races, games and dancing and very good music. We are asked to give another this season. We have had a teamsters and machinists strike on here for the last two months or so. It is a great thing to witness in the City of Roses so boasted about by the home land sharks. You can get anything here in Portland but your money back—or a job. The scab teamsters are protected by the police, who ride with them all day, wait upon them while they eat their meals and take them safely home to Mamma at night. The employers' association has come out for the Open Shop. But some day these men will get wise on how to use their ballots and to industrial unionism. Then there will be something doing sure. It is a sorry sight to see men here scabbing on other men who are members of the same organization. For instance the teamsters are on strike. The bakers, bricklayers, masons and others are each paying 25 cents or 50 cents a week to aid the striking teamsters. But they handle the goods the SCABS HAUL and keep on working, and in this way support the strike-breakers and the bosses at the same time. Then some union men own their own homes. They know the little property owners can't dodge the taxes and that the police are paid to protect the scabs. They know they will have to pay the taxes that pay the police and so they become swell little strike-breakers. Also the union men contribute to the funds of the strikers. I wonder whether they ever will wake up out of the craft union dope and get into a union based on class lines that will use every weapon at its command to batter down the master-class. At present our hope is to keep up the fight, shoulder to shoulder with our overworked, underfed fellowworkers, who are so willing to remain slaves as long as they can get a job or a little raise in wages. Some day they will be as class conscious as they are job conscious and then it will be a merry war. But that is dreaming. Until the workers are lined up with intelligence and solidarlty, conscious of their power to inaugurate the workers' republic.

I enclose $52.00 for books and Reviews. The Blanket Stiff Local is still going to continue to do business at the good old stand. Fraternally yours,

Tom J. Lewis.

Something Doing in Springfield, Ohio. I hereby place an order for the Local's bundle of August Reviews . . . We started several months ago with 20 and had a few left. Next we increased to 40 and have increased every time since until this month we ordered 100, then 20 more and still did not have enough. This month we offered an Appeal Arsenal of Facts for the person making greatest sales, he having sold 37 copies. Next month we will offer a bound copy of the Communist Manifesto. I believe a winner in a contest like this is more likely to read and appreciate our classical literature. Fraternally, **R. A. Huebner.**

When the B and O. Shops in Zanesville, Ohio began to show an interest in the Socialist literature that was being sold by one of our young boy friends in that city, the bosses ordered the lad to stay off the premises. But the men who work in the shops will not be denied the privilege of buying what they want and our young comrade is going to see to it that the Review will be on sale in Zanesville. There is one good thing about Capitalist oppression. It always ends by working against them.

The Workers in American History is the title of a book recently published by the author, James Oneal, 831 North Third Street, Terre Haute, Ind., price 25c postpaid. Comrade Oneal has made a real contribution to the literature of American socialism by unearthing a mass of facts about people who were really making history while the Great Men were parading in the foreground. His story of the working people for the three hundred years ending with the adoption of the U. S. Constitution is one that will startle any

wage-worker who has believed the stories in the school histories. He will find that the Pilgrim Fathers were slave merchants, dealing in white slaves as well as black. He will find that the working class of the United States has been from the earliest ads engaged in a struggle with the ruling class, that it has never any more "rights" than it was able to take by its own strength, and that its position is stronger far today than in the glorious (?) times of Bunker Hill and Yorktown. Moreover he will find that the Constitution of the United States is not a priceless heritage of liberty, as some amiable reformers would have us believe, but a series of measures shrewdly planned by the property owners to fetter the workers, so that it has worked for over a hundred years exactly as it was intended to work. Comrade Oneal is to be congratulated, and we advise every Review reader who wants to know more about American history to send for the book. It is well worth the price, which is more than we can say for other more pretentious books by Socialist writers lately issued by capitalist publishers.

Labor Song. March on to the Light, by Fred Holland Dewey, came to this office a week or two ago. Comrade Dewey only charges 10c for both words and music, and the song is a rare pleasure to working folks. Order copies from Fred H. Dewey, 250 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

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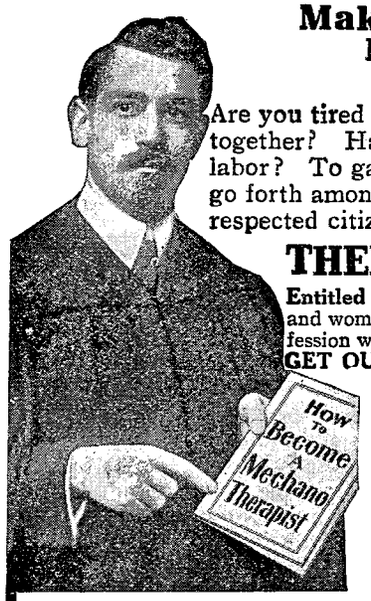
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class



The Cossack's Club

Columbus Police Strike
Francisco Ferrer
Socialist Congress
Sabotage

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI OCTOBER, 1910 No. 4



The Cossack's Club

By

LOUIS DUCHEZ

WERE you ever on strike? Sure, you've been—or else you've never been a workingman, or woman. Very well! It's you I am talking to.

Now, have you ever been clubbed by a Cossack? Have you ever had these brutal servants of capitalism ride into you and your fellow workers on strike, like so many sheep, and club right and left and shoot without reserve?

Perhaps the Cossacks have not been established in your state yet? Then you've had similar dealings with the militia, the local "cops" or the deputies of the firm you were striking against. They're all about the same thing. They are part of the capitalist machine to keep you and your class—my class—in submission—in slavery.

Well, I've had them club me when I was on strike! I've seen "the man on horseback" come "over the hill." And I've seen the bloody trail he left behind. I've seen it at McKees Rocks, at Butler, at New Castle and elsewhere in Pennsylvania.

But that won't do you any good, will it? Personally, I'm tired thinking and talking about the brutalities of the capitalist system. I know thousands of other wage-slaves that are. What we want to know is the way out.

And since the Cossack, the militiaman, the "cop" and the "iron police" deputy are an important item in our struggles, let us deal with them here. I will point out clearly, and definitely, what I believe to be

the best method to handle these fellows who are so quick to club and shoot in defense of the property of those who exploit us so mercilessly.

Distribute Socialist literature among them and tell them that they ought not club and shoot down members of their class? No! You might do that, though, too — it wouldn't hurt. Elect men to office who would do their best to keep the Cossacks and militia and deputies away from the scene of the strike? That may be done. If it will work to the advantage of the workers, it should be tried.

But I have another method in mind, however, which I think, would be more effective.

Listen. To begin with, the reason why the Cossack, the militiaman or the thug is sent in where a strike is in progress, is because the workers have furnished the opening. I mean by that that they are there to protect scabs. The same is true with the injunction. As Austin Lewis says, "the injunction is effective only for the protection of scabs."

In a nut shell, then, in order to solve the problem of the Cossack, the militiaman and the thug, and all of the violence and brutalities that go with them, we must first solve the scab problem. That is, we must keep the scab off the job, and, finally, get rid of him entirely.

That seems like a hard problem at first thought. But it isn't so hard—in comparison to the whole working class problem. For its solution we must first turn to the labor union and think a little along that line.

Comrade Lewis again says in his article on the injunction in the September issue of the Review: "It is the business of the labor organization to reduce the number of scabs, to eliminate the scab, in fact. In so far as this is not done, to that extent the labor organization does not effect its purpose. The first problem is obviously to get rid of the scab and that is essentially a labor union problem."

To do this the essential thing is CLASS SOLIDARITY, followed by the complete economic organization of labor's forces.

We have had so many examples of the desire for CLASS SOLIDARITY on the part of the rank and file of the workers during the last year in this country, and examples of the marvelously growing spirit of revolt, that it is unnecessary for me to emphasize their willingness along that line. What I want to do is to outline the constructive program which WILL probably be followed in solving, not only the Cossack problem, but the big problem of labor in general.

Here it is. Since the insecurity of the worker's employment is the secret of the capitalist's power over the working class, the "immediate demand" is to remedy this "insecurity." And here POWER is necessary. Higher wages won't do it, neither will better working conditions in general. Though we must and will demand those and fight hard for them.

The first and most important demand is the shorter work day. Continue this process until there is no competition among the workers for jobs. Then there'll be no scabs. After the hours of labor have been so reduced that everybody that wants a job may have it, then demand, according to the power to compel, higher wages until the boss is left out in the cold, so far as profits are concerned.

The Cossack, the militiaman and the thug would not take chances of getting their heads knocked off for a mere living, when they may enter the industrial army and get the product of their labor, at other jobs.

Some day—and it is not as far away as some of us think—just such a program as I have simply touched upon, will be put forth by the entire working class with vigor and power. Whether the constructive program will be carried out step by step, I am unable to say. I don't think it will, however. I think that economic pressure and capitalist oppression will stimulate the Social Revolution sooner than that.

At any rate, the outcome will be Industrial Democracy. As comrade Austin Lewis says: "Organization, effective labor organization on the industrial field, is the great need of the hour." In the midst of the turmoil and temporary chaos, which the Social Revolution will bring, the workers will look to the labor unions as the centers of social cohesion.

Let us get ready for the GREAT CHANGE.

Whom Do You Work For ?

By

R. U. Wise



HOM are you working for, Mr. Workingman? Whom are you working for? Did you say you are working for SWIFT, or Jim Hill, or for Mr. Armour? Well why in the world do you work FOR THEM? You are a mighty fine philanthropist; are you not? WORKING FOR OTHER people. Why don't you let them work for THEMSELVES? What is the use in being so generous!

Poor Jim Hill and poor Andrew Carnegie! You say you are working for THEM. I suppose you have so many clothes and so many houses and automobiles and other good things of this world that you want to help the poor Rockefellers out.

Several years ago I worked for SWIFT and ARMOUR and I worked for the same reason you do—not because I was sorry for them or because I had an overabundance of good things myself, but because I had to work in order to LIVE.

But I did not like it any more than you like it. Every time anybody would ask, "Whom do YOU work for?" it made me feel like quitting right then and there. It is so foolish to do hard work for OTHER PEOPLE.

What we want is a chance to WORK FOR OURSELVES. We want to stop making profits for those who do not work. We want to stop making PROFITS. We want to enjoy the value of our products OURSELVES.

The thing that makes some men MASTERS and other men and women WAGE SLAVES is OWNERSHIP. Those who own the mines, mills, factories, and railroads OWN YOUR JOBS and mine. And the man who owns the job is master of our lives. We can never be free while men OWN OUR JOBS.

Socialism proposes that the men who work IN the factories and mines and upon the railroads, shall OWN them and own their own jobs. Socialism proposes to eliminate the IDLE owner—the rich profit-takers. It means that the worker, instead of the boss, shall enjoy the fruits of the worker's toil.

There are so many issues discussed in the newspapers by Roosevelt and by Taft, by the Insurgents and the Stalwarts and many other people, that it is hard to see just what all the excitement in politics is about.

This is not an important matter to wage-workers like you and me. We know that all these people propose to have US CONTINUE TO WORK FOR OTHER PEOPLE. SOCIALISM intends to give the workers a chance to WORK FOR THEMSELVES.

We socialists make mistakes, of course, but don't forget that what we WANT is the abolition of the wage-system and the product of his labor for the workingman. If you are tired of working FOR OTHER FOLKS, STUDY SOCIALISM, and help us to make this a world of, by and FOR the working class!

Factories Abolish Caste in India

By

Omar Vayu

THE CASTE SYSTEM, according to H. A. Talcherkar, secretary of the Indian Workman's Association, who recently visited Chicago is the greatest obstacle toward organizing the natives in India. This has long been the cry from the East.

But gradually modern methods of production are shattering old religious and race prejudices. It is impossible for Indian workmen who toil in a factory, rubbing elbows and handling the same products and using the same machines, to maintain caste distinctions. They must either refuse to work and face the alternative of starvation, or cast aside old ideas and beliefs.

Harry A. Franck, in his new book, A Vagabond Journey Around the World, gives an interesting recital of his adventures among the caste-bound natives of India. He says,

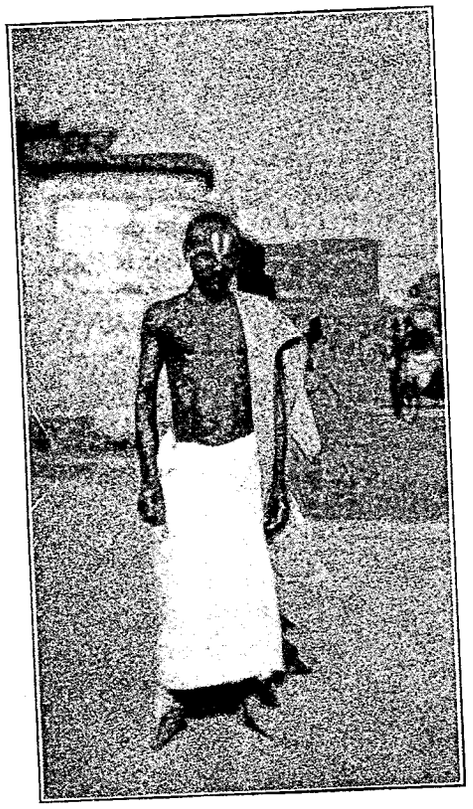
"There is no sadder, more forlorn, more hopeless of human creatures than this man of the masses in India. His clothing in childhood consists of a string around his belly and a charm box on his left arm. Grown to man's estate, he adds to this a narrow strip of cotton, tied to the string behind and hanging over it in front. But regularly, each morning, he draws forth a preparation of coloring matter and cow-dung--for the cow is a sacred animal—and daubs on his forehead the sign of his caste, but the strip of cotton he renews only when direst necessity demands.

* * * *

"There are caste rules, too, of which I was supremely ignorant when I dropped behind my companions and aroused a shop-keeper asleep among his pots and pans. For months I had been accustomed, in my linguistic ignorance, to pick out my own food; but no sooner had I laid hand on a sweetmeat than the merchant shot into the air with an agonized scream that brought my fellow-countrymen running back upon me.

"What's the nigger bawling about, Marten?" demanded Haywood.

"O, Franck's gone and polluted his pan of sweets."



Hindu with Caste-mark of Cow-dung



Manure Dryers—Bombay

"But I only touched the one I picked up," I protested, "and I'm going to eat that."

"These fool niggers won't see it that way", replied Marten; "if you put a finger on one piece, the whole dish is polluted. He's sending for a low-caste man now to carry the panful away and dump it. Nobody'll buy anything while it stays here."

"The keeper refused angrily to enter into negotiations after this disaster and we moved on to the next booth. Under the tutelage of Marten, I stood afar off and pointed a respectful finger from one dish to another. The proprietor, obeying my orders of one anna of that, dis pice of this —filled several canoe-shaped sacks made of leaves sewn together with thread-like weeds, and, motioning to me to stand aloof, dropped the bundles into my hands, taking care to let go of each before it had touched my palm.

"Go where we would the cry of pollution preceded us. The vendor of green cocoanuts entreated us to carry away the shells when we had drunk the milk; passing natives sprang aside in terror when we tossed a banana skin on the ground. The seller of water melons would have been compelled to sacrifice his entire stock if one seed of the slice in our hands had fallen on the extreme edge of the banana leaf that covered his stand.

"As we turned a corner in the crowded market place, Haywood, who was smoking, accidently spat upon the flowing gown of a turbaned passer-by.

"Oh! sahib!" screamed the native in excellent English, "see what you have done! You have made me lose caste. For weeks I may not go among my friends or see my family. I must stop my business, and wear rags, and sit in the street, and pour ashes on my head, and go often to the temple to purify myself."

* * * *

As new factories and mills are going up in India the owners are finding it extremely awkward to induce the natives to give up their old ideals and beliefs and work side by side. But Capitalism knows no color, no race, no sex nor creed. Gradually it levels all men and women. Surely this is one of the blessings of Capitalism. With-

out Industry offering a living to the natives of India, and the economic need of the men and women forcing them to work in heterogeneous and crowded groups, the labor organizer and the socialist would have a hard time.

At present the railway trains are doing more than any other power to level caste in India.

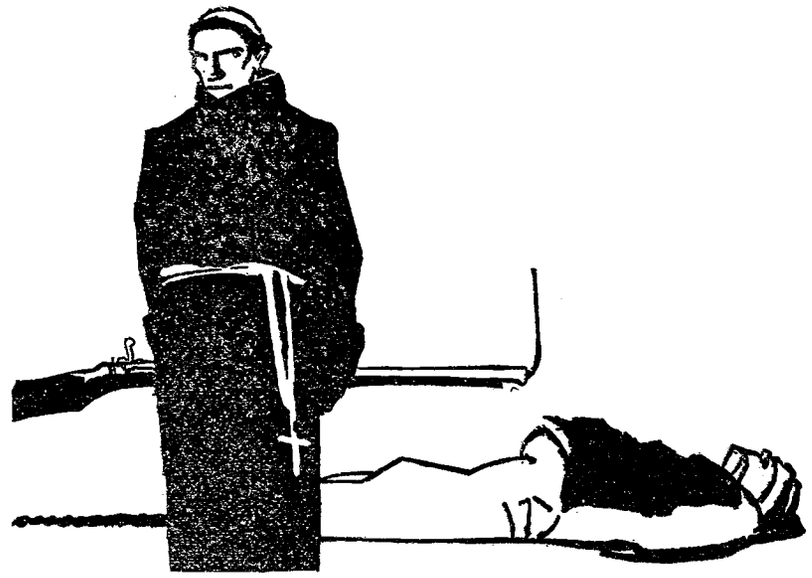
When the railroads were first built the natives demanded that special cars be furnished for certain castes. The Hindoos and Mohammedans would not sit down together, and the Brahmins insisted upon flocking by themselves. After a time they discovered that they could not secure special trains and it was tacitly decided to forget about caste while upon the railroad trains.

Unfortunately, (it is said) the railroads in India do not differ greatly from the railroads in other lands, and run as few trains as possible, so that the men and women of all castes are jammed together like sardines in a box.

And the turbaned natives moan and wail, while the priests in the temples add considerably to the Home exchequer by selling little charms to enable the elect to avoid pollution. It is the socialist who laughs.

For class solidarity cannot grow and flourish in a caste-ridden land. But the modern system of production has arisen and we have no fear that capitalists in India will allow the religious beliefs or hobbies of their factory and mill operatives to interfere with profit-making any more than they do anywhere else. The hope of workingmen and women of the world lies in a united and class-conscious proletariat.

To-day industrial supremacy implies commercial supremacy, in the period of manufacture properly so-called, it is, on the other hand, the commercial supremacy that gives industrial predominance. Hence the preponderant role that the colonial system plays. It was the "strange God" who perched himself on the altar cheek by jowl with the old Gods of Europe, and one fine day with a shove and a kick, chucked them all of a heap. It proclaimed surplus-value making as the sole end and aim of humanity. Marx' Capital, Vol. I.



REMEMBER, October 13, 1909!*

Francisco Ferrer --- In Memoriam

By

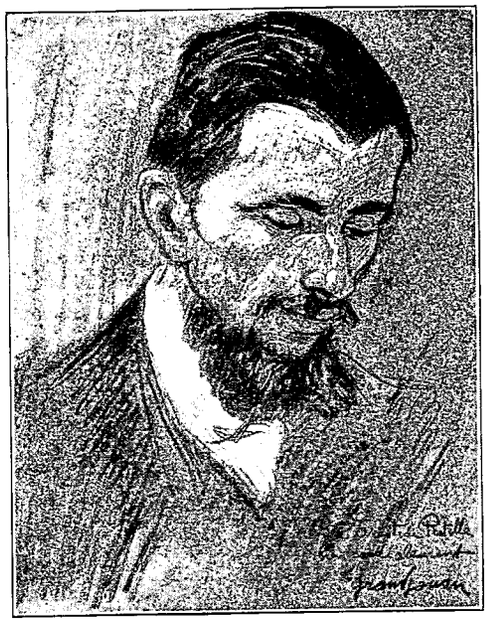
ARISTIDE PRATELLE

IN OUR era of mercantilism and indifference, amidst that civilization of ours, in which, too often, our idealist aspirations are second to more vulgar considerations, a man has appeared and passed away who, through a most fortunate concourse of circumstances, has been enabled to live the most sublime dream to which a human being may give shape.

I have known Francisco Ferrer but insufficiently, alas! to produce new information of interest on his life. Yet, in the same way as all those who knew him and had the happiness to contribute to his educational work, I am convinced that, more fully than ever one of his generation, Ferrer put in practice a precept given one day by Elisee Reclus to some lads who had asked him the right way to live. With his happy, juvenile ardor, which never abandoned him, the world-famous geograph and sociologist answered them that we should sacrifice everything to live our ideal; our money, our time, our situation and our life. In the same way, in one of these admirable epistles which the Martyr of Freethought wrote previously to the fatal dawn, he avows to an English friend that he knows no better purpose in life in which one can lay out one's money than in publishing books and that there is no pleasure in life greater than to provide for others the means of developing their intelligence. Indeed, is not this the right way to live and be happy?

The tragic death of our noble friend has

*Francisco Ferrer Ass'n. 241 Fifth Ave., N. Y.



Aristide Pratelle

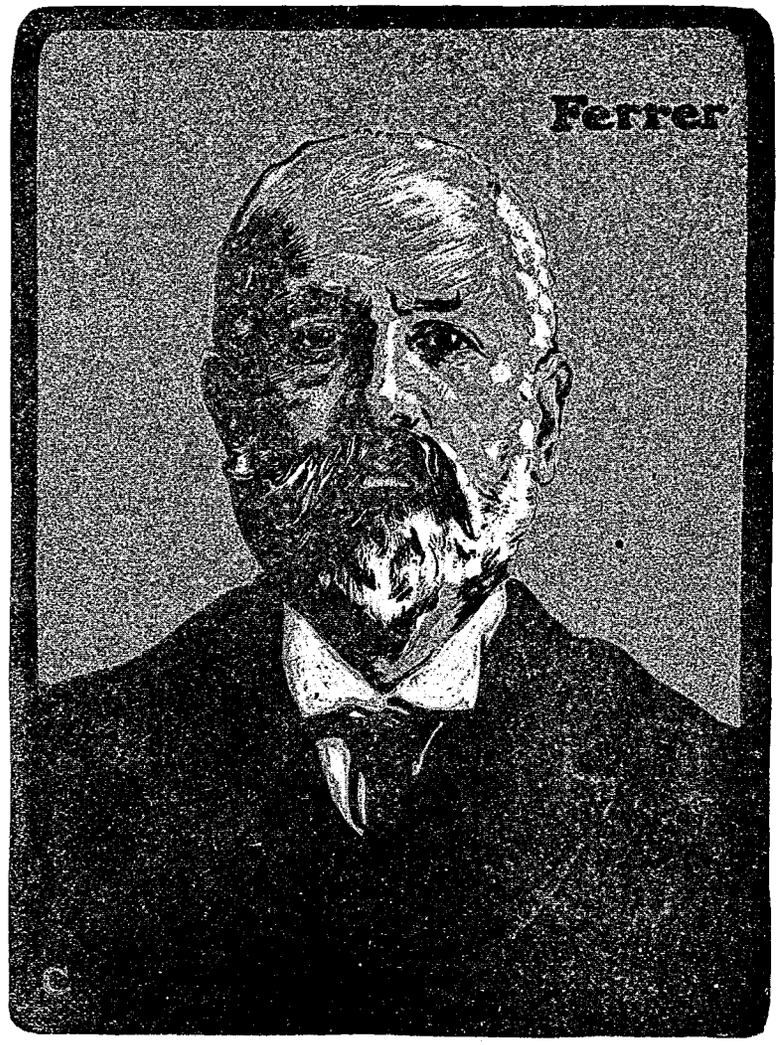
been a defeat for the gallant-minded men who started to defend him. Nevertheless, it has had two prodigious and unexpected results. First, it has united all the men of spirit in an unanimous and universal chorus of indignant protest. Above all, it has shown to all humanity one of these life-long heroisms, so difficult to attain, and in consequence so scarce. If, in conformity with the wishes of him who is no more, we should carefully beware of our tendency to place some famous dead men among the idols, yet, we must recognize that his supremely pure, fine and full life will for ever remain among the highest examples which the rising generations may care to follow.

That other famous dead friend, Elisee Reclus, dear to our hearts among the dearest ones, was most careful to advise those who felt themselves wealthy in strengths or talents, knowledge or intelligence, not to be foolishly prodigal of their riches. There is such a quantity of good work to be done in this brief life of ours. There are so many doings of interest, so many grand undertakings which claim the contribution of our brains and our hearts. Never missing any opportunity to model his life on the life of the Apostle whose writings he published in Spain, Francisco Ferrer had, from the start, the secret intuition of valor and of his force. Knowing admirably the condition of the people among which he had lived, and with which he felt himself connected, he realized all the benefit that the cause of a true rational education, firstly in that dull land of Spain, ruled and sucked to the marrow by mad kings and monks, and afterwards in the whole of the Universe, could realize from his conscious activity. Instead of leading an idle. confortable life which his fortune allowed him to lead, he strongly felt it his duty, in his turn, to enlighten his human brothers, to guide their reason, to give them confidence, to raise up their hearts above the petty ambitions and their life above the easy, cheap, vulgar pleasures. He died a hero for that noble cause he advocated during his life. His glorious end is, after all, the apotheosis of a most worthy existence during which the friend who is no longer never lost an opportunity to show the good example.

And what a most gratifying, splendid, spontaneous apotheosis could be hoped for him! The very day when the foul crime was perpetrated, the day when the daring challenge to that civilization of the twentieth century was flung by the coalition of the sword, the throne and the altar, the people, awakening at last, raised up in their anger, and spat upon the faces of the tormentors their hatred of the tyranny and their horror of the abominable deed. For several days, all the frontiers disappeared, all the nations were blotted out. Over them we heard the unanimous voices of that immense family of brothers that Ferrer and those of his kind had dreamt. In the twinkling of an eye, the International of workers was reestablished . To the horrified clamors of Europe, answered the indignant protests of the American workers!

That immense wave of revolt of the human conscience which is perhaps an unparalleled phenomenon both by its amplitude and its universality, has been something more than a sudden blaze, one of these passing outbursts of which the amorph, unconscious crowds gave so many examples in the course of human history. Now that the sinister day is sufficiently remote to enable us to judge the events with all the attention they require, we have all the joy to see that since that day, a deep and durable evolution has taken place among the young. It is indeed a sign of

the times that many individualities which did not know one another and took no share in our struggles have rapidly become conscious of their social duties and resolutely entered into our radical groups. In the space of a few months, the seed of Martyrdom has germinated, and now the harvest of heroism is growing up rapidly. Is not an International of Thought awakening now, a sublime International of Brains and Hearts to which will contribute, into which will fraternize, for the sake of which will sacrifice themselves, thousands of newly-born energies? Heroes of the ancient times, who only knew your jealous gods and your narrow countries, you cannot hold comparison with the heroes which will spring up tomorrow and are already springing up from the semi-shades. Longing to live and thrill, longing to give the world a solid and durable work, such is the noble ambition that the Martyrdom of Francisco Ferrer has awakened once for all in the depths of our always juvenile manhood!



Francisco Ferrer

Sabotage

By

Austin Lewis

A NEW factor is arising to complicate or perhaps to simplify the labor struggle. It has a slang French name, because it arose first in France in a practical form, and because there is at least one French paper "La Guerre Sociale" devoted to its propaganda. Sabotage is in brief the destruction of the property of employers by employees in pursuance of a definite revolutionary policy.

Such property may belong to the Government or to an individual. All capitalistic property is indeed the object against which the French anti-militantists under the leadership of Gustav Hervé direct their efforts.

Soldiers are called upon to destroy the arms and the equipment of the government, and to render useless the materials of war as far as they can venture to do so. They are directed to lose necessary mechanical parts of the rifles and guns, and to throw out of gear the myriad mechanical contrivances upon the harmonious relations of which the success of any army may depend.

In short Sabotage is a means by which the anti-militanists aim at the crippling of militarism through the destruction or disarrangement of the military machine at the hands of the soldiers.

To most, the propaganda of Sabotage will appear fantastical and indeed horrible, for this crippling of the military machine will naturally seem to be entirely traitorous and in all ways abominable.

The shocked discoverer of such will however console himself with the reflection that so utterly immoral and so despicable and detestable a course of conduct could not possibly find sufficient adherents to make it dangerous. It will appear to him as a manifestation of abnormality, as an evidence of degeneracy, which may perhaps find some few crazy adherents, as did the "progaganda of the deed" but which could never be sufficiently powerful to be dangerous.

There the uninformed would be wrong, for Sabotage on the anti-military side has made great strides and has found many disciples, particularly in the ranks of the French army. Material of war has been destroyed on many occasions and in one notable instance the regimental flag was thrown down and trodden under foot by a marching regiment.

The anti-military propaganda is carried on by means of pamphlets and leaflets which are distributed among the soldiers of the European armies and are extensively read. They are not without their effect. For, instances of Sabotage have multiplied and what might be called the proletarian peace propaganda in contradistinction to that of the Hague and the agitation in which Mr. Andrew Carnegie is such a conspicuous figure makes considerable headway. It is reported that the British Navy is not exempt from the results of this agitation. It is stated on good authority that guns on board British ships have been tampered with by the crews, and that it was found necessary to suspend the crew of one warship because of the effects of this propaganda.

So far nothing of the sort has been reported in this country. The Socialists agitation however among the crews of the warships is pretty constant and it is well known that the crew of more than one United States vessel is thoroughly permeated with Socialist doctrines, and

that a flourishing Socialist group exists on board. In fact at the Socialist dances and picnics near the Bay of San Francisco, the presence of blue jackets has ceased to be a noticeable phenomenon, so common has it become.

Of course, it will be readily conceded that the mere fact of Socialist propaganda does not of itself imply Sabotage, but it does certainly imply the development of the peace propaganda among the proletariat in military service for this is an essential of the Socialist movement.

This matter of Sabotage in pursuance of the anti-military propagada finds some justification at the hands of those who might at least be expected to condemn it. Some allowance, must of course be made for the fact that the troubles of our neighbors are regarded philosophically even by the most altruistic of us, and in the present condition of world-politics the average Briton or German can view the destruction of French arms even with a mitigated enthusiasm. The foreign apologist, particularly if he is an American or a Briton, bases his defense of Sabotage upon the fact that military service is compulsory and that the conscript is obliged to serve against his will and without his consent. He is held to the work and is practically a slave while in the service and hence his destruction of the machines of war is not to be regarded with wonder. In short the inhabitant of the voluntary service country declares that there is no contract between the private soldier and the government and hence the destruction of arms, while deplorable is not altogether unreasonable particularly in view of the peace propaganda.

But, there are deeper reasons. The destruction of arms is in pursuance of a definite propaganda against militarism and represents effort to aid a specific class, the proletarian class, and is a defiance of one's own country in favor of one's own class, even though the members of that class belong to a country other than that of the Sabotage manifestant and indeed may by force of circumstances become an invader of the country of the manifestant.

It is class against patriotism. It is not a peace demonstration in its essence; for the manifestants would unquestionably fight in a revolutionary attack upon the dominant capitalism. It is a demonstration against the power of capitalism, as represented in the government, and in favor of the proletariat.

Viewed from this aspect Sabotage cannot appear as the unreasonable destructive act of the fanatics but becomes at once invested with the dignity of a great movement, even if the method appears shocking and tends to violate our preconceived notions of what is ethical.

The motive is everyting. If the motive of the Sabotage manifestant be such as has been above set forth, his actions are justified in terms of his motive; he develops a new ethical sanction, and has a new conscience, to-wit: a class conscience, an international class conscience, in place of the usual patriotic, national conscience which has hitherto been general.

Sabotage in pursuance of the anti-military propaganda may therefore be a sign of the growth towards a realization of the identity of class interest by the international proletariat, a practical illustration of that tendency of the proletariat to base its actions upon an identity of interest and thus worth many parliamentary discussions and many Congresses in favor of international peace. For it is obvious that the proletariat and particularly the armed proletariat has in its own hands the question of peace and war. Thus Sabotage while not literally fulfilling the biblical prophecy with respect to making agricultural implements out of weapons of warfare at least tends to render the latter useless.

As to Sabotage against the instruments of production in the hands of the employing capitalists, how does such a propaganda appeal to the average citizen? He views it with even greater loathing than he does Sabotage of military equipment, and the reasons for such dislike are very obvious. Sabotage constitutes an attack upon private property, which is the most sacred thing in the eyes of the law and in the estimation of the ordinary person. The destruction of such property is necessarily therefore a heinous crime. Moreover the practice of Sabotage becoming common the very existence of the capitalist class is at stake. If disputes between capitalists and workmen are to involve the destruction of machinery and the

material dislocation of plants and equipment, it is obvious that the capitalist class is placed hors de combat at the very beginning of the struggle. For organized action on the part of the employees prior to a strike or lock out could render the whole plant practically worthless even if it fell into the hands of scabs.

Now the destruction of machinery and of equipment in times of strikes is no new thing; every strike of any magnitude always involves a certain degree of violence directed against the property of the capitalists. It could not be otherwise as long as men are men and subject to emotion. But there is a very marked difference between reckless and individual acts of rage directed against property in time of excitement and industrial disturbance and what is contemplated in Sabotage. Sabotage is a cool, preconcerted and organized destruction of property in the pursuance of a definite end, as a means of war, and for a specific purpose.

In fact the term destruction used in connection with Sabotage may not be and indeed in the vast majority of instances is not applicable, for Sabotage may easily imply merely the rendering of machinery used in capitalistic production ineffective for that specific purpose and thus may be simply regarded as a sort of auxiliary to the boycott. As the latter is intended to prevent the capitalist from using available human material in capitalist production except upon such terms as seem good to the workers at a given time, so sabotage is intended to pervent the use of machinery, products of labor, except on terms agreeable to the working class.

It will be thus readily seen that there is a world of difference between the modern notion of sabotage in labor disputes and the machine smashing which marked the beginning of the modern industrial epoch. They are not based on the same grounds. Their object is different, the one was the desperate act of beaten men, the other might be a means of victory in the hands of a winning class.

Such a view of the employment of sabotage evidently recommends itself to "La Guerre Sociale" as appears from recent advice given in that paper. A strike of railroad men pending, the journal in question states that a mobilization would be ordered in the neighborhood of the strike; the railroad men in the reserves would thereupon be called to the colors, and being under military orders and in uniform would be compelled to engage in the operation of the road under conditions against which they had rebelled.

Under these circumstances "La Guerre Sociale" after giving some advice as to how the men should conduct themselves in the event of this military demonstration added that they should leave the machinery "in good order." The implication is obvious. The question is was the advice under the circumstances vicious and immoral? It seems to the writer that in the given state of facts the advocates of Sabotage might successfully make out a case.

When we leave the realm of abstract ethics and come to actual cases we find that beyond any doubt the condition of machinery at the time of a strike might be determinative of the issue of the struggle. This is particularly true of mining and other industries where mere abstention from care of machinery may cause such a dislocation as to effectually cripple a plant and render a speedy settlement of the trouble necessary from the employer's standpoint. Thus Louis Duchez writing recently of the United Mine Workers strike says "If the men in Illinois and every other State had come out to a man; if no union man had been permitted to work while the strike was on; and no non union man to the extent of our power, either; if we had disregarded property rights to the extent of permitting machinery below to cover up with water and be destroyed, if we had looked after our own interests instead of the operators, long before this the strike would have been won, and we would have had an organization twice as large as it is today, and many, many times more powerful and effective. If we had pursued these tactics the unorganized would have come out in large numbers with us." The importance of passive Sabotage at least is here fully recognized.

It would be hard for those who approve of anti-military Sabotage to find arguments against industrial Sabotage. The argument in one case is as good as in the other. If there is an absence of contract in the one case there is in the other also, for compulsion to work for an employer whether one will or not is a mark of the position of the latter day proletariat.

However, such questions are settled not by abstract ethics or by abstract legality, but by practical utility and if it once dawns upon organized labor that Sabotage is an effective instrument in furthering the objects of labor organization there is little doubt that we shall see its employment very widely extended.

Why Are You Not a Socialist ?

By

T. H. CAMPBELL



ELLOW Working Man:—IS IT BECAUSE you approve of being robbed of the major portion of the product of your toil?—that major portion averaging according to Government reports, seven-eights of what you earn?

IS IT BECAUSE you enjoy walking and paying rent while building automobiles and mansions never to be used by you?

IS IT BECAUSE you like to clothe the families of parasites in broadcloth and silk and have your wife take in washings or boarders to scantly feed, clothe and shelter your family?

IS IT BECAUSE you hope to be a "business man" some day? Well, if you are so exceptionally fortunate as to be able to amass a few thousand, you will not last as long as a June frost if a corporation finds you depriving it of a mite of profit. Ask your grocer what his annual profit is on sugar.

IS IT BECAUSE you believe God intended you to be the under dog?

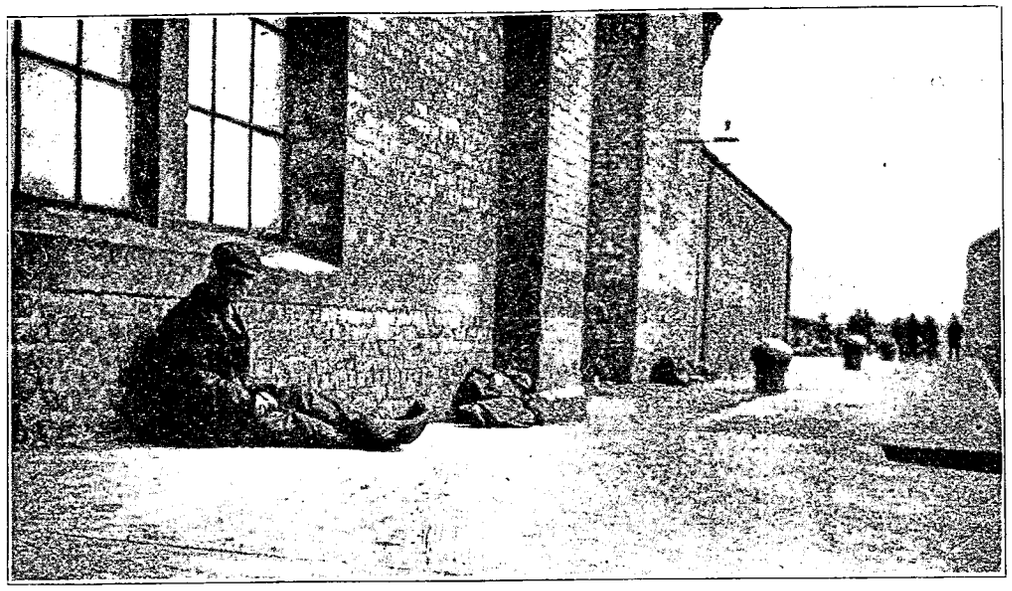
IS IT BECAUSE one Teddy has said that "Socialism would destroy the home and family?" Ask him how many homes capitalism daily destroys. Ask him how many victims of the white slave traffic can trace the responsibilty to the poverty and capitalism. Ask him to explain his consistency in preaching against "race suicide" while capitalism renders the proper rearing of a workingman's family impossible. Then ask him to tell you how much greater would be the per cent of happy marriages if Socialism prevailed. He knows enough to know that Socialism would increase many, many times over the number of happy homes, and would render a thing of the past the poverty-stricken ones.

IS IT BECAUSE someone has said "Socialism is impracticable?" That has been said of every move for advancement and enlightenment in the world's history. Nothing could be more impracticable for the working class than capitalism—nothing can so surely reduce you to helplessness and starvation. When you vote the capitalist ticket you vote for starvation; you vote for being devoured by the capitalist class, you and your children.

IS IT BECAUSE you enjoy paying $8 for a ride in a Pullman sleeper and having $7 of it go to the predatory rich?—or of being such a nonentity that your patronage is not solicited and you are not allowed enough of the wherewithal to afford a ride in a Pullman car?

But you do not ride in Pullman cars nor enjoy any of the luxuries that spring from the wealth you help create. Why? Because you are a faithful tool of the capitalist system and VOTE HER STRAIGHT—

BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT A SOCIALIST.



Out-of-work Dockers

An English Docker

BY

EDLINGTON MOAT



TRUCKS, trucks, trucks, endless trains of trucks! Hand-trucks and horse-trucks, iron, brick and smoke, chains and cranes and quays, warehouses, din and desolation!

And these that scurry to and fro with barrels, bales and boxes, these uncouth, grimy creatures shod like mules in shoes of iron, garbed in ragged kerchief, cap and corduroy—who are they? And who are these that lie like lizards in the sun along the seven miles of Pierhead Wall? Workers, workers all; men who have drudged and drudged in vain. Nay, I should not say in vain, for when age and disease and overwork and no work at all have destroyed their fibre, when they are no longer privileged to trundle ponderous cargoes at five pence an hour, does not the ever-thoughtful municipal government of this famous port of Liverpool guard their interests well? Has she not provided them with the seven miles of Pierhead Wall whereon to rest their worked-out carcasses by day? And with endless dark and damp and noisome lanes wherein to prowl by night? And with workhouses many and various wherein to lodge on "plank" beds through winter's cold; to say nothing of hospitals for those whom the rotten food at these same workhouses has rendered ill, or of graveyards for such as the hospitals have mercifully "sent away" with a dose of "black-jack?"

But let us away. Let us on to London East—on and down through the maze of sunless lanes and alleys lined with wrecks of architecture and maggoty with a race condemned, to the very heart of this Babylon of the underworld, where is an unsavory coulie called a street, and a sullen hovel dignified with the name of "home"—the dwelling place of one Bob Ross, a docker

these twenty years and more. "A ROOM TO LET" adorns the window front, and Bob's wife is seated in the doorway gazing into space. A curious little bundle of humanity!—seemingly ages tired, slow of wit, and patient with the patience that passeth understanding.

"A room to let? O, yes, the best i' the 'ouse, and a ba'gain at four bob a week."

And as her squat figure limps along the passage, I am vaguely conscious that I should not be surprised to hear the creaking of her joints, nor to see the image of the gracious queen, hanging there on the greasy, mustard-colored wall of the "best room i' the 'ouse," hold her nose at the chill odor of damp and dust, and avert her eyes from the junk that stands for furniture. Yet for all that, and not without a sense of self-pity, I decide to resign myself for a time to this disease trap which during one long generation has been the abiding place of Bob Ross; here I would see for myself how the modern slave, under the leaden skies of East End London, in this twentieth century of Christian civilization, is driven to hopeless drudgery and scientifically shorn of the proceeds.

Bob's case might be taken as almost typical of the losing game of life the slum dweller plays. I happened to fall upon him at the fag-end of his career, and could find nothing exceptional in it, unless in the fact that he set out in life with an unusually good constitution, and in the further fact that he did not bend, or dodge, or try to run away, but breasted the excessive pressure until it broke and ruined him.

Bob began by exchanging his muscle power for a few pennies a day. As he grew older, the pennies came faster, with corresponding discharge of muscle power, of which commodity he seemed to have an almost unlimited supply. Faith and patience were strong in Bob, and it had been drilled into him that sobriety and duty and honesty have a sure reward. Somewhere in his consciousness lay the foolish idea that morality is of commercial value. The examples of human wreckage all around him he attributed principally—when he thought of the matter at all—to lack of morality. Nor did he see in them the living pictures of his own undoing; for imagination is a rare gift among the people of the underworld. Such a thing as organized humbuggery be scarcely dreamt of until past middle age. He exaggerated his own shortcomings, while his respect for the powers that be bordered on servility. Was not their greatness acclaimed a thousand times a day from pulpit, press and platform? And as for the poor, had it not been "proved" again and again that their condition was due to their crimes, vices laziness, and the like? Not that Bob believed implicitly the say-so of authority in these matters, but rather that it left him doubtful of his ground until long experience had taught him the truth.

In the days of his young manhood he worked as a "preference" dockhand, which means that his muscle power won for him the preference over weaker men who sometimes fought savagely for a front place at the dock gates. Along with others of his kind he was systematically "sweated." Tons and tons of freight—material riches from the far corners of the earth passed through his hands—his to trundle but not to enjoy. Many bones he saw broken, much flesh battered and torn asunder, noses smashed, eyes robbed of their light, limbs twisted out of shape—and prided himself on escaping unscathed. Simple man! He did not know that the unending jugglery of great loads at high pressure for many hours at a stretch were slowly but surely doing their part in transforming his body



into a thing that should one day be painful to look upon.

When he happened to be "free," there was another sphere in which he moved, nay, two spheres—the home and the neighborhood round about. These two, in connection with his daily stint of toil, made up the sum total of his time.

Consider first the home, this "poor man's castle," like unto thousands of other poor man's castles in London East; a bulwark against light and air, all cramped and askew within, all black and unsightly without, cold and damp in winter, stuffy and unsavory in summer. There was Bob's wife, and three "kiddies" that had come with the years; and a hand-to-mouth subsistence was maintained. Only the left-overs and "seconds" of commerce graced that home. Practically all that entered there was trash: the food, the furniture, the clothing, the prints upon the wall and the knick-knacks on the side piece. And occasionally, when Bob returned at night, occupied, perhaps, with the bitter consciousness of the contrast between himself and some easeful, blithsome fellow he had chanced upon during the day—some youth magnetic with the breeziness and optimism of vast and virgin lands—he was greeted at the doorway by the tired smile of his helpmeet, the strong smell of soap-suds and the sound of brawling kiddies; and was even more effectually confronted with the staleness and sordidness of his existence by discovering in the daily paper, sandwiched between details of scandals and suicides, such typical tit-bits as these:—

Over a thousand applications have been received by the Southwark Board of Guardians for the post of night porter at one of their establishments. The wages offered are 30s. per week and uniform.—*Lloyds*, Oct. 1909.

It was reported at the Saffron Walden Board of Guardians on Wednesday that by taking sixty boarders from Croydon and Hammersmith Unions into their workhouse at 8s. 6d. per head per week they had made a net profit on the year of £300.—*Lloyds*, Aug. 1, 1909.

At an inquest at Kingston on Wednesday on the body of John Henry Loader, seventy years of age, an inmate of the Kingston Workhouse Infirmary, evidence was given that he died suddenly on June 25, after partaking of minced mutton served for dinner. Altogether twenty-five inmates were affected by eating the mutton, with which beef tea had been mixed.

Death was due to ptomaine poisoning, and a verdict to that effect was returned, the jury adding that better supervision should be kept in the kitchen. Aug. 1, 1909.

As an offset to such burden of toil and such depression of home-coming; as a relief from the reading of such miseries among the poor, with their suggestion of depravity among those who would seem to have little need to be depraved, there remained for Bob the third sphere. And what did it afford him of the good, the true and the beautiful to feed the higher instincts? Theatres there were, where glitter and tinsel, coarseness and vulgarity were edged about by creeping filth and darkness. And libraries—much frequented in winter by bloated, and twisted, and broken-down men whose prime object in being there was to stave off the cold. And mission houses, too, for the "savings" of people whose most pressing needs were of another order. At the work house corner might have been seen the "spike"—the string of wastrels waiting for a chance to rest their weary bones. And glued to a wall nearby a poster, at once a warning and an intimidation, bearing words advising all the world that one John Blank (a starving out-of-work, no doubt) had stolen some trifling snack of food and been given a couple of months in limbo for it. Here too were ragged urchins playing in the gutters; "little mothers," old in girlhood, tending babes; "slaveys" shining doorways; yelling costers selling offal. Here a thousand threadbare, shivering dames on bargains bent invaded shops, raked and pawed and fumbled wares, and agreed and rejected. By night, bedizoned trulls unnumbered thronged in hideous masquerade to advertise their degradation, and men, to drown their sorrow and forget the morrow, drank poisons in the tap rooms. Aimless runnings to and fro there were of dwarfish ghouls with toadstool's pallor; aimless standing still of human wrecks in shadow; vile odors sailing on the sooty air; voices echoing depths of infamy; things divined though all unseen that blot out light and laughter from the soul.

And all around lay the stupendous area of the plague spot itself, its ugly piles of worn and weathered brick and iron, its grime, and slime and filthy oozings stretching out and out through smoke and fog to the sombre sky-line, embracing all, engulfing all, holding fast its denizens not by walls and chains, but by subtle laws and regulations that weigh upon them sorely from without; shutting off escape by drawing off the best of heart and head and hand, and for reward corrupting them with its fetid exhalations, its secret agents of decay, its hidden channels of disease; grafting upon them its own unsightliness and unworthiness, and transforming them in the third and fourth generation into creatures less than human, palsied of intellect, will and feeling—bestial, sodden, denatured things that shamble on to final dissolution.

What solace this nightmare of squalor and degradation afforded Bob lay largely in the fact that it showed him myriads more unfortunate than himself. But with the passing of the years the comparison was denied him. His only daughter "went to the bad;" one son went to the Boer war—and never returned; while the third son married a slattern who was more of a burden than a helpmeet. Meanwhile, his work had become a treadmill that cast its shadow before, always before, and that sometimes, in dreams, resolved itself into an appalling mass of freightage filling the whole horizon of his future—a world of endless trundlings to and fro, without surcease, on and on to the very close of life.

Then it was that his masters changed for him the complexion of his dreams. First they "let him down easy": shifted him from regular work to work as a "plus" laborer. And then they let him off altogether. His muscle power had waned. Henceforth there was to be no more filterings of small coin into his pocket. His savings dwindled, and in the place of endless trundlings to and fro, he saw himself face to face with the probability of a slow and painful sliding into death, marked by days of hunger and cold and sleeplessness that should seem eternities, by hours of loneliness that should seem as wide and deep as the universe.

From then on B. N. Ross became a taproom habitue. And from then on a dull aching filled his heart; a deep and sullen grief took possession of his soul—a silent rage that seemed to have its roots in generations past and gone—the dumb despair of violated nature undeceived, of one who has sold his birthright of sweetness and light for the wherewithal to live by, and discovers in the end that he has not lived.

* * *

"'E's chynged so of late," wailed Mrs. Ross just before I left their miserable abode. "'E's tyken to bad 'abits. No body'll gi' 'im a job, and there ayn't much in lettin' rooms. Lor' lumme, I don't know wot's goin' to become on us. 'E's been I don't know 'ow many times to see if 'e couldn't set up a bootblack stand outside the Postoffice, but the Government won't 'ave it. T'other day 'e went to see the guardians and they told 'im they coulden't gi' 'im out relief—said 'e'd 'ave to go to the work'ouse. 'E'll never do it. 'E said 'e'd sooner go and make a 'ole in the water, 'e did."

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries unite!

—Communist Manifesto.



We Can Rest When We're Dead --- Maybe

By

ANNA A. MALEY

THE accompanying picture, which was taken by one of our comrades who was stationed at Havana during the Spanish-American War, was given me by Comrade Edward Havel of Libetry, Oregon. Comrade Havel was in the service also, and saw this bone pile and others, in the cemeteries of Cuba.

Bodies were not buried "for keeps" in these cemeteries. The graves were rented. Comrade Havel was informed that the shortest period for which rental could be had, was six months. At the end of the time for which the grave was let, if further rent was not forthcoming, the skeletons were evicted—sometimes before the bones had had time to become clean. The size of the bone-pile would indicate that there were many delinquents.

"And those who harvested the golden grain—

"And those who flung it to the wind like rain—

"Alike to no such aureate earth are turned,
"As, buried once, men want dug up again."

Omar, quite properly, did not reckon as men, such human ghouls as the average modern landlord. He did not dip into the future far enough to see the dispossessed scarecrow mother, sitting hopeless and helpless with her bloodless brood and her tattered household gods, on an east side pavement. He did not foresee the day when the people should crown Profit Lord of all—when the dead man who did not have in his cerements the price of a hole in the ground, must stand ready to carry on his post-mortem activities on a bone-pile.

Verily, what with sky-scraper rents, ground rents and grave rents, no space is immune from the ravages of the landlord —not the heavens above, nor the earth beneath, nor the waters under the earth.



Dictator Diaz

Mexico Replies To The Appeal To Reason

By

C. M. BROOKS

THE exposures of the horrible conditions in Mexico by John Kenneth Turner, in the Appeal to Reason, are arousing a spirit of inquiry all over the United States that is going to prove increasingly embarrassing to the government on this side of the border line. Famous captains of industry who have invested heavily in Mexican industries are becoming alarmed. It is interesting to note the sudden bursts of enthusiasm experienced by some of the radical magazines and newspapers on matters Mexican these days. Evidently somebody's palm has been crossed, or somebody's pocket-book has been touched or somebody's skin has been threatened. One grows curious to see just how far the epidemic will spread.

Diaz has always been a warm friend of American capitalists. Whenever a multimillionaire decided to invest in Mexico, Diaz sold him one economic advantage after another, and by all the strength of his armed power he has since protected him.

And it is chiefly because the United States Government stands back of the American plutocracy and the Diaz regime of blood, that Mexico has become known over the whole world as the home of murder and brutality to workingmen and women. A knowledge that the powerful government across the border line has stood ready to support Diaz, has always deterred and checked any widespread revolt against the oppression of the Mexican government.

Until men like John Kenneth Turner and John Murray and others began to pry into the affairs of Mexico and disturbing newspapers and magazines to publish the truth about them, the working people of the U. S. had no way of learning of the miseries of their comrades. And it is highly important that the American people continue to be deceived in regard to the character of the President of Mexico and his miscalled republic. Otherwise it might prove impossible for the United States Government to support Diaz when the Mexican people arise to demand a democratic form of government.

It is rumored that nothing could be further from the desires of the Guggenheims,

William Randolph Hearst and the Standard Oil Company than a new and democratic president in Mexico, who would insist upon giving the Mexican people the rights common to a republican form of government..

A capitalist's idea of heaven is a state where he may exploit workingmen and pile up profits without let and hindrance with a government at hand to see that the working class is rendered unable to interrupt him.

In the Aug. 18th. number of Leslie's Weekly, Senor Don de la Barra, the Mexican Ambassador, replies to the critics of Mexico in the following naive manner:

If the charges made by Mr. Turner and others are true,

"Why", he says, "does Mexico's credit stand so high in the money markets of Europe and this country?" He does not know, poor man, that a high credit means ability to exploit labor and he has not one inkling that he is proving the things he swears are false.

"Why does capital, seeking safe and profitable investment, go to Mexico, as is proven by the $600,000,000 which is estimated to represent the capital from the United States?" Why indeed! Why does capital generally migrate from one country to another? Because conditions are ripe for higher profits; and what do profits come from? Exploitation of labor, of course.

His Excellency, Don de la Barro continues:

"First, the Mexican nation is rich and prosperous. It is first among the silver producing countries and third among those producing copper.....Petroleum deposits now make up a new and abundant source of wealth.".....

"Third, the laws of Mexico are just and the courts apply them equitably and promptly. A deficiency in this requisite, which makes up the guarantee to enjoy civil life, would not explain the influx of foreign capital.

"General Diaz, the creator, so to speak, of modern Mexico, in his wise, honest and patriotic work, surrounded by men of skill as his collaborators, has shaped the course of events, made use of *ALL WHICH IS PROFITABLE* (the italics are ours) and set ideals for his people."

There is a good deal more in this same strain, but we think we have quoted sufficiently for our readers to know the basis of Don la Barro's refutations.

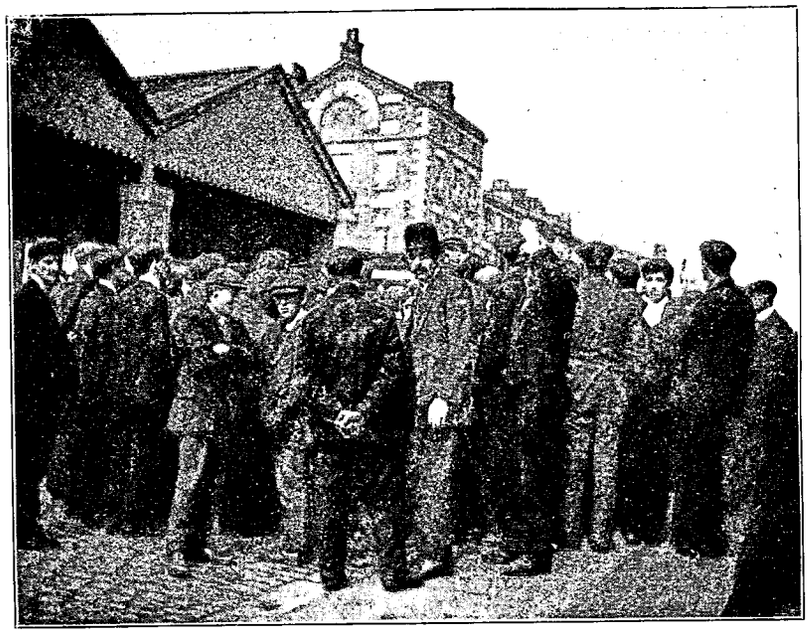
We thank Senor de la Barro for his illuminating article. John Kenneth Turner, and Dorothy Johns and John Murray had assured us that Mexico was a hell upon earth for the working class, but it remained for the Mexican Ambassador to call our attention to the unparallelled felicity of Capitalism across the border.

The following quotation from an article on Wall Street in Mexico, from the Saturday Evening Post is more frank than articles dealing with U. S. capital in Mexico usually are;

"The sober reality is that Mexico, with or without Diaz, will continue to develop and to thrive very much as it has during the last generation.

Why? Because, should anything serious happen to Mexico, like a revolution or a civil war, for instance, Wall Street will be the first to be affected. Wall Street's distress would promptly spread to all those who have dealings with Wall Street, thence to our whole country and to the other big money markets of the world. All those numberless Americans whose money has gone into Mexican investments would be quick to feel the pinch. Nobody has any idea how many of these there are.

All these people in our country would soon be heard from should anything happen to Mexico. Our Government, rather than stand idly by to await the spoliation of American capitalists and investors—good contributors to campaign funds and good voters—will be compelled to bow to popular clamor and Wall Street pressure. In a word, there would be "American intervention" in the interests of stability and financial security, like the intervention demanded for Nicaragua today."



Out-of-Works Listening to Socialist Speaker—Liverpool

The Class War in Great Britain

By Tom Quelch



MANY accidents have occurred just recently to show how fiercely intense is the struggle between the working class and the capitalist in this country.

About three weeks ago, there was a great strike of some thousands of railway workers on the North-Eastern Railway because one man—Shunter Goodchild—had been badly treated.

It was a splendid exhibition of working class solidarity. The men put down their tools; refused to continue working unless some satisfactory settlement was arrived at. The railway management did not know what to do. For the time being industry was paralyzed in that particular part of the country. The capitalist papers began to yelp and a lot of wild talk was indulged in by the "Times" and other papers about "trade union anarchy."

Unfortunately the strike had been entered upon without the sanction of the chief officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants—besides which, the hands of the men were tied by the existence of a Conciliation Board.

After considerable trouble and all manner of negotiations the railway workers were induced to return to their work.

But the matter does not end there. The recently created Conciliation Board is regarded with disgust and hatred. A general railway strike—as was nearly brought about some months back—is now regarded as inevitable.

The men are working under such horrible conditions—their pay is so meager and their toil is so exacting—that they are anxious for a fight. They are very restless

and their leaders—some of whom are reactionary—find their task somewhat difficult in restraining the radical elements.

As with the railway men so with the ship builders, the engineers, the seamen, the dockers, the boiler-makers, the miners and the workers in many other trades.

Ten days ago a ship was undergoing repairs in dry dock at Govan on the Clyde. A number of plates had been removed and their replacement was absolutely necessary before the ship became seaworthy. The men thought this a favorable opportunity, struck work, and formulated certain demands.

They were peremptorily ordered back to work in the most bullying manner by the Executive Board of the Shipping Employers' Federation.

If they did not immediately comply with this order they were told that all the members of the Boilermakers' Society and of the Shipwrights' Society would be locked out.

The men gave way. They swallowed their grievances, bowed their heads and resumed their work. The hammers clanged once again, the plates were fixed, the caulkers and holeborers darted one more like ants about the huge ship and by this time she is, in all probability, floating serenely on the ocean blue.

But that strike was only in the nature of a preliminary encounter. Altogether there are about 57,500 trade unionists engaged solely in the ship-bulding trade in this country. Trade is brisk. There are a number of war vessels under construction. There is a marked decrease in unemployment. The men consider that the state of trade warrants a request for an advance in wages. As a matter of fact the various ship-building societies are taking a ballot as to whether they will accept the masters' offer of a shilling a day increase in October.

News has just come to hand that the Clyde ship-workers have rejected by an over-whelming majority the employers' proposals. If this is verified the workers in other parts are likely to follow their example and serious trouble is bound to ensue.

The Sailors' and Foremens' Union are preparing for a strike.

The Dockers are engaged in a serious dispute with the Houlder Line.

The miners in the South Wales coal field are likely to strike at any moment. In many of the pits the men have handed in notices. This is due to the fact of the employers trying to evade the restrictions of the Miners' Eight Hour Act and the employment of scabs in many mines. The most serious situation prevails at the collieries owned by the Cambrian combine, where no less than five hundred non-unionists are working. In these pits alone 4,500 men are working and they will come out on strike unless the blacklegs join the union.

From many other quarters, too, come news of probable strikes and lock-outs.

The whole working class movement seems to be fraught with formidable portents. The workers are being seized with a spirit of revolt. General dissatisfaction is being felt with the Labor Party, whose masterly inactivity and shameful neglect of opportunities have led many to become disgusted with the politcal weapon and anxious to resume their old weapon—the strike.

The next few months should witness some very remarkable changes in the situation here. The injunction is being pretty freely used by our capitalist judiciary against the levying of trade unionists for political purposes. If things go on as they are the Labor Party will be bankrupt before long, and unable to pay the salaries of its members of Parliament.

The railway servants, the compositors, the weavers, the miners, in fact all the principal unions of this country have in this way been prevented from making their ordinary contributions to the Labor Party fund.

Efforts are being made towards the unification of the Socialist forces. The Social-Democratic Party has taken the lead in this matter. Already many of the union Socialist societies have affiliated. The Independent Labor Party has agreed to a conference. Altogether things seem very hopeful in this respect.

Thus signs of change are not wanting. The workers are growing to hate this hellish system of capitalism. They are coming to realize that their only hope lies in the social revolution. They are beginning to understand the class struggle and the necessity for class solidarity.

And there are those among them who will not rest until this ferocious plundering of the workers is ended and humanity finds peace in the Socialist Republic.

The Near-Socialist

By

MARY E. MARCY



"THE AIMS of Socialism and the aims of good men in the old parties are not very different after all," said a small automobile manufacturer a short time ago.

"You want to eliminate graft, to put honest men in office and make rich men bear their just share of the taxes. You want to lower prices on the necessaries of life too, and so far the whole middle class is with you. I am a Near-Socialist myself."

He was sitting on a bench in one of Chicago's small parks and addressing a socialist—a molder by trade, who knows the economics of Karl Marx from A to Z.

I pricked up my ears to hear the replies of the workingman.

"Good lord!" he exclaimed sitting up abruptly, "somebody's been stringing you. We're not as bad as that. Socialism is a working class movement and it is not a problem of the wage-workers to eliminate graft, nor to lower taxes.

"Politicians do not graft off the working class and propertyless proletarians do not pay taxes.

"The big capitalists oppose graft—generally—on principle; there is an element of uncertainty about it that they do not approve and some day when Big Business is dull, they'll take time to stop the little graft leaks.

"Usually the grafters pass the big people by and soak it into the small fry like you. You are an example," the molder continued, taking a pull at his pipe.

"You have a small automobile plant. You pay the men who work for you as little as you may. You sell the automobiles at a profit, of course, or you wouldn't be in business. Your employes make the autos, but you do not pay them what the machines are worth.

"Your problem is low taxes, no graft and low freight rates that will enable you to compete with the big manufacturers.

"The problem of the wage-worker is to secure the VALUE OF THE AUTOMOBILES."

"Not at all; not at all" interrupted the Small Manufacturer, "the interests of my employes are identical with mine. If I fail financially in the competitive struggle, where will their jobs be?"

"Gone of course," the molder replied, "but then you will be forced into the ranks of the wage-workers and you will be ripe for socialism.

"Besides," he added, "low taxes and honest office holders and the elimination of graft will not save you." The small automobile manufacturer is doomed. He hasn't enough capital to compete with J. P. Morgan.

"Look here," he said, " socialists have just one great aim. This aim is the only thing that makes them and their movement different from other movements the world over. We mean to ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

"There is nothing else that can really better the condition of the wage-workers. Figure it any way and revolution is the only answer.

"Suppose you and I lived in a town with an absolutely honest city administration, where taxes were just, as you call it, and you couldn't find a grafter with an X Ray.

Suppose the city owned a coal yard and a coal MINE and sold coal to everybody at just half what they paid in other cities.

"Suppose the city owned the electric light plant and the street car system and we had

3 cent car fares, and rents were 50% lower than they were in nearby towns.

"Do you think all these things would benefit the working class any? Well they wouldn't; not a single little bit. They would only result in making such a city a temporary heaven upon earth for the capitalist class.

"Let it be known that rents are low, coal cheap and prices generally below normal in one city and workingmen and women will begin to beat it in that direction as fast as they can raise the car fare.

"And then what happens? Being a manufacturer, you know what would happen. The labor market is flooded, overcrowded. Competition between the workers for jobs becomes very keen. Men who have brought their families to the new land of promise, offer to work for anything. Wages fall everywhere—as they always do in a crowded labor-market—and the workers here find themselves getting just enough to live on as they do everywhere else in the world.

"An honest city administration would not be able to GIVE THE WAGE-WORKERS the FULL VALUE of the AUTOMOBILES they produced. It would *not stop your profits* and that is the aim of socialism.

"Mill hands in China get something like 30 cents a day," continued the molder, "but 30 cents daily, provides food, clothing and shelter in China, where it would take $2.00 a day to secure the same degree of comfort in Chicago and $4.00 or $5.00 to buy the necessaries of life in Alaska."

"Well, reform is good enough for me" said the Small Manufacturer his irritation welling up and overflowing. "Thank goodness there is no danger of a lot of ignoramuses being able to overturn so much as a peanut-stand during MY day."

"O I don't know" retorted the molder complacently, "there's an awful lot of us, you know. We built the railroads and we run 'em and we have made just about everything else in the world there is. We HAVE been a lot of ignoramuses but we're getting wise. All we want now is the earth," he added grinning, while the Small Manufacturer glared malignantly,—"the factories, the mines———" but just then a park policeman pushed his way through the gathering crowd.

"No crowdin' allowed in the park" he said, waving his club, and the Small Manufacturer faded away and was seen no more.

"Humph" said the molder under his breath. "NEAR-socialist! Lord deliver us from the NEAR-socialists!"

The Socialist Party must take a high revolutionary, uncompromising ground; it must not dare to cater to ignoarnce for the sake of gaining votes; the moment it does so it signs its own death warrant.—Eugene V. Debs, Chicago Speech, Sept. 18, 1910.

We Want Ownership

By

Ed. Moore

WORK is not sentimental. It has no religious scruples. No flag can arouse it to patriotic enthusiasm. It respects neither age nor sex.

Some one has to work to make shoes, and it makes not the slightest difference whether it is a heathen or a christian, the shoes will not come onto the scene until the labor of one or the other of them is used to make the footwear.

Years of training and careful and patient search into the records of the past are not needed for anyone to find out that the shoes made in a factory by Jews, Christians and the heathens from the Orient all look alike.

You do not have to go to college to learn that if only enough shoes are turned out in a factory to pay for the wear and tear of the machinery, the fuel and light, the raw material, and the wages of the Jews, Christians and the heathens; in a word, all the expenses of making the shoes, there will be no profit for the factory owners. Profit, then, comes to an owner of a shoe factory because he gets working people to make more shoes than they get paid for.

All the wisdom of all the wise men of all the ages, all the knowledge of all the learned men who have been and who are now in the world will not make a pair of shoes unless somebody does the actual work of making them. And nobody will get a profit unless someone makes more shoes than he is paid for.

The fact simply stated is: If a man owns a thing he did not make, someone else made a thing he does not own. This state of things cannot be changed by religious bigotry, national fanaticism, nor shooting to kill dissatisfied people. And it is this condition of things that divides society into two classes. One class making things it does not own, the other class owning things it does not make. The making class is the working class, the owning class is the capitalist class.

No matter how ignorant and stupid a person may be, he knows that it is better to own a thing he makes, than to make it for another to own, then to coax the owner to kindly allow the maker a chance to work to make more things for the other fellow to own.

No man is a safe guide, who tells us it is easier to get what we make by coaxing the other fellow who owns everything to give you back just a little more of what you make. If you make and own a thing, you do not have to hire somebody to tell you how much of it belongs to you. You do not need a standing army and a big navy to keep you from cheating yourself. But if you do not make things, it will pay you to have lawmakers, courts, army, navy, and private detectives to help you to force the workers to support you and your fellow-conspirators.

People who make things are poor, not because they are Christians, Jews, or heathens, but because the law gives to others what they make. Foreign working people are not poor because they are foreigners. The law gives others what they make. It is not sex, nor is it age that make people poor or rich, for there are rich and poor women and men also and there are rich children and poor children. A ruling class is always a rich class, and it is rich because it uses the government to take away the wealth made by the workers, and this keeps the workers poor.

A sure way, and the best way for the workers to get what they make is to go straight for ownership and never mind what happens to those who now live pretty comfortably on the crumbs they gather from the tables of the owning class. The maker is entitled to ownership.



Roosevelt and The Striking Columbus Police

By

H. Eber

"A policeman who will mutiny and refuse to do his duty stands lower than a soldier who deserts his post in the hour of the greatest need, and should be consigned to the same punishment."—Theodore Roosevelt, in Columbus Speech.



HERE are thirty-three policemen in Columbus, Ohio, whose names deserve to be written large in the working class Hall of Fame. They are all of one variety and it is a variety that brings joy to the hearts of every socialist and union man in the whole country.

Ever since the street car men at Columbus went out on strike, the car line and the streets of the city have been in the hands of hired thugs, murderers and paid assassins of the capitalist class.

R. J. Coach, of the Coach Detective Agency of Cleveland, who has charge of these thugs, is an ex-convict of the most degraded type, and has served time in several penal institutions. J. F. Brady, his chief lieutenant, had direct charge of the strike breakers. While riding in an automobile on West Broad street recently, he shot down two defenseless women and an innocent child, all seated upon the porch of their home, and seriously injured them.

But Coach, Brady and their thugs and murderers saw to it that something was doing every minute of the day in Columbus. It was in the interest of their meal tickets that they endeavored to create a reign of terror in order that they might gain the credit of suppressing it.

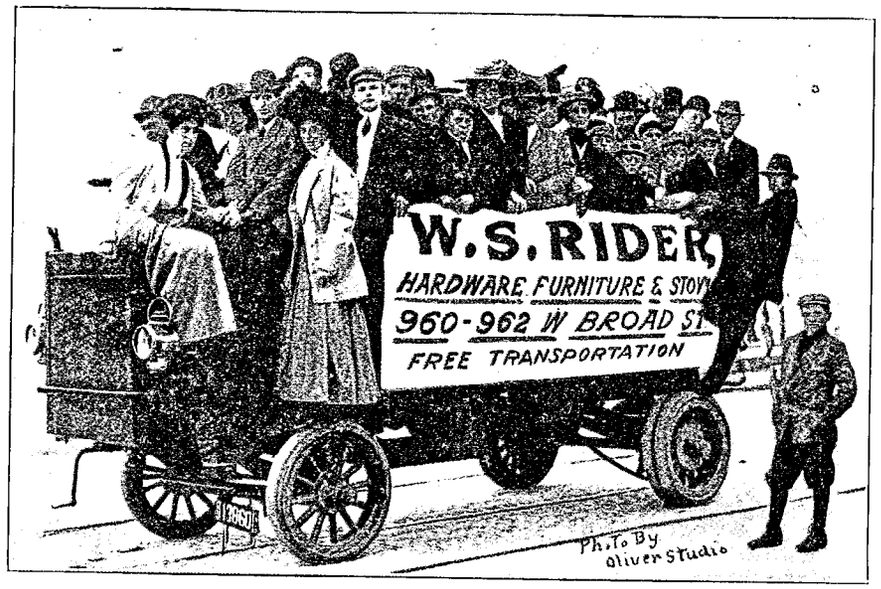
The street car company employed any and all men it could persuade to run the cars and the Columbus police were instructed to valet the thug scabs from breakfast to bed. One-third of the whole police force of Columbus—thirty-three men of **one variety**—refused to obey orders. They claimed they had never been hired to chaperon scabs and they felt it was their duty to rebel at such a degrading and disgusting occupation.

These men came from the homes of workingmen and women and they did not propose to be used as a tool by the street car company in their efforts to break the strike of the car men.

These policemen claimed it was their DUTY to REBEL against protecting the scabs of the car company. They wanted to know whether the duties of a Columbus policeman were to serve as STRIKE BREAKERS or not.

Then came Windy Theodore to tell the capitalist class what they should do about it.

You must have LAW and ORDER, he said, and to the striking car men—You must have law and order and THEN, and then only, can you get justice. Everybody expected Roosevelt to say just these things. He is always ready to jump in where there is trouble, to demand law and order. The policemen should have stood by their guns and helped the scabs break the strike and then you workingmen, you would have received justice. We are free to tell you, you might have had the Roosevelt brand



Popular Transportation—No Scabs in this Crowd

of JUSTICE, but you would not have had any JOBS.

If you do not believe this read the Sept. 5th copy of the St. Paul Dispatch where Roosevelt is reported to have said in his speech at Fargo, N. D.

"I am glad to see the captains of industry rewarded. . . . As to whether it shall be enough, I am always ready to solve that question ON HIS SIDE. I am willing to make a big margin of error and give him FOUR or FIVE times as much as he has earned, but not one hundred times as much as he has earned. . . . But the ordinary man should be fully compensated for what he produces."

That is the kind of Justice Roosevelt wants to give you workingmen. He admits that he is willing to give the capitalist class the best of it every time. Just keep that in mind when a politician or a capitalist talks to you about justice. Ask them what they MEAN. Ask them if they are willing to help the working class get the FULL VALUE of the things they produce. And remember that if YOU get the value of your products there will not be ANYTHING LEFT FOR THE CAPITALISTS.

A comrade in Columbus writes us that the strike is increasing in coherence and in the intensity of its class conscious manifestations. It has ceased to be a mere struggle between the Company and its employes and has grown into an immense battle between the capitalists on one side and the laboring class on the other.

In spite of all Windy Theodore had to say about law and order the thugs and brutes hired by the street car company continue to make all the trouble possible. George Marshall, the Republican Mayor, and Gov. Harmon, a Democrat, have alike and are still, alike, serving the interests of the Company.

Men, women and children in Columbus are clubbed and MURDERED by private detectives and the only things that receive PROTECTION in Columbus are **scabs** and private **property.**

But the striking policemen couldn't find it among their duties to guard these and so they quit work.

These noble men, who refused to aid strike-breakers in taking the bread out of the mouths of the street car men of Columbus, deserve—according to Roosevelt—the same punishment as the deserting soldier. This is only because they REFUSED TO WORK AGAINST THEIR BROTHER WORKINGMEN and to SERVE THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Through the hearts of socialists all over the world there ran a thrill of joy

when we heard of the actions of our friends—the Columbus policemen. When the soldiers refuse to shoot in the interests of the capitalist class, when the policemen refuse to protect scabs and to scab themselves—for the capitalist class—the forward march of the working class will be steady and inspiring.

For Capitalism cannot hold workingmen and women in subjection without the aid of the ARMY and the POLICE. Remember this. Remember also the Columbus policemen who put class interest above personal interest. These men have done a great service to the working men of Columbus.

A Creature of Competition

By a Traveling Salesman.

F. E. VERNIA

THE traveling salesman, by the nature of his occupation, is probably the most intense individualist in the world. Holding his job, as he does, by beating a competitor he preaches the doctrine that "competition is the life of trade" loudly and at all times. Even while his employer is making efforts to relieve the strain of competition by forming combinations, the salesman voices his slogan and adds to his opinion of his own importance. Nor does he seem to have time to look around and see the ravages made by progress in his ranks. That trolley lines have made it compulsory for him to make six towns now where he made three before their advent, thereby doing the work of two does not seem to occur to him. It is of no concern of his that the peanut trust put more than 300 buyers and sellers out of business nor that the match trust at the time they controlled all matches, had three men on the road.

All of these things miss his observation. He is usually a high tariff advocate as he imagines high tariff insures high wages and protects home industries. His individualism allows him no sympathy for labor unions and strikes and it prevents him from realizing the relation of the welfare of the worker and his own welfare. He is utterly blind to the fact that a low standard of living for the working class means a lower standard of living for himself; that a reduced power of consumption by the worker means smaller sales. He has no unions of his own and with one exception has no social organization and this exception is possible only because it carries a benefit in the way of an insurance. He has several fraternal insurance organizations, but they are purely "business" institutions and at that the fraternity ends.

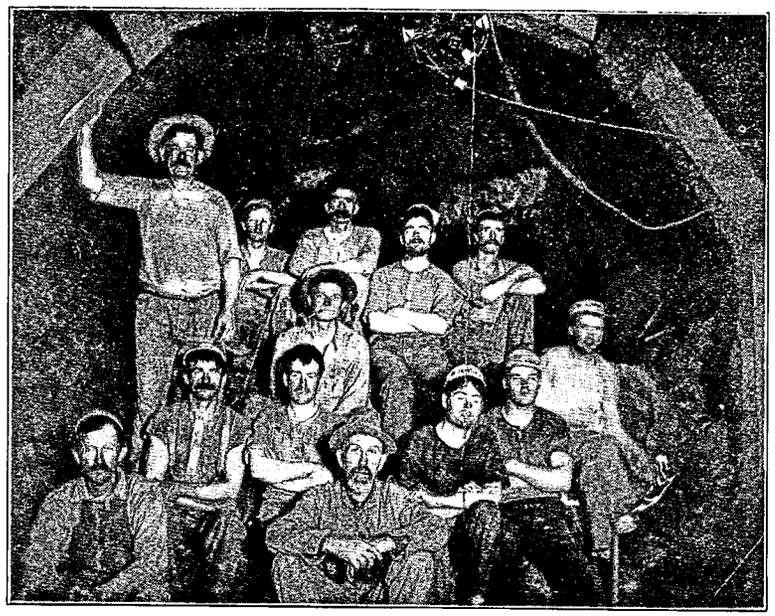
All in all, the traveling man's class consciousness begins and ends with himself. He is in a class by himself and until competition, the life of trade, puts him in the "has been" class, which it is doing rapidly, he is not open to any argument.

At present the fortunes of the traveling man are at a very low ebb. In the commission lines, such as furniture, molding, shoes, etc., competition is not the live thing it was as there is no trade to compete for and therefore no salesmen to do the competing. Never, since the panic of '93, has there been so few men on the road. Let us hope they are devoting their enforced vacation to a study in economics.

The Railroad Construction Workers

By

JAMES PALMER



On the Job—Los Angeles Aqueduct

RAILROAD construction workers of the west are known among themselves as muckers, tunnel stiffs and skinners. They have no homes and no families They have no votes. They do not go to church and many of them are not respecters of law and order.

These men live in tents or bunk-houses. Their food consists of dried fruit, beans, beef, bread and coffee—not always free from flies in the summer time.

You will find them slaving in the midst of the desert in the heat of the summer sun and toiling in the snowy hills of Alaska in the winter and laboring steadily in the rain in the rainy season on the coast. And these men are cutting the way for civilization.

The wages of these men are small. The work is hard and the bosses are cruel, and the employment sharks are always on the job to beat them out of a hard-earned dollar.

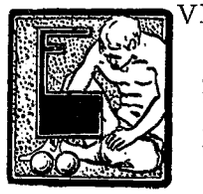
When work is slack thousands of these construction workers tramp the streets or hang out in the cheap lodging houses of the larger cities of the west.

The Industrial Workers of the World are reaching these men. Many of them have already joined locals. They are at last finding a way in which they are able to organize, to use their strength TOGETHER. All they need is more organization and more education.

How Japan is Civilizing the Formosa Heathen

By

S. KATAYAMA



VER since China ceded the Island of Formosa to Japan, there has been trouble for the Japanese. For the heroic and liberty-loving natives have refused to be subjugated and still occupy the mountainous regions in the Eastern part of the Island. Some of the mountain peaks reach an altitude of 12,000 feet and it has been impossible hitherto for the Japanese to reach them.

We cannot state accurately how many natives live in the mountains, but it is estimated that there are any where from 100,000 to 200,000 of them. A recent visitor to Formosa claims that the Japanese and Chinese live in mortal terror of the natives, who hate them with a hatred that only death can satisfy. At unexpected moments groups of natives have been known to swarm down upon a band of Japanese and crush them like so many children. Latest reports say that the Japanese have learned a new method of protection and now surround themselves and their homes with live wires so that the over-bold natives who trespass (?) are killed upon reaching the outposts.

But Formosa is one of the most valuable islands in the world and having partial possession of it, Japan does not propose to be checked by a few thousand natives, who naturally enough, view the Japs as intruders and ursupers. 1,500 square miles of Camphor trees in Formosa furnish the bulk of the world's supply of camphor. Their value is beyond price. Japanese capitalists desire to plant many millions more of camphor trees and, in order to do this, wage-laborers must be able to toil without fear of destruction by the native Formosans.

The last Japanese Parliament voted 15,000,000 yen for the subjugation of the Formosans. It is predicted in high quarters that the natives will be completely annihilated within the next five years, although they still occupy one-third of the entire island.

They are a noble race of hunters and cultivate the land extensively. The native men and women are monogamists in the strictest sense of the word. The training of the youths is purely communistic. From the ages of 12 to 20 the boys are separated from their families, this constituting a period of training for soldiery and the work common to natives on the island. From 20 to 25 is the age of prowess, when the men become skilled in fighting and huntmanship. Japanese reports have it that in the spring time when the thoughts of the young men turn to love, it is customary for them to descend upon their conquerors and to return to the object of their affections bearing a head or two of the enemy.

The youths woo the maidens by playing a flute before the house in which the loved one dwells. And the young girl sends him his answer in appropriate melody. When the music of her flute is very sweet and her answer in the affirmative, the young man carries water and wood to the front of her home in the darkness of night. So long as the wood and water remain before the house, he is unable to approach his loved one, but must wait until the family has used them as a token that the parents of the girl are willing to give their consent to the union.

The young married couples live with the girl's parents for two years, the man working for his step-parents. Later the young ones build a home of their own.

The Community the Formosa natives form, is democratic although the rule of the chief is absolute in many cases. The

second chief is always elective. The elders of the tribes are also elective and the Eldermens' Council may depose the chief for certain lengths of time for misbehaviour. In no nation in the whole world is virtue in man and woman so greatly respected as in Formosa.

The Formosans believe in one great and good god, although ancestor worship is prevalent among them. They are devoted to the native literature and the native music. They are a proud and beautiful race of strong men and women—happy in the simple lives of freedom which they lead.

But it is in order that the lands of the islands may be opened up to the Japanese that the Japanese Government has decreed that the Formosan natives must submit absolutely to Japanese rule or be killed off.

It was only a few years ago when the hearts of my brother Japanese were thrilled over the horrors which we heard the Government of the United States was perpetrating in the Phillipine Islands. We were told by the daily newspapers how you, in America, were butchering the natives in the islands who objected to being swallowed up by the stronger nation.

Now it is the Government of Japan intent upon "civilizing" the barbarian in Formosa. Of course, there are men and women in Japan who protest against the governmental policy, but the military Japanese Government in Formosa is desperately fighting with the natives and it is only a question of time till the strong nation will win.

It will be almost impossible to subjugate the Formosans. Liberty is often dearer to them than life itself. But the Japanese will break where they cannot bend them. The soldiers of the army of Japan will give up their lives in forcing "civilization" upon the islanders. Patriotism is strong in Japan. In their struggles to maintain their old freedom the natives will be wiped out.

But certain rich Japanese capitalists will be able to seize the rich timberlands of Formosa; capital will have a new outlet and the object of the Formosan movement will have been achieved.

Corean Annexation.

Corean Annexation to Japan is a foregone conclusion. The present Resident General in Corea was formerly Minister of War in Japan. We hear that there are many soldiers now in Corea ready to suppress any uprising of the people. The Coreans are oppressed and suppressed everywhere. Their partial independence is gone with annexation with Japan. But Corea is, again, a new field for Capital.

The standard of living in Corea is lower than the standard in Japan and, as usual, Capital **seeks the lowest labor market.** Corea will offer a rich harvest for exploitation to the capitalists of Japan.

The Corean and Japanese Press is, of course, under a severe censorship. Every newspaper in Corea that opposed annexation has been suppressed so that we have no means of knowing the real condition of affairs there.

Big Flood in Tokio.

From the beginning of the month of August it has rained steadily in Japan and on the 9th and 10th of the month the downpour was terrific. Since then the rivers have overflowed over all the country devastating property, destroying and carrying away houses and people.

There are now three hundred thousand persons submerged in the water in the city of Tokyo. These people are suffering for food and for a shelter at night. Thousands of boats are carrying food to the starving folks all the time but the difficulties and dangers hinder rescue work.

The Army and Navy has been called to help but they are so handicapped by red-tape that they cannot do much. The city authorities are so slow that we find they have done nothing. Citizens are trying to save the suffering but the situation is growing steadily worse. Merchants with stocks of provision on hand are making their fortunes reaping rich sums out of the sufferings and need of their neighbors. Factories are shut down; gas and electric power are partly cut off so that the city is in reality almost famine struck.

Many other towns have been devastated. The minister of the Interior reports over one thousand deaths due to the flood; 3,955 houses destroyed or carried away; 151,655 homes inundated.

Sanitary conditions in Tokyo add to the horror of the disaster. The city has no

sewerage system. Gutter water, sink and sewerage is carried off in open uncovered ditches along both sides of the streets. Farmers have been accustomed to come to the city to carry home the worst of the sewerage for fertilizer but their visits have been stopped and the filth is accumulating and spreading over the whole city where the waters of the flood are high. Fevers are becoming prevalent.

The Socialist News Suppressed.

On the 15th of August the Post Office Department advised the writer of this article that he would not be permitted to sell the No. 70 issue of his paper. Copies sent to the Post Office were confiscated as well as those remaining at the home of the writer. Doubtless many American socialists have seen old copies of our little paper which we called Socialist News.

Lately we have held many meetings. At first the police and authorities paid little attention to them, but when they discovered they were being attended by a thousand people at a time, they began to interfere. Socialists are closely watched by the police at all times.

Recently the Government ordered all libraries to remove books, magazines and socialist literature in general. An ordinance was passed prohibiting school teachers from reading socialist books or magazines.

On July 17th, 1,200 workers at the Uraga ship building factory went on strike. The company sent around police and rogues to the meeting of the strikers to cause trouble but the strikers took an attitude of non-resistance, simply doing nothing, and the company was forced to grant their demands.

These 1,200 workmen had **no union** but they organized themselves into **one body** and agreed to support the victims if there were any. They promised not to drink during the strike and to pursue a strictly non-resistant policy. They all held firmly to the agreement and they **won their strike.** Their method is worth remembering.

"The so-called labor leaders are misleaders. We see Sam Gompers and John Mitchell sitting down to the same table with August Belmont and other rich enemies of the working class. Of the two men—Belmont and Gompers—I have infinitely more respect for the former, plutocrat and plunderer though he is, than for the latter, a man who betrays the people he has been chosen to serve.

"The workers must stop being led like sheep and do things for themselves. Only when they act for themselves can they attain freedom from their bosses."—Eugene V. Debs, Chicago Speech, Sept. 18, 1910.



In the "Deutschland" Cabin

A Dirigible Airship Passenger Line

ON Sept. 3rd Count Zeppelin vindicated the worth of his type of dirigible when, in the Zeppelin IV, he flew from Baden to Heidelberg, fifty-three miles, in sixty-five minutes, carrying a crew of seven and twelve passengers. The average speed of the immense balloon was forty-nine miles an hour, which is believed to establish a record for dirigibles.

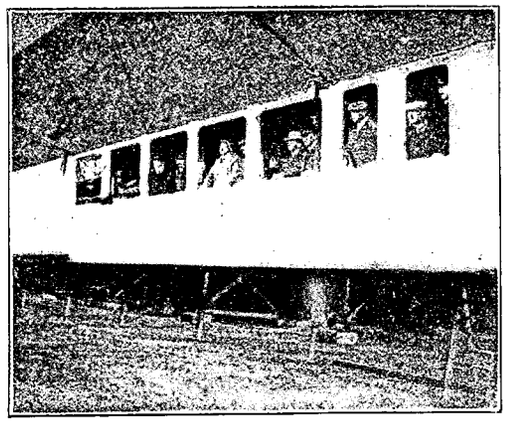
This flight was declared greater than the first big flight of a Zeppelin, made on March 21, 1909, when, with twenty-six aboard, one of the count's dirigibles established a world's record, covering 150 miles in four hours.

However, the interest and excitement over aeroplane records and the accident to the Zeppelin airship have obscured the possibilities of the dirigible. The German Airship Stock Company, of which the great Hamburg-America Steamship Company and the Zeppelin Airship Company are the largest stockholders, equipped the A. S. (airship) *Deutschland* for passenger service between their airship dock at Friedrichshafen and Düsseldorf, a run of 65 miles. The Hamburg-American Packet Company sent its representative to Friedrichshafen to take charge of handling the passengers at this station. Tickets were sold at $50 for the round trip, and accomodations were provided for 36 passengers. This ship was fitted with carpeted cabins of mahogany inlaid with pearl, and had on board a buffet service for the convenience of passengers. It was 485 feet long, was equipped with motors aggregating 330 horse-power, and could make a speed of 45 miles an hour. Carrying 20 passengers, it sailed more than three hundred miles in nine hours on its initial voyage, half the trip in the teeth of a stiff wind. In spite of the accident which wrecked this ship, the line will be extended to Baden-Baden, and already plans are made for a similar line to run between Hamburg and Berlin, and, later, from Hamburg to London.

Mr. Ballin. the general manager of the Hamburg-America Line, is very enthusiastic over the future of this method of travel, and there are some who believe that the ocean will be crossed inside of two years.

Plans are now being carried out for an expedition to the artic regions next year with two Zeppelin airships. The S. S. *Mainz* has already sailed for Spitzbergen to establish a base of supplies.

While it is true that the A. S. *Deutschland* was wrecked, her successful trip with passengers marks the beginning of an era of airship navigation, and there is no more reason to doubt its future than there was to doubt the future of the steamboat because the English tugs which preceded Fulton's Clermont by six years never made more than one trip, or that the unfortunate



Dirigible Car

accident to Hon. C. S. Rolls proves the impracticability of the aeroplane.

Before the end of this month of September it is possible that the trip across the Atlantic Ocean by the air route will have been made for the first time by man. Walter Wellman, whose proposed voyage to discover the north pole by means of a dirigible balloon was cut short by a successful land trip to that long-sought spot by Capt. Peary, is preparing to make the effort to go from New Jersey to Europe in a dirigible, to start about the middle of this month. If he succeeds the ocean will suffer another shrinkage. We steam across on its surface, we skim underneath it in our submarines, we send wireless messages over it and cable messages under it, and are talking about talking under it. The next thing may be a tunnel, to give direct all-rail communicatino between America and Europe. Mr. Wellman's dirigible is being finished at the Inlet aerodrome near Atlantic City. It is of the Zeppelin type, 288 feet long, equipped with two eighty horse power engines for propulsion and one ten horse power engine for inner work. The framework is of aluminum over which is stretched a covering of mixed cotton and silk of three thicknesses, banded together with an emulsion of pure rubber. The balloon has a capacity of 345,000 cubic feet of hydrogen, theoretically seventy-four times lighter than air and in actual work twelve times lighter. The gas in the bag will have a lifting capacity of 24,000 pounds. The car is made of tubular steel and is 156 feet long. Underneath the car is attached a nonsinkable lifeboat, the first to be carried by an airship. The dirigible will be equipped with a wireless outfit, electric lights, and telephone system . It is figured that it can make an average of twenty miles an hour in ordinary weather. The route to be followed will be the northern steamship line from New York up past Newfoundland and then straight across. An altitude of about 300 feet will be maintained, which will be high enough to steer clear of fogs. Melvin Vanaman, an Illinois engineer, but for some time a resident of Paris, will accompany Mr. Wellman.

The Way to Win

By Robert J. Wheeler

THE girls employed in the great potteries in and around East Liverpool were dissatisfied with conditions. Wages were far too low and working conditions not satisfactory. For some weeks they talked it over quietly. Leading spirits went about agitating. Gradually, the spirit of revolt spread until the girls in every shop were ready to act.

Suddenly, one day, they struck in a mass. Every shop in the town was tied up. The bisque girls, the dippers, the drawers; these the workers in important departments, with all other classes of women workers, walked out in a body and a great industry was prostrated.

The skilled male workers belong to the Brotherhood of Potters. They are well paid; have good conditions; work under a two year contract. They had no particular cause for complaint, but when the girls went out, they too were forced into idleness.

Naturally, the girl workers expected aid in organizing from their fellow workers who were enjoying the benefits of organization. The girls came to them. They wanted aid, sympathy, help—this is what they got.

'Yes," said the "'Brotherhood' of Potters," we sympathize with you; we know you ought to get more money. Your shop conditions ought to be improved, we realize all this, but you see we have contracts with the Boss Potters, and contracts must be sacredly kept. We can only advise you." And they advised them thus: "Organize your crafts and then affiliate with the Brotherhood of Potters and when our contracts run out in 1912, we will make new ones and then you can make your demands with us." "But" said the girls: "We are suffering now. We cannot live on our wages and the shop conditions are unendurable. We want relief; we want it right now. We are determined to have it. We ask you to refuse to work until our demands are granted. Don't let the Boss put scabs to work. Refuse to work with them.

If you stand with us, we will win in a few days." "But," said the Brotherhood?" our contracts—we must keep our promise." "But" said the girls, are we not your fellow workers? To whom do you owe duty greater than to us? We are being robbed. Our health and strength is being sapped daily; we implore you to help us. And the men? said: "We are sorry, but we cannot help you, our contracts are sacred."

Then the women went away, but not to despair. They took council together. They went to the Socialists. The Socialists told them to keep up their courage. "The shops cannot run without you" said the Socialists. "Keep the scabs out and you will win."

The women held meetings and arranged to picket the factories. They pulled scabs out of the works and tied up the plants completely.

Across the river, in West Virginia, were other big potteries. The Bosses began to send orders over to those plants. The women sent agents over to urge a sympathetic strike. In the West Virginia shops the women were getting better wages and shop conditions were far better than in East Liverpool. But their sympathy was with their sisters in East Liverpool. They began to talk strike. The Bosses came to them and said, "Why do you talk strike? Are your wages not fair; have we ever refused to make conditions better when you have requested improvement? What are you going to strike for?" And they began to waver, began to wonder what to do. Then an Irish girl cried out: "Girls, if we wurrk here, thim fellows will sind the jobs over here and we'll only be scabbing on thim gurrls; and its not meself that'l be a scab on anybody." That settled it. The splendid spirit of working class solidarity flamed out. The women in the West Virginia plants walked out in a body in sympathy with their sisters.

The bosses could do nothing else but settle. The strikers sent a committee to meet them. The girls demanded 15 per cent raise and improvement in conditions and extention of rest periods. The Bosses offered 10 per cent raise and to concede all other demands. This was reported back to the striking mass and was accepted by them. Thus the strike was won.

Now listen you unorganized. "Go thou and do likewise." These girls had no leaders to confuse and and betray them. They knew what they wanted. They struck as a mass. They won. When the settlement was made they would agree to no contract for any certain time. They only agreed to work for the new scale as long as prices remained where they were. Then if prices advanced they would be in a position to make new demands.

The Socialist, John Slayton, told the girls not to worry about what kind of organization they should form, their first effort should be to win the strike. Then when wages were raised and hours shortened, they could decide on the form of organization.

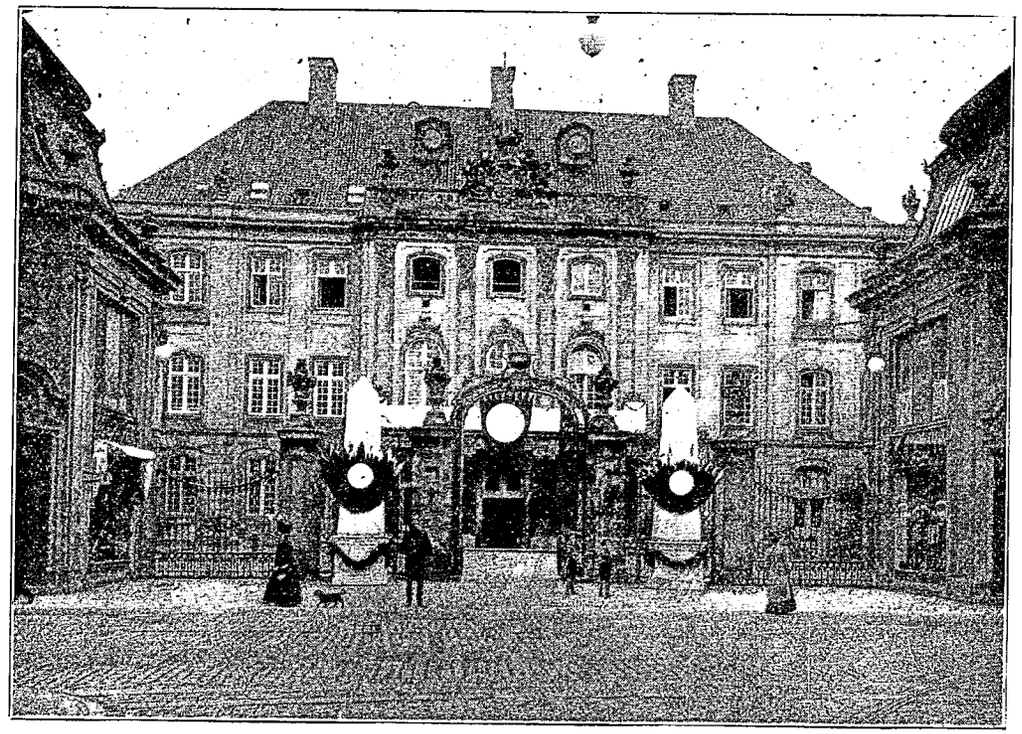
Here is a splendid lesson. The workers are being forced to revolt. Let them do as these girls did. Talk over their trouble; decide on a move and then act in a mass. The form of organization that will meet the conditions of today must be free from contracts and timorous leaders, and ready at all times to throw its strength into the struggles of other bodies of workers.

Learn the lesson the successful strike of the pottery girls teaches.

The Eighth International Socialist Congress

By

Emil Stultz



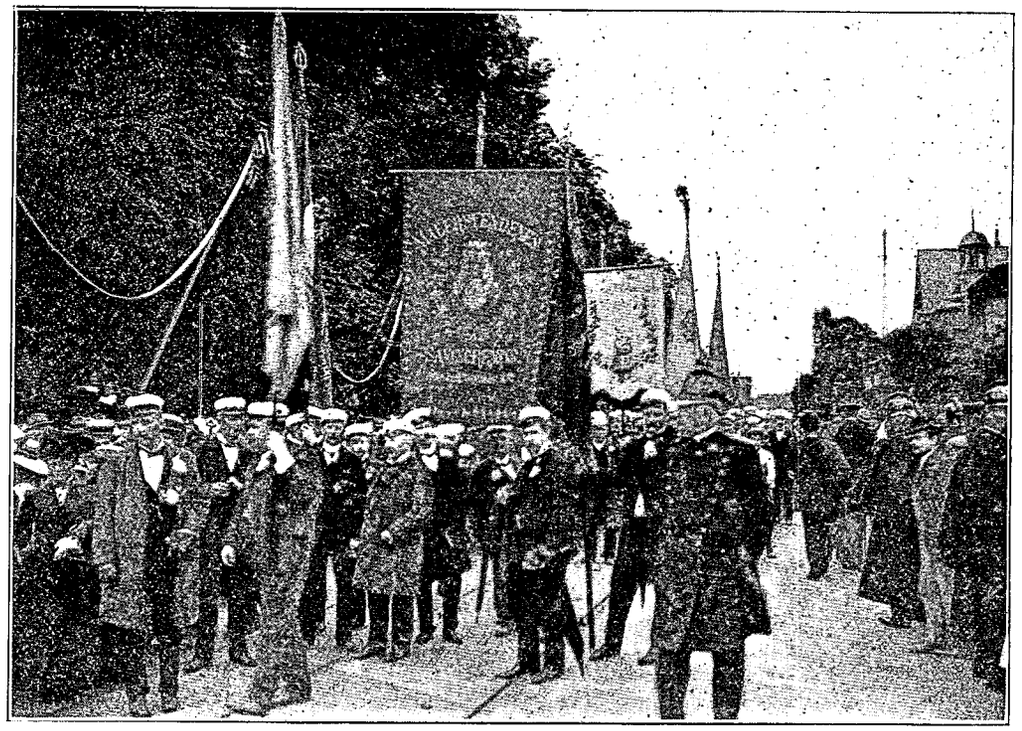
The Concertpalais Where the Congress was Held

THE past week has shown to the world the most brilliant manifestations of international solidarity of the proletariat. From all parts of the globe the delegates came to join their fellow-workers in earnest endeavor to help on the great cause of socialism.

In such numbers they made their appearance that the large auditorium of the Koncertpalais could hardly hold them. The building wears the emblems of the Social democracy. The large banner floating over it bears the words, Eighth International Socialist Congress. The whole interior is decorated with the color of the proletariat and back of the platform the wall is covered with a giant map of the globe, the two hemispheres linked together with a ribbon bearing the old battle cry of the International, "Proletarians of all countries unite."

The walls and galleries of the assembly hall are ornamented with the flags of all nations and show mottoes full of deep meaning. 887 delegates are present. Germany sent 189; France 78; Austria 72; Bohemia 36; Great Britain 84; Russia 38; Italy 9; United States 24; Belgium 26; Sweden 86; Denmark 46; Poland 17; Switzerland 17; besides many others.

At 10:30 A. M. the Congress was opened by an impressive Cantate sung by 500 members of the Copenhagen workingmens' singing societies. The music was by S. Hend, a Copenhagen composer, and the book by A. P. Meyer, a well known agitator, author and poet. The audience was carried away the melody and the lofty sentiments of the opera and the poet received a grand ovation.



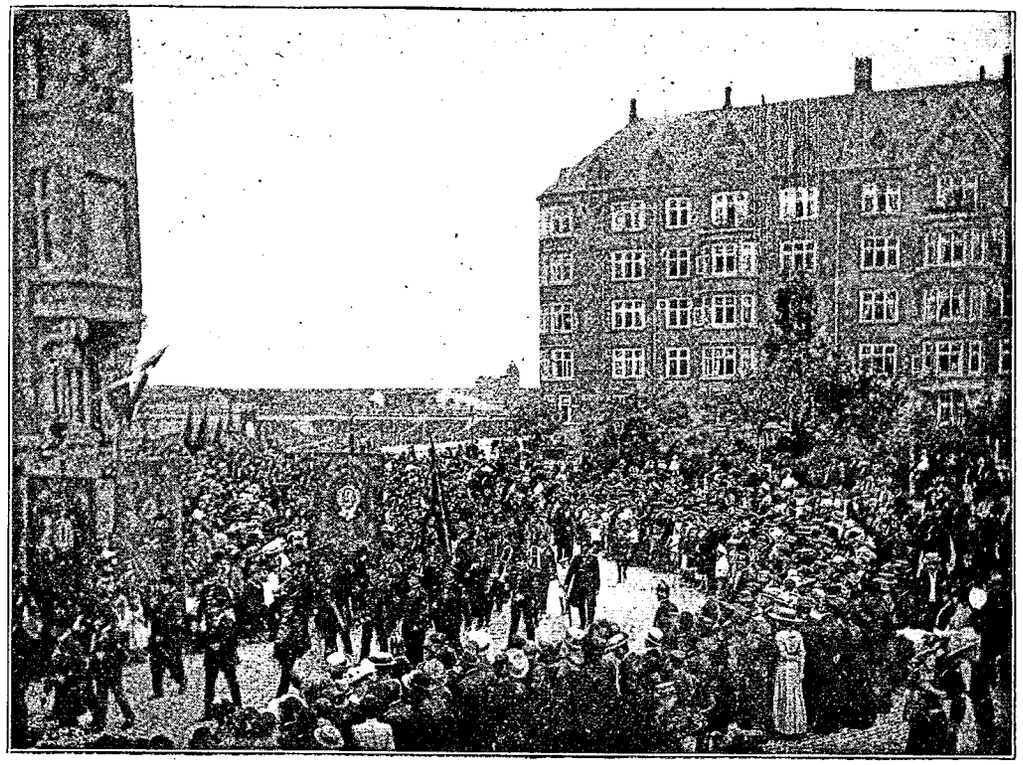
Forty Thousand of the Eight Million Socialists

Comrade Stauning welcomed the delegates on behalf on the Danish comrades and gave the history of the Danish movement which has sent 28 members to the Richsdag; 120,000 subscribers read the 33 socialist papers and 120,000 workingmen form the trade union army, in little Denmark with only 2,500,000 inhabitants.

Vandervelde thanked Danes for their magnificent reception, giving a short review of the socialist movement of the world with 33 nations joined under the International to-day, under whose banner 8 million voters march toward the goal of socialism. He closed amid great applause expressing the regret of the Congress at the absence of August Bebel.

Huysmans, secretary of the International Bureau ,instructed the delegates upon the order of business, which was published a month or two ago in the Review.

The first sitting closed at 1:00 o'clock and was followed by a parade of the workingmen of Copenhagen, the largest parade ever seen in this old emporium. At the head of the 40,000 workingmen, the Mayors of Copenhagen, Jensen and Knudsen, marched with their wives, followed by the socialist councilmen and magistrates of the city. 15 bands furnished the music. Countless red banners floated in the breeze and gave still more color to the lively picture. Post office employes, street car men and railroad men were in the procession. The banner of the metal workers bore the inscription 800,000 of our *members belong* to the *International Union.* The many soldiers who joined the parade gave to it the appearance of a veritable army. The crowds applauded them enthusiastically for show-



March on, March on—

ing to the world the growing solidarity of the working class.

When the columns of the marchers arrived at the Sondermarken, we found fou platforms erected for speakers of all nations, who addressed the great multitude gathered to greet the International Congress. Conservatively speaking 150,000 people were present. The greatest enthusiasm swayed this ocean of humanity which listened eagerly to the addresses of the speakers. The celebration continued till late into the night.

The next days of the Congress were devoted to the earnest work of the commissions. The main work of the Congresses is done, of course, by appointed committees. Not until Thursday were these commissions ready to report upon their work.

At 10:15 Chairman Branting, of Sweden, opened the second plenary session and the question of Unemployment was before the Congress. After a debate, in which Macdonald, Quelch, and Braun (of Austria) took the floor, a resolution was adopted by a large majority declaring that unemployment is inseparable with capitalist production. Within the capitalist system, not the abolition but the diminuition of unemployment can be brought about. The Congress asked that the efforts of the workingmens' organizations to help the unemployed be increased. Representatives of the working class shall demand:

1. Statistical information regarding the state of unemployment,
2. Payment of trade union wages ,
3. Extraordinary and financial aid in times of industrial crises,
4. Unemployment must not curtail political rights,
5. Founding of and aid to public employment agencies,
6. Diminuition of unemployment by legal means,
7. Compulsory aid to the unemployed,

The English section abstained from voting as, in their opinion, so Macdonald and Quelch stated, the terms of the resolution were too vague and undecisive.

In the afternoon, Jeppessen, of Norway,

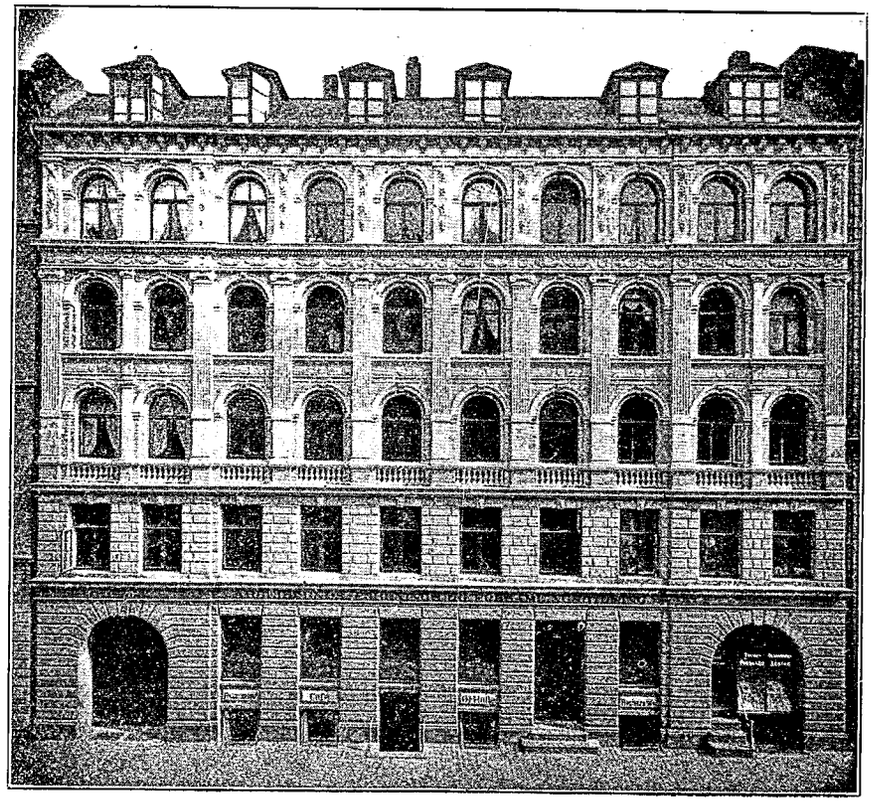
took the chair. The resolutions of the 5th. Commission were before the house. The resolution of France on Unity refered to the great results brought about by the Amsterdam Resolution on Unity in France and urged their example upon the national parties which are still divided in factions. The Spanish resolution dealt with the case of Ferrer and condemned the reactionary outrages of the Spanish Government. Those of Japan and Argentine were protests against outlawing the proletariat by the ruling class. The Russian outrages against Finland were the object of another resolution. Ellenbogen, of Austria, reported for the Commission. A debate ensued carried on by De Leon, Berger, Kalaroff and Sakasoff, of Bulgaria, in which a little tilt took place between the American speakers.

On September second the International Bureau decided that the Interparliamentary Conference be postponed until 1911. The question whether the Independent Trade Unions of Russian Poland whose membership in consequence of persecutions by the Czar Government has decreased from forty to thirty thousand shall retain their one vote of the Polish section was deferred till the next meeting.

At 10:30 A. M. the third Plenary sitting of the congress opened with Klausen, of Denmark, in the chair. Ellenbogen, of Vienna, gave the balance of the report of the fifth Commission. Without further debate, the French Resolution on unity, the Japanese, Argentine and Finland resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Next in order was the resolution of the 3rd. Committee against war. The one adopted by the Committee confirmed the Stuttgart Resolution and instructed the International Bureau in case of war threatening the world, to immediately take the necessary steps to bring about concerted action of the labor parties of the countries concerned, to prevent an outbreak of war.

The French and English socialists and William D. Haywood declared the resolu-



Folkets Huse—The Peoples House



Haywood—United States

tions were not far-reaching enough. An amendment was brought in which read: The congress considers as a means for the prevention of war the General Strike, especially the walkout of trades occupied in the production of arms and amunition. This was adopted together with two amendments, unanimously, amidst the cheers of the delegates.

The last day of the Congress opened at 10:20 with a resolution of the Swedish party on International Solidarity the first point of order. This was caused by the failure of the English trade unions to come to their assistance in the giant lockout and strike of the Swedish workers. This resolution asked that ways and means be found to make the international solidarity of the workers more effective and fruitful in practical results in cases of war between capital and labor.

Huggler, of Switzerland reported for the Committee. Andersen, of England, Cohen, of Germany, spoke. The resolution was unanimously adopted, the English section voting for it amid cheers.

The resolution of the 4th. Commission—the one on social legislation, which demands sufficient financial aid to the unemployed also to the widows and orphans and states that by social legislation no industry is injured, but on the contrary, through the improvement of the general health of the working class and the higher standard of living among them, the efficiency of labor is increased, was adopted against the votes of the English delegation.

The resolution on the right of the asylum on which Keir Hardie delivered a much applauded address, one on Spain, recommended by Pablo Iglesias, were unanimously adopted.

The last question—the cooperative movement, was dealt with in the afternoon. Karpeles, of Austria, for the 1st. Committee, advocated the adoption of a resolution stating that through the cooperatives the movement can never hope to accomplish the emancipation of the working class, but that they might serve as a useful weapon in the class struggle. But, he stated that the profits accruing from co-operatives ought never to be paid to the members of these societies but should be used to educate the members in the philosophy of socialism. Where possible the co-operatives should give financial aid to the socialist party and to the trade unions. In every country they should form one united body to further the work of the revolutionary movement.

In the debate which followed, Irving (English) complained that in England the socialists found the co-operative movement had very little sympathy with the socialist movement and contained very little socialist spirit. The leader of the co-operative movement in Germany spoke on the other side and succeeded in getting the congress to adopt the resolution.



Hardie—England



Quelch—England

Thereupon Adler, of Ausria, invited the delegates to hold the next congress, in 1913, in Vienna. This invitation was accepted.

After Branting, of Sweden, Jaures, of France, and Vandervelde, of Belgium, had thanked the Danish comrades on behalf of the delegates the congress closed with the delegates singing the Marseillaise amid the greatest enthusiasm.

In the evening of September third, the Danish socialists gave a magnificent farewell banquet to the delegates in the City Hall. Over 1,500 people thronged this beautiful building. The hospitality of our Danish comrades knew no bounds. The banquet was addressed by the two mayors of Copenhagen, while the strains of the Marseillaise and the Internationale floated through the lofty halls, which were draped with the red banner of socialism.



Karpeles—Austria

The guests remained until long after midnight. Everybody was loth to leave a scene so filled with the spirit and the inspiration of the revolutionary movement. But when the hour grew very late, the delegates bade their comrades farewell and departed to return to their homes over all the world to bear with them some of the enthusiasm that flooded old Copenhagen during the days of the International Congress.



Molkenbuhr—Germany



Jaures—France



Delegate from India

The International Congress

By

William E. Bohm

NO ONE expected the eighth international Socialist congress to be numbered among the gatherings which have marked epochs in the history of the labor movement. The fundamental problems about which surged the struggles in the conventions of the old International and even in the early congresses of the International Socialist movement have been laid to rest so far as the working-class of the world is concerned. Proletarian thinkers no longer marshall themselves for the battle under the opposing banners of Socialism and Anarchism. Neither is it necessary in these days to fight the political reformer in the councils of the international labor movement. There is no call now for dramatic struggles like those in which Marx led the fight against Mazzini or Bakounin. In the incessant class war of the past forty years the working-class of the world—has learned certain fundamental principles from the logic of events. The men and women who labor know now what they want and they know in general how to go about getting it. At least they know the general direction which all their efforts must take. The problems of the immediate present are minor ones which, it is taken for granted, are to be solved on the basis of certain accepted principles. Using the term in its broadest sense they may all be said to be problems of tactics.

The efforts of the working-class looking toward its emancipation fall under three divisions, marked by three great organizations which spread over the entire civilized world: the Socialist party, the labor unions, and the cooperative societies. At the gatherings of the working-class, then, there are always two questions to be answered: How shall the work of each one of these organizations be conducted within the limits of its own activity? and, What are to be the relations among the three of them? These questions involve, of course, the whole problem of the relation of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat to the present capitalist state. In order to answer them we must first decide just what can be forced from the present industrial and political order and what must be left to the time when this order gives way to a higher one. In addition to solving what have here been designated as problems of tactics practically all that is left for a working-class congress to do is to take some actual part in the particular working-class struggles going on at the moment of meeting. The great gathering just held at Copenhagen, for example, represented ten millions of the world's voters and many millions of the unfranchised. It was in duty bound to bring pressure to bear in favor of all groups of the working-class which happen now to be in special danger or are for any other reason in need of support.

The agenda as finally amended by the International Socialist Bureau included only



M. Smith
Official Interpreter

one problem of tactics which may be regarded as fundamental, that involved in the relation between the Socialist movement and the cooperatives. Next to this the most important matters set for discussion were the methods to be used in securing certain things which the working-class demands of the present industrial and political order; the abolition of unemployment, the abolition of war, insurance against old age, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases, and the abolition of the death penalty. Another list of problems to be attacked had to do with the inner organization of the Socialist movement: means to be adopted for the carrying out of resolutions adopted by international congresses, the organization of international solidarity, the unity of the Socialist and labor movements within the separate nations. So far as the actual struggles of the working-class are concerned the situations in Finland and Persia were the only ones formally put upon the program for discussion, but Argentine and the Balkan region both came in for attention before the sessions of the congress were over.

The difficulty of discussing all these subjects and taking intelligent action upon them can be appreciated when it is remembered that there were 887 delegates in attendance upon the congress. General debate was, of course, quite out of the question. The various headings of the agenda were assigned to five commissions. These commissions began work upon the first day and reported resolutions as early as possible. Their resolutions were made the basis of what little discussion the size of the gathering and the shortness of the time permitted. This method worked as well as could be expected, but the general impression carried away by the delegates was that the congress was unwieldly in its operations. It has been proposed to cut down the number of delegates to future congresses.

The Socialist Party and the Cooperatives.

The action of the congress on the cooperative movement was a victory for the cooperatives. I will set down here in full the text of the resolution adopted:* "In view of the fact that the cooperative societies not only offer their members immediate material benefits, that they are organized to strengthen the working-class by eliminating the middleman and also carrying on production for their own distribution, thus educating the working-class for the independent direction of its own affairs and preparing the way for the democratization and socialization of industry, this congress declares that the cooperative movement, even though by itself it never can bring about the liberation of the working-class, nevertheless be an effective weapon in the class-struggle which the workers are carrying on with the never varying purpose of conquering political and economic power with a view to socializing all the means of production and distribution, and that the working class has every reason for utilizing this weapon. The congress therefore urges all party members and all members of labor unions to enter actively into the cooperative movement and to use their best efforts to develop the cooperative societies in the direction of socialism, in order that the cooperative societies, instead of being a valuable means for the organization and education of the working-class, may not be turned into an influence which will destroy the socialist spirit of solidarity and discipline. The congress therefore most earnestly urges all party members and members of labor unions to use their influence in their co-

*The only text of the resolution which I have at hand is in German. The wording of my English versions will, of course, not correspond exactly to that of the English versions submitted to the congress.



Plechanoff—Russia

operative societies against having the profits all returned to the members but rather in favor of their being used for the establishment of funds which will enable the societies, singly or combined in their wholesale organizations, to undertake cooperative production, to provide for the education and assistance of their members, to see to it that the wages and conditions of labor of their employes come up to the union standard, that their own concerns are so organized as to serve as industrial models and that in the ordering of goods sufficient attention is paid to the conditions under which they are produced. To what extent the cooperative societies should directly support the labor unions and socialist party from the funds at their disposal is left to the cooperative organizations of the various countries. In view of the fact that the service of the cooperative movement will be the greater the stronger and more unified the movement itself comes to be the congress declares that the separate cooperative societies of each country should join themselves into one organization. The congress declares, finally, that it is to the interest of the working-class in its struggle against capitalism to have the political, the labor union, and the cooperative movements enter upon constantly closer relations without decrease in the independence of any one of them."

This resolution was accepted almost unanimously. It was opposed in the discussion by the English, who maintained that in England the cooperative movement is anti-socialist, and by the Czechs, who favored national cooperative organizations instead of organization by countries. One group of delegates favored a clause in favor of regular contributions from the cooperative societies to the socialist party. Another group urged the establishment of organic relations between the two organizations.

War and Militarism.

The attitude of the working-class toward war was the only subject which roused violent feeling and led to dramatic scenes. The resolution introduced and finally carried is practically a repetition of the one carried at Stuttgart three years ago. The preamble explains that wars are instituted by capitalists for their own benefit and that the working-class of one country cannot possibly have any reason for shooting down that of another. When it comes to suggesting definite action the resolution requires of all socialist parliamentary groups to work for international courts of arbitration, disarmament, the abolition of secret diplomacy, the discontinuance of the imperialistic policy. The paragraph about which the debate finally centered is the following, taken directly from the Stuttgart resolution: "When there is danger of an outbreak of war the working-classes of the countries involved, supported by the International Bureau, are to do their utmost, through the utilization of the means which seem to them the most effective, to prevent it. The means naturally, will vary with the acuteness of the class-struggle and the general political situation. Keir Hardie, of England,



Vaillant—France



Ledebour—France

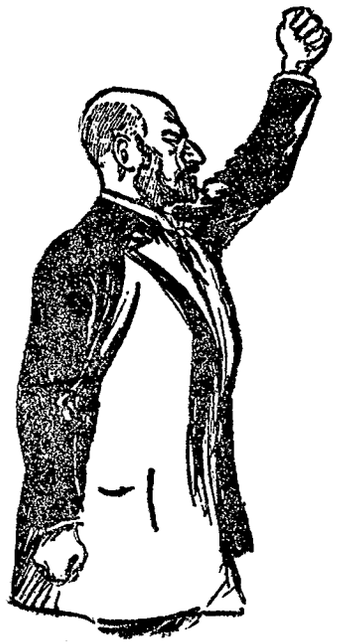
and Vaillant, of France, representing the minority of the commissions which had had the matter under consideration, introduced the following amendment: "The congress regards the general strike as a means of preventing war, particularly the refusal to work in industries concerned with the production and transportation of munitions of war."

Comrade Ledebour, upon whom, as reporter, devolved the duty of defending the majority report of the commission, maintained that the Stuttgart resolution was adequate. It advised the use of any means "which seem effective." That is, the general strike or any other means. He held that to mention the general strike would be to prevent free choice of action by the working-classes of the various nations. Under some circumstances the general strike might be, not only ill advised, but impossible. He twitted the English Socialists with the fact that they had supported the Liberal budget and thus given their votes in favor of increased armaments. Moreover, he affirmed, the English comrades had among them some who made violent propaganda in favor of larger army and navy. Therefore a resolution in favor of the general strike as a weapon against international war came with an ill grace from England.

Keir Hardie made a very effective reply. In the first place he explained that the amendment did not make the general strike obligatory. It was intended merely to impress upon the working-class the fact that it has in the general strike a weapon which can be effectively used if the conditions are favorable. And as to its coming from England the English working-class was ready to act upon it. Incidentally he explained that the English budget is voted for item by item and that the Labor members of Parliament did not support the appropriations for army and navy. Further, he went on to say, the jingoes in the English Socialist movement are only two in number. They are leaders without a following. The English labor movement is clearly, consciously, opposed to all international war and is ready to make war on war with any means at its disposal. Comrade Hardie's amendment was vigorously supported by Vaillant.

Finally Comrade Emil Vandervelde (Belgium) moved a substitute for the Hardie-Vaillant amendment: "The congress refers the Hardie-Vaillant amendment to the International Socialist Bureau for further study. The Bureau is to report upon the propositions contained in it to the next international congress. This subsitute was unanimously carried. With the amendment out of the way the main resolution was soon carried amidst great enthusiasm.

The debate on Keir Hardie's amendment as well as the vote goes to show that idea of the general strike has gained ground since the Stuttgart congress. The Germans are not quite ready to accept the



Vandervelde—Belgium



Barrio—Spain

general strike as a means of preventing war. But they maintained their position with difficulty. Unless all signs fail the general strike will be definitely mentioned in the anti-war resolution adopted at the congress of 1913.

Unemployment.

The resolution adopted on this subject, after setting forth he fact that unemployment is a necessary result of capitalism, directed Socialist members of parliaments to make seven rather modest demands: Statistics as to the extent of unemployment, payment of union wages, special assistance for the unemployed in times of industrial crises, security of political rights during unemployment, government employment agencies, use of legal means to decrease unemployment, obligatory support of the unemployed. The English delegates insisted on a declaration of the right to work. They were told that under the capitalist system there can be no such thing as the right to work.

Abolition of the Death Penalty.

The lack of interest in this subject showed that there was little excuse for placing it on the agenda. A resolution against the infliction of death as a punishment for crime was introduced and, of course, carried.

International Solidarity.

A resolution first suggested by the Swedish Labor party was introduced and carried. This resolution puts the international movement on record in favor of the international support of great strikes. In the debate on this subject the delegates from England and France were forced to listen to denunciations of their respective labor movements on account of the feeble support given by these movements to the great Swedish strike. The English answered that they are poor and have no labor press by means of which to appeal for funds. The French had no answer to make.

National Unity of Socialist and Labor Movements.

A strong resolution was adopted in favor of unity within the various national movements. The French comrades received high praise for the spirit of mutual forbearance with which they supported their unified party. Much of the success which they have attained was attributed to their unity of organization. It was when this resolution was up for discussion that the Czechish comrades made their principal fight for autonomy. They maintained that they are hindered in their work by German domination. They were answered that if the principle of national autonomy were introduced into Austria many localities would witness the formation of as many as eight independent labor organizations. When the resolution was voted upon there were only two or three delegates who sided with the Czechs. The sentiment of the congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the minimizing of national and racial differences in favor of effective organization.

There was one dramatic moment during the discussion of this question. The representative of the American Socialist Labor Party, in an impassioned address, accused the American Socialist Party of making unity of the American Socialist movement impossible. He supported his accusation by telling of the attempt made by the S. L. P. to open negotiations looking toward the unity of the two parties. As is well known in this country, these attempts did not meet with success. On behalf of the American Socialist Party answer was made by comrades Morris Hilquit and Victor Berger. They answered, in the first place, by stating that it is the tactics of the S. L. P. which have made unity impossible. The Socialist Party cannot join itself to an organization which opposes the labor movement of the country. And, further, they explained to congress that unity is surely



Wilk—Finland

being brought about in America. Some ten years ago there were two parties containing about 5000 members each; now there is one party with 50,000 members and another with something under 1000. This looks like an approach to unity. One of the Socialist party delegates promised the assembled delegates unity would become a fact in America before the next international congress.

Finland, Argentine, Etc.

Strong resolutions in favor of the oppressed working-classes in Finland, Argentine, Persia and the Balkan region were introduced and, it goes without saying, unanimously adopted. The same may be said of a resolution in favor of the right of the asylum in foreign lands, of those whose only crime is political or union activity.

The next international Socialist Congress is to be held at Vienna.

What Does it All Mean?

The international Socialist movement is larger than ever before. Is it as strong in its revolutionary spirit? The quiet tenor of the debates, the careful attention to details, the lack of oratory, of fine phrases, might give the impression that there has been a falling off on this side. Moreover it is noticeable that the "immediate demands" are of the most modest sort. What does all this mean?

It does not in any sense indicate lack of revolutionary purpose. The immediate demands are modest because the international Socialist movement has given up expecting much of the capitalistic regime either "immediately" or in the distant future. Therefore it asks little. And even in the consideration of matters touching only the inner organization of the socialist movement the tendency was always to "resolve" only things which could actually be accomplished. This means that the working class is making use of its experience in the world of affairs. It is working for a complete economic revolution, but it knows that such a revolution can not be achieved by "passing "revolutionary" resolutions. Therefore it sets itself thoughtfully, carefully to achieve its great purpose. The eighth international Socialist congress indicates and advance in the consciousness of power possessed by the working-class.

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!
Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary:
Behold their tears and hear their cries,
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding!

Are Socialist Candidates Chosen to Lead?

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING



IN his letter of acceptance, the Socialist candidate for Governor of Connecticut says that he was "chosen to lead the campaign" in this State!

As far as we know, this is the first instance when a Socialist has deliberately announced himself as a "leader" and there ought to be such a protest that it will be the last. As a member of this comrade's local, I must protest in my own name and that of others. But this public misrepresentation of the Party is of more than local importance. Mr. Robert Hunter has the same right to say that he was chosen to be one of seven leaders of the National Organization, since he is a member of the National Executive, and indeed a better right, for there was a chance to vote for other candidates in the National Referendum, whereas there was practically no Referendum in Connecticut, since no other candidate appeared on the ballot.

I suggest that the National Committee pass a resolution to suspend Hunter for a year or at least give him warning; for if we are to have leaders and bosses we shall fall below the level even of the old parties.

It was only a few years ago that a Republican candidate for President dared to claim that because of his nomination he was the "titular head" of the Party. And this was done by the empty-headed, self-advertising Roosevelt—who owed so much of his success to his connections with the four hundred and their representatives, Tom Platt and J. P. Morgan. Do we want a Roosevelt or a Hearst in the Socialist Party? If we don't begin soon to display a little manhood we will have one whether we want him or not.

But the Republican and Democratic Parties are reforming themselves—at least to the point of doing away with bosses. And it even seems that through the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall they will lower their representatives still another peg and make them the mere agents, delegates or political servants of those who elect them—the principle which has always been supposed to prevail in the Socialist Party. Are we going to the boss system, while the old parties are taking up democracy? Even Victor Berger denies that he is a boss. Shall we allow Hunter to proclaim that he has been **chosen to lead?**

Already he is assuming the reins. With some slight changes he has reprinted his "Shall Socialism be Crushed," so thoroughly discredited by Comrades Bohn and Bullard, with his picture on the cover! He is rewriting the literature of Socialism in order that Connecticut shall get his kind of dope exclusively, and every Socialist knows what that is. He is providing the rural press of the State with a series of articles on Socialism written by— Hunter.

Through his financial ability, as a man with multi-million connections to furnish all this matter free as well as an automobile for touring purposes, he is practically subsidizing the State Organization to the extent of many hundreds of dollars—just as he has been subsidizing the national Socialist press with articles, which even from a hack journalist would be worth a couple of thousand dollars a year.

This is a good year in this State. The Republicans, being regulars, are on the down-hill. A new election law for the first time will count the Socialist vote and so automatically double it. The Socialist press and speakers have done the work. But a large share of the credit will go to the man who has been "chosen to lead the campaign."

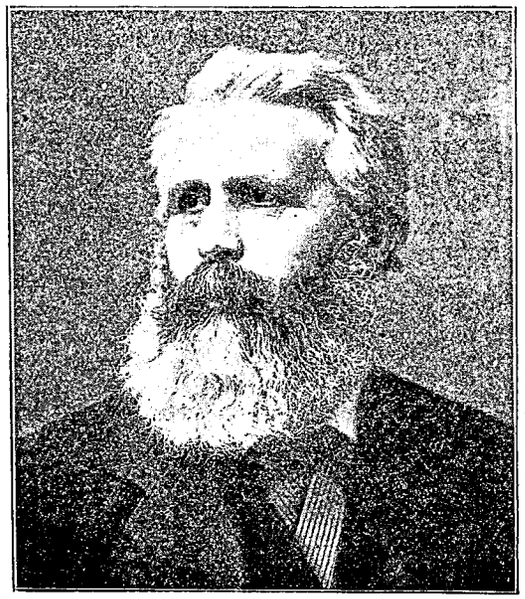
EDITORIAL

Suppose Everything Were Reformed! Try to imagine what America would be like if the various well-meaning reformers were to unite, enact the laws they are urging, and enforce the laws. Suppose all the saloons were closed, side doors as well as front doors, and that all "blind pigs" were slaughtered, so that it would be physically impossible for the wage-worker to waste his substance on alcoholic beverages.. Suppose that all the crowded tenements with high rents were replaced by municipal apartment houses and cottages giving a comfortable home to every family for less than ten dollars a month. Suppose that the protective tariff were taken off, that sugar were to be retailed everywhere at three cents a pound, and the prices of all the other necessaries of life were reduced in proportion. And suppose all the school children were given a good square meal each day at the expense of the wealthy taxpayers! WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT ON WAGES? Even a capitalist economist would admit what every clear-headed student of Marx knows, that wages would fall in proportion to the reduced cost of living, and the average wage-worker would be no better off. In fact he would be worse off, and that for this reason. Where the average wage-worker wastes part of his earnings, there is a chance for the man who does not waste them to accumulate a little surplus out of his wages that will secure for him a little added comfort or leisure, while if virtuous frugality became the general rule, the good wage-workers would underbid each other at the factory door until the capitalist had all that was "saved." But here we see a ray of hope. For "overproduction" would reappear on a vaster scale than ever before. "Business" would be "dead." Millions of people would be hungry in their model tenements, and rather than starve they would rebel. Even reforms can not forever delay the Revolution.

Why the World is Growing Mad. A London dispatch in the Chicago Tribune of Sept. 18 tells us that a famous expert, Dr. Forbes Winslow, proves from official figures that insanity in England has nearly doubled since 1869, and predicts gloomily that it is easy to figure the exact year when there will be more insane people in the world than sane. Why this increase? We can not explain a change in social phenomena by conditions that have remained constant, but only by changed conditions. There was poverty and suffering among the working people of England forty years ago, no less than now. It was perhaps as hard then as now for a wage-worker to climb out of his class. But one great economic change has come about since 1869, not only in England but in all the great manufacturing countries. Industrial capital has doubled and quadrupled itself, and the new accumulations of capital have been used and are being used to revolutionize the processes of production. When big capital takes hold of an industry, and applies its tremendous resources to the production of commodities in that industry, two things happen. The little capitalists who previously controlled it find that the value of their plant has disappeared; it is fit only for the scrap heap. Unless they have been so lucky as to "get in on the ground floor" with the big capitalists, they are ruined. And no little capitalist in any little industry can be sure that his turn may not come next. What is more important, the skilled laborers who have earned enough to keep their families in comparative comfort under old methods of production find themselves suddenly reduced to the level of the lowest workers when organized capital takes control. And no workingman knows when this

may be his fate. Look at the faces you pass on a city street. ANXIETY is written on nearly every one. Anxiety unrelieved means insanity sooner or later. The London doctor sees clearly what must happen unless there is a remedy. And the only remedy is revolution. Let us preserve our sanity and abolish the capitalist.

People Who Think they are Capitalists. A capitalist is one who has capital. He is a capitalist of importance exactly proportioned to the amount of capital he controls. It is not pleasent to be a wage-worker, and naturally many of them are ambitious to be capitalists. It looks easy, especially if you have a superficial knowledge of socialist economics. You can make each day goods worth $10.00; you get $2.00 in wages; what seems simpler, if you can get old of a little capital, then to hire another wage slave and make all the profit on your own labor and his? But experience will ultimately teach the would-be capitalist what he might also have learned from Marx, that competition under capitalism so adjusts prices that on the average the little capitalist can get only enough for his product to pay his employees' wages, his own wages if he works, and the average rate of profit on whatever may be the amount of capital he has. In America today, the average rate is probably not far from 10% per year. If then our would-be capitalist shows good judgment in adapting his goods to the market, and has $1,000, he may reasonably expect to earn in a year $100 more than if he continued to work for wages. On the other hand, if his judgment is bad, he will soon lose his $1,000. The pitiful thing is that a man so situated usually thinks of himself as a capitalist and helps the big capitalists against the wage-workers in every fight. In reality he owns only a job, and a precarious one. Better wages and shorter hours for the wage-workers would indirectly result in improving his own condition; lower wages and longer hours for the wage-workers would react unfavorably on him. He, like them, is a slave to the capitalist system, and nothing but revolution will set him free. His interests are with the working class, but his prejudices and habits are usually such as to make him a nuisance in a working class movement. Fortunately, capitalism is rapidly forcing men of this type back into the ranks of the wage-workers, where they absorb a class instinct that is a wonderful help to clear thinking.



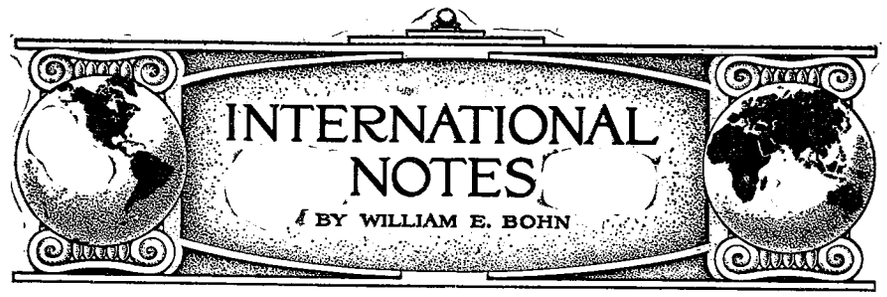
JOSEPH DIETZGEN

"From praying and fasting we have turned to thinking and working. The result of the change of method is plainly visible in the conquests of modern industry, whose soul is the productivity of our labor."

"Poverty, starvation and misery in the past were quite often the inevitable results of the deficiency of production. Since the second decade of the nineteenth century the case is quite the reverse: it is the superfluity of wealth, as manifested in the recurring periods of commercial and industrial depression, which interferes with production. However full the granaries and warehouses may be with goods of all kinds, the people starve and freeze because the possessing classes, satiated with wealth, do not require their labor power."

Philosophical Essays, $1.00.
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, $1.00.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
118 West Kinzie St., Chicago.



Japan. The Crushing Out of Socialism. Under date of August 28 our German organ, Vorwaerts, published a letter from Comrade Katayama, one of the most valiant fighters in the Japanese movement. He wrote to explain why Japan would not be represented at Copenhagen. The letter tells its own story: "Our Socialist movement is destroyed, many of us are in jail, and there is no longer any freedom of speech or action for a Socialist. Continued persecutions has driven some of us to desperation. Just now we suffer the most cruel oppression as a result of a reputed anarchist uprising. At one stroke seven Socialists (perhaps some of them were anarchists) were incarcerated. Since then one arrest has followed fast upon another. There is no possibility of computing the number of those imprisoned. Every day Socialists are arrested and their houses are searched. Every one of us is dogged by detectives; sometimes as many as eight are set to watch a single person. I myself am constantly watched by a ruffian and hindered in my work.

Our paper, the Socialist News, is subjected to the strictest censorship. The police pursue our subscribers and try to turn them against us. In spite of all this we have managed to keep alive during three hard years. But it is very doubtful whether we can longer continue the fight; for today practically all the Socialists in this country are in jail under one pretext or another.

So far as Socialists are concerned there are no constitutional guarantees. Judges and police are alike opposed to us. The working-class is crushed under foot and there is no longer any possibility of organization or agitation. We cannot work openly, and secret propaganda exposes one constantly to criminal proceedings.

I would gladly have attended the International Congress, but, as you see, it is out of the question; for today there is no Socialist organization in Japan. Personally I have suffered everything during the past three years. All my property I have devoted to the cause, and now it is only with greatest difficulty that I support my family.

I pray you to tell the comrades at the Copenhagen Congress of our terrible condition."

England. The Labor Party Fiasco. The worst feature of the situation in which the Labor Party finds itself is not the difficulty about the support of its parliamentary representatives. It is true that for the present the party has a serious practical problem to meet. The Lords have decided that labor unions have no legal right to tax members for the support of representatives in Parliament. At their recent congress the unions boldly faced the situation by declaring that the law would have to be changed. They now have a fine fight on their hands. And that is surely nothing to feel gloomy about.

Australia. No Compromise. The third annual conference of the Socialist Federation of Australasia met at Melbourne in June. The federation is made up of four Austrlian organizations and the Socialist party of New Zealand. It was organized in 1907 in direct opposition to the Labor party. The Queensland and West Australian Socialists were unwilling to give up their membership in the Labor Party, and the Socialist Labor Party also refused to join. The Federation has about a thousand members in Australia.

The conference declared again for industrial unionism though it did not, as in

1907, indorse the Industrial Workers of the World. But the chief problem to demand attention was the form of political tactics to be adopted by the organizations making up the Federation. The Labor party is at present in command of the political situation. The Socialists are nearly everywhere too weak to put candidates in the field. Federal candidates are required to make a deposit of 25 pounds, state candidates as much as fifty pounds. With a membership of only a thousand the socialist organization, it is clear, cannot often indulge in the luxury of a candidate. In the last federal election it put up only one representative to bid for popular favor at the polls. This situation makes the problem of the use of the ballot a very pressing one for our Australian comrades. Shall a Socialist abstain from voting when he cannot give his vote to a member of his own party or shall he feel at liberty to support any candidate who in some sense represents the working-class? The Socialist Federation of Australiasia says that he must under no circumstances vote for other than a member of a revolutionary Socialist party. Moreover the Conference did not leave it to the members to decide whether the candidates of the Labor Party are to be regarded as revolutionists. It defined a revolutionary Socialist party as "any party which bases its propaganda on a recognition of the class-struggle and declares for the Socialist republic, i. e., the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange and has no program of palliatives." The Labor Party has at times advocated the ultimate socialization of the means of production, but its efforts have been directed toward securing palliatives for present conditions. Therefore it cannot be brought under the definition. The definition was, however, deliberately worded so as to include the Socialist Labor Party. There is some dissatisfacton with the action of the conferences and the Socialists of Victoria have called for a referendum.

Nevertheless the labor members are visibly depressed. The capitalist papers either ignore them or reassure the country by saying they are really no worse than Liberals. And the Labor members have hardly a word to say for themselves.

What is the matter? They have been saying all along that by being polite, by agreeing to bring forward their measures only at proper times, they would in the end achieve something. Now parliament has been adjourned and they have nothing to show. They voted for the budget, they agreed to put off the matter of unemployment till the Liberals were ready—and the matter of unemployment has not been taken up. Toward the end of the session Liberals and Conservatives began to draw together and Laborites began to be more and more left out of the reckoning. It is safe to say that Pablo Iglesias, single handed in the Spanish Cortes, has made more of an impression on the world than the entire Labor group. It is a sad thing to record, but is evident that in Parliament the English Labor leaders are not fighting men. In many matters of theory they are admirably clear and on the rostrum their voices often ring true for working-class advance. But in the hall of Parliament they have not dared to face the representatives of capitalism and make a fair fight for their constituents.

Austria. A Divided Proletariat. Since the troubles of the Austrian Socialist and labor movement have been aired at the International Congress at Copenhagen they have begun to attract attention of the entire working-class world. For us in America where the working-class has constantly to struggle with the problem of nationalities and tongues they have a peculiar interest. It may be worth while, therefore, to look into the Austrian situation and see what it has to teach.

The Austrian working-class is chiefly made up of Germans, Czechs, Polish, Italians, Slovanians, and Ruthuanians. The Germans, are of course, in the majority, with the Czechs coming second. Out of about 500,000 members of the various Austrian labor unions the Czechs can claim something over 150,000. Some idea of the relative strength of the various nationalities can be gained from the following table of labor papers published in the various languages: German, 50; Czechish, 38; Polish, 10; Italian, 5; Slovanian, 3; Ruthuanian, 1.

It has sometimes been maintained that these various nationalities are as distinct in language and manner of thought as the Germans and French and that therefore they should have autonomous labor movements. If each one of them occupied a separate territory and had separate industrial problems to meet, this reasoning would

be correct. But this is not the case. While various national groups maintain their separate ways of life they are not (territorially) separate. In Bohemia, German and Czechish villages lie side by side while in the large cities Germans and Czechs work and live together. Industrially, of course, there can be little division . The various races are impartially exploited by the same masters. And among the masters, at least so far as industry is concerned, there are no race lines. Suppose, then, we have have seven working-class organizations fighting one employer or one employers' association. The disadvantages of such an arrangement are not open to discussion. Theoretically, at least, there is every reason why racial and national differences should be forgotten.

But, strange to say, as the labor movement has developed, these differences have been more and more emphasized. It is true that the union movement grew separately in each of the different nations, but the long struggle for existence forced the various organizations to unite themselves into one. Since 1897 the Austrian Social Democratic party has been composed of seven organizations joined in a federation something like that made up by the parties of the various states of the German empire. For a long time they got on very well. But with increasing numbers and power their troubles and dissentions increased. For thirteen years now there have been Socialist representatives in the Austrian parliament. These representatives have had to declare themselves upon issues involving the struggle between nationalities. For example there were bills introduced providing funds for the support of Czechish schools in territory where the majority of the inhabitants are of some other nationality. Such a proposal would be supported by the Czechs in opposition to the other members of the Socialist group. And in their campaigns the Socialist candidates found that they were put at a disadvantage by their internationalism. They could gain votes by standing for national causes. In course of time they came to do this more and more. The natural result was the Socialist parliamentary group broke up into opposing factions. In 1905 the party congress divided on the same lines.

At first this division along national lines was limited to the political party. Now, however, it has extended itself to the labor unions and cooperatives. Here it is, in general, only the Czechs who demand separate organizations. Among the metal workers, textile workers and wood workers they have started national unions. On the industrial field they have not been as successful as on the political. Nevertheless they have now some 40,000 members in their organization as against 118,000 Czechs who still belong to the central body.

On the political field the break between Germans and Czechs has become so pronounced that recently at Brunn-stadt the Czechish Socialists adopted a resolution calling upon comrades of their nation in the parts of the country predominately German to name candidates to oppose those put up by the regular organization. If this is done we shall have—Socialists of one race fighting those of another for the same seats in parliament.

In the face of a great struggle like this it would be worse than useless to lay blame upon any nation or group. More than this, it would be contrary to all Socialist theory. Here, as everywhere, the Socialist must try first of all to understand. The whole situation seems to have resulted from the inevitable political and industrial development of the Czechish nation. The Czechs, proletarians as well as bourgeoisie, feel themselves abused and oppressed . While this tends to fill them with a finer revolutionary spirit than that which at present annimates the Germans it also makes them impatient of the domination of a German majority. The conflict in some form or other is inevitable. The only thing which can put an end to it is further industrial development or a truer recognition of development which has already taken place. Intellectually, temperamentally German and Czech may differ; if they differ industrially it will not be for long. Like conditions of labor will teach like manners of thought. In the meantime national differences retard the victory of the working class.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

The A. F. of L. convention meets in St. Louis next month and will be in session two weeks. From all appearances there will be fewer jurisdictional controversies injected into the proceedings than usual, as quite a number of the trades have settled their differences by mutual agreement or merging organizations. The internal row among the electrical workers will undoubtedly come before the body again, as no settlement has been made. Some of the printing crafts will advocate the formation of a trades department, as will also some of the unions in the clothing industry, and it is likely that the Western Federation of Miners will have delegates in the convention and join the United Mine Workers in forming a mining department to look after the interests of the men employed in and about the mines.

There is some talk again of introducing resolutions to force the A. F. of L. to father the formation of a Labor party, but just where the promoters of such a plan are going to get their support is difficult to discover unless the conservatives are converted to their ideas, which is highly improbable. It is a cinch that those among the delegates who are Socialists will not take very kindly to the Labor party scheme. They know that socialism is making great headway in this country at present, and that a Labor party entering the field with a populistic reform platform would tend to retard rather than aid their cause. There will be no material change in the composition of the executive council.

The victory of the New York cloakmakers was one of the most magnificent triumphs ever scored by working people in this country. When it is considered that 75,000 persons, poorly organized and with practically no funds on hand, engaged in a contest with employers having millions behind them and the support of the police powers and the press and their class generally, and then enforced almost revolutionary demands for union recognition, higher wages, the 50-hour week, abolition of sweating and minor reforms, it must be conceded by the most bitter labor-hater that the outcome was a glorious achievement that will become historic.

The battle-ground and the time and other details of the contest were well chosen by those who directed the fight, and the added advantage that the principles of industrialism were rigidly adhered to, in that the shops were emptied of every worker irrespective of craft "autonomy" and kept empty, made the strike one of the most interesting that ever occurred anywhere and victory was almost a certainty if the lines could be kept intact.

It should be jotted down as a matter of record that what the bosses believed to be the most brilliant dash in their campaign and with which it was hoped to turn the tide and score a signal victory, resulted in an utter rout and complete surrender.

When the bosses believed the strikers were exhausted because of lack of financial assistance and ready to return to work under almost any terms, they made the superme blunder of having their "Justice" Goff hurl his injunction and declare the union shop illegal. Instead of stampeding the workers and turning the battle into a panic, the cloakmakers became truly electrified and fought their opponents more fiercely than ever. Then came the second costly blunder. In desperate effort to recover from their amazement at the ineffectiveness of their "justice," the bosses and their legal and newspaper hirelings sought to sow the seeds of dissention by charging that the Socialists were responsible for all the trouble, that they refused to permit a settlement to be made between the kind masters and the workers whom they loved, and were deliberate-



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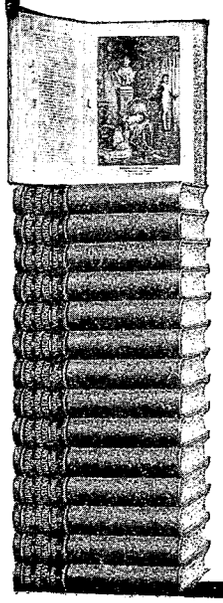
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ly defying the law as laid down by Goff.

The Goff injunction and the charges that followed revived the militant spirit of the workers to such a degree of enthusiasm that the manufacturers realized that the jig was up and nothing but capitulation was in order. And so they came across. But the cloakmakers of New York can make up their minds that their victory will prove a mighty empty one if they do not stick tight to their unions. They have been organized before—many times—went out on general strikes, gained some temporary concessions, dropped out of their unions, and then were gradually forced back into the old rut. The workers ought to be ready to walk out on strike again at the drop of a hat. Then the bosses will keep their agreements, otherwise not.

Moreover the cloakmakers can make the whole United States respect them, as well as their bosses, by electing Meyer London to Congress in the ninth district of New York and roll up a smashing big vote for the whole Socialist ticket next month.

The loss of the great strike against the United Steel Corporation by the iron, steel and tinplate workers, after a heroic struggle of fourteen months, is a deplorable outcome. The workers in no other trade have put up such a splendid battle or made more sacrifices in a contest with a huge combine of capital than did the tinplate workers, and they deserved a better fate than to be forced to surrender unconditionally and acknowledge themselves slaves of the open shop, without the right to organize.

And yet the political demagogues, from Roosevelt down, bluster and bray about the American workingman being "free and independent," and raise their hands in holy horror when they think and talk about the "pauper labor" in foreign countries!

This is the thanks that the men of the mills are receiving after their years and years of shouting and voting for a protective tariff and the grand old parties to enrich the Carnegies and Coreys! They have not only had their wages hammered to the level of a bare existence for their hard, exacting toil, but are forbidden the right of associating with their fellow-workers for their mutual benefit.

It is a sorrowful spectacle indeed to observe the millions upon millions piled up and still piling up for a parasitical few, while the toiling thousands are helplessly enslaved and dare not call their souls their own. It is unbelievable that the iron, steel and tinplate workers are quite stupid enough to continue the foolish policy of voting more power into the hands of their oppressing master class.

It is almost useless, for the present at least, to discuss the matter of reorganization along broad industrial lines. Those who understand the methods and influences that obtain in the steel trust know that it is practically impossible to gain a safe foothold in the shambles of that heartless combine, with its myriads of spies everywhere and its blacklists that are wielded unmercifully, with which the slightest move to organize is ruthlessly stamped out at the first sign.

The only immediate hope that the iron, steel and tinplate workers have is in arousing their fellow-workers and making common cause with the Socialist party to capture the mill districts and placing class-conscious workers in control of the police power with which to cover future efforts to organize industrially. If the men of the mills will make one-tenth of the effort and sacrifice upon the political field that they did in their long strike they will win a strategic point that will strike consternation to the very heart of trustdom. The ballot is still free and secret but it may not remain so very long unless it is used properly instead of abused, as heretofore.

No less pleasing was the victory of the Illinois miners than that of the cloakmakers in New York. After a contest of nearly four months the operators surrendered every point in controversy, and today the Illinois organization is more powerful than at any time in its history. The operators had hoped against hope that the internal differences among the miners would lead to division and disintegration, but when the special convention at Indianapolis endorsed the Illinois strike and voted to levy $1 per capita each week to finance the fight, the capitalists knew that the end had come.

Although there has been considerable talk on both sides that the U. M. W. is being disrupted by the other fellows and that ruination stares the unions in the face, the charges and counter-charges are being pretty well discounted by the rank and file, which is a pretty satisfactory situation and shows that the members are more cool-headed than some of the so-called leaders and don't intend to split to pieces in order to fulfill the pessimistic predictions of some of the prophets.

That there is going to be a great fight for control in the U. M. W. at the coming election is a certainty. President Lewis is to be opposed by John P. White, of Iowa, former vice-president, and McCulloch, of Michigan, will be the Lewis candidate for secretary against Green, of Ohio. Frank Hayes, of Illinois, will probably have no opposition for vice-president. It will be an interesting contest.

The immaculate J. J. Kirby, Jr., president of the National Association of Manufacturers, who can howl by the hour about the alleged lawlessness of the working class, was arrested at Dayton, Ohio, for breaking the child labor law and fined $50 and costs. Kirby is without the shadow of doubt one of the most shameless individuals in this country, and, therefore, the proper person to fill the position that he does. Several years ago an employe of the Kirby shop was arrested for stealing brass and he testified on the witness stand that he was paid but $7 per week and was compelled to steal in order to keep his family from starving to death.

C. W. Post, the Battle Creek union-smasher and pal of the melodorous Kirby, also continues to perform for the edification of the populace. Post didn't like the way the Buck Stove & Range Co. settled its troubles with organized labor and brought suit in the United States Court for an injunction to prevent the signing



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of the agreement and also for $750,000 damages. Post's case was thrown out of court.

For the benefit of the Kirby's and Post's it might be mentioned that at the international convention of marine workers held in Copenhagen it was reported that at the great strike of seamen and dock workers at Antwerp some 10,000 strike-breakers were branded with an india rubber stamp by their masters. It would be a very fine question to be considered at the forthcoming convention of the National Association of Manufacturers of adopting that style in this country.

The coal operators in the Irwin field of Pennsylvania, who locked out their miners last spring, evicted them from their poor hovels and kept thousands of men, women and children on the verge of starvation for many months, have raised a brand new issue in this country. The operators proceed upon the consistent capitalistic theory that they and their class are the real owners of these United States of America, and that to revolt against their rule is treason. Therefore, the operators have brought action against Francis Feehan, president of the miners' district organization, and others for sedition and also to recover damages for the $1,000,000 that they admit having lost by locking out and torturing their employes.

Certainly if the master class cannot starve the workers to death when they take the notion to do so, or at least completely enslave them and force them to work under whatever conditions they dictate, they have a large-sized grievance and their politicians in power should remedy matters, as that is why they are placed in office.

Down in Connecticut a scab clothing firm has sued the Hartford Central Labor Union, the Socialist party, garment workers and others for $15,000 damages for boycotting and picketing. Under the Sherman law, if the concern wins, it can collect $45,000 and costs of prosecution. This is the first time the Socialist party has been dragged into a suit of this kind and the progress of the case will be watched with interest.

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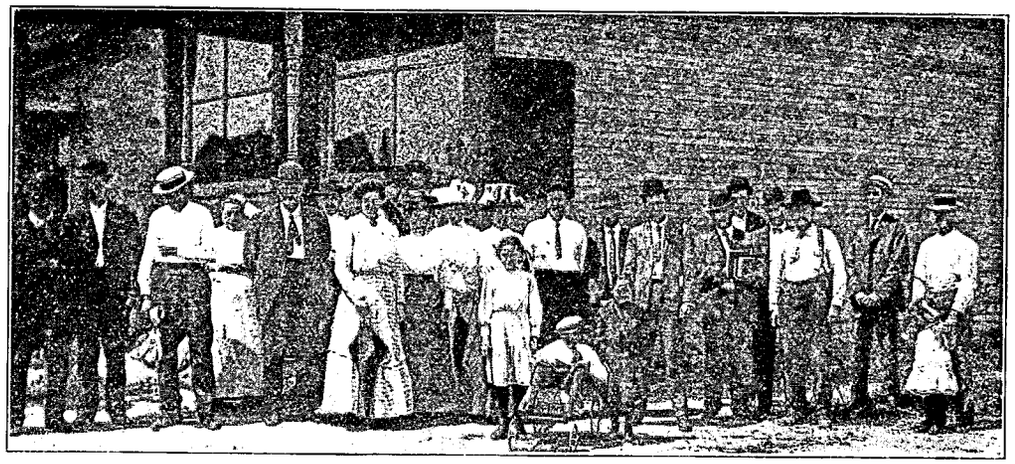
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NEWS AND VIEWS



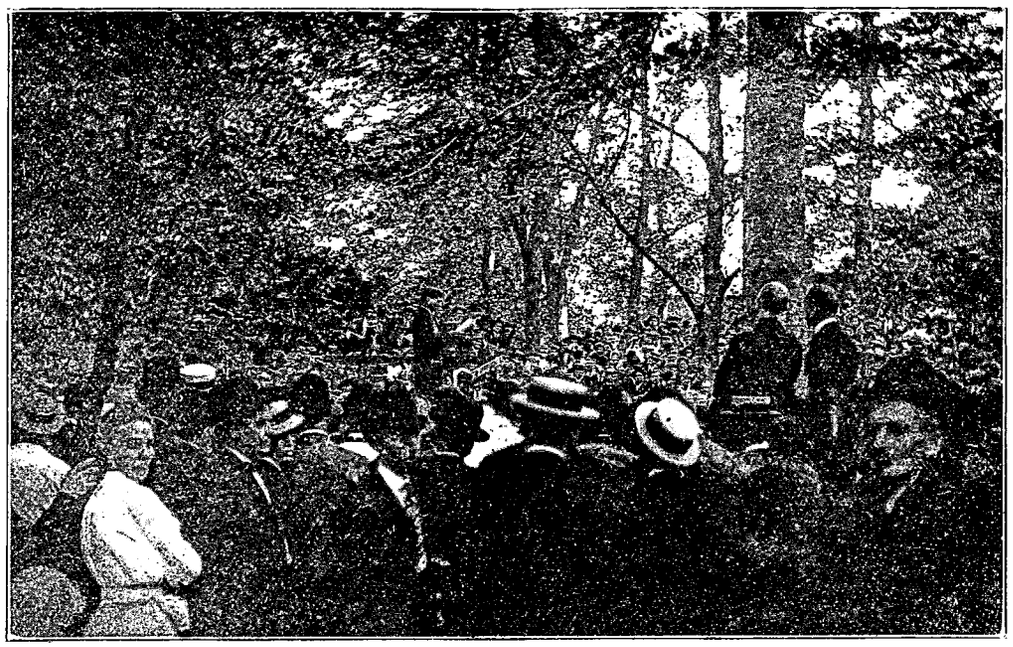
Fifth Ward Propaganda League—Muncie, Ind.

Growing in Muncie. The socialists in Muncie started their meetings at the homes of the different comrades until May 30th. when they moved into their present headquarters, which are airy and commodious, and will seat 300 people. The comrades are now giving lectures and getting the best speakers possible, and at all their meetings they are turning folks away because the hall is not large enough. Local Muncie started with twelve members and now has eighty-three, twenty of whom are women who are among the most earnest and active workers for the organization At present the comrades are engaged on a plan for carrying on a house to house distribution of literature. Comrade Harman is Chairman of the Local; James Conley secretary, William Conley treasurer and Comrade Ellis is the literary agent. Fraternally Geo. Turner.

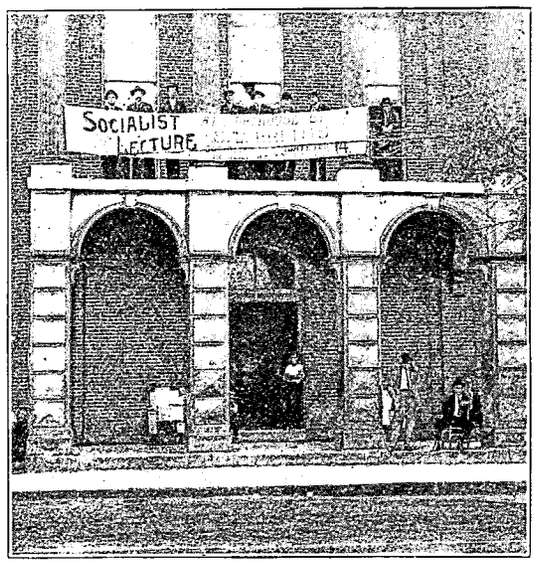
To fight Diaz. A. I. Villarreal writes us that the Mexican refugees—recently liberated from prison, are about to start a newspaper as "a vehicle of our agitation, as a hub of the fighting organization that we propose to build." Comrade Villarreal advises us that the Mexican comrades desire very earnestly to start with a circulation of 10,000 subscriptions. The paper will be printed in Spanish, at Los Angeles. Subscription rates will be $2.00 a year; $1.10 for six months.
A. I. Villarreal. Address 420 W. 4th. St., Los Angeles, Calif.

It looks rather warlike to see the soldiers' tents pitched near the station at Brockville, Ontario, Canada, and fifty Government murderers marching around with gun and bayonet ready to tackle the Grand Trunk strikers. One soldier who refused to take up arms against the strikers was up for court marshal last night but he refused to allow Col. Wm. Buell settle his case but appealed to the district. Isn't it a funny world! Sometimes the people are hanged for murder and again they are court marshalled for refusing to kill striking workmen. By L. S. G. Such things are putting the workers wise. They are refusing to serve in the armies of Capitalism. They are refusing to shoot down the men and women of the working class. They are developing class consciousness, and when the workers stand together AS A CLASS the supremacy of Capitalism will be at an end.

The Francisco Ferrer Assn. in New York City plans to partake of the world-wide celebration to honor the memory of Prof. Ferrer, on October 13th. One of the aims of the Association is the establishment of such schools in America as Ferrer founded and gave his life for in Spain. Those interested are requested to address Dr. E. B. Foote, 120 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.



Warren Meeting, Dayton, Ohio. Photo by S. E. Snyder



Somerset, Kentucky. The above is a photo of some comrades who attended the recent convention at Somerset, Ky.: Comrade S. V. Brents, congressional candidate for Clinton County, State Secretary Lanferseik, of Newport and several others. Somerset Local is still young but the Comrades are planning to carry on a whirlwind educational campaign, selling books and literature and offering lectures and speeches besides. Keep your eyes on Somerset.

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From our little Comrade
Malvina Milder, San Francisco.

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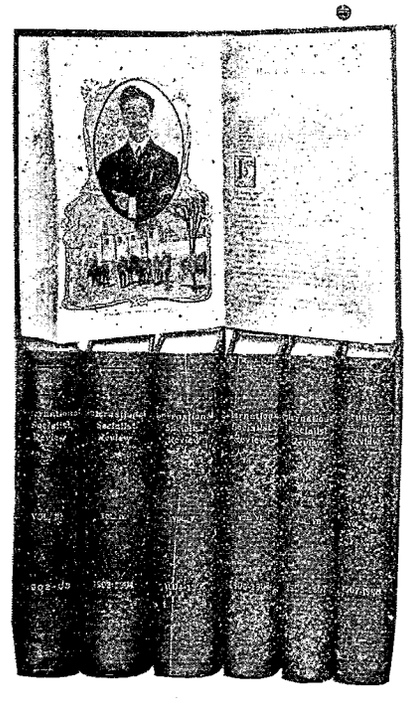
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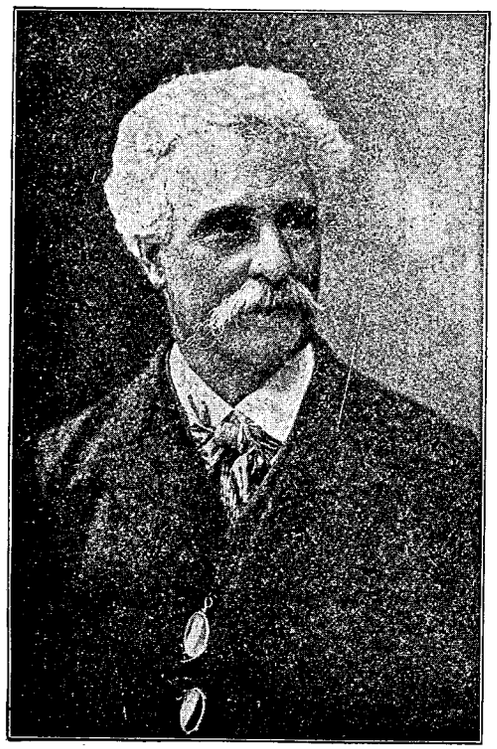
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NOVEMBER, 1910 PRICE TEN CENTS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class

Working Class Politics
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Los Angeles Conspiracy
Unionist

Insurrection Rather Than War
Gustave Hervé

White Slavery In America
Gustavus Myers

Study Course In Socialism
Mary E. Marcy

Colonel Roosevelt
Prof. Masaryk

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn

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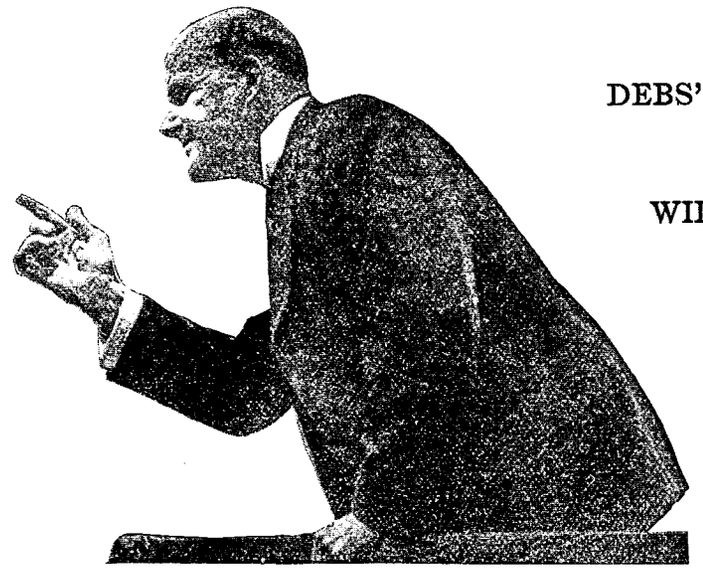
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Vol. XI NOVEMBER, 1910 No. 5

WORKING CLASS POLITICS



FROM

DEBS' CHICAGO SPEECH

BY

WILLIAM CHERNEY

THE campaign of the Socialist party of Cook county, Illinois, was formally opened on September 18th, Eugene V. Debs being the principal speaker. A vast concourse of people were assembled at Riverview Park where the meeting took place. Below will be found some extracts from the speech of Debs, in which he emphasized the necessity of industrial unity as the only means of effective political action. Said Debs:

We live in the capitalist system, so-called because it is dominated by the capitalist class. In this system the capitalists are the rulers and the workers the subjects. The capitalists are in a decided minority and yet they rule because of the ignorance of the working class.

So long as the workers are divided, economically and politically, they will remain in subjection, exploited of what they produce and treated with contempt by the parasites who live out of their labor.

The economic unity of the workers must first be effected before there can be any progress toward emancipation. The interests of the millions of wage workers are identical, regardless of nationality, creed or sex, and if they will only open their eyes to this simple, self-evident fact, the greatest obstacle will have been overcome and the day of victory will draw near.

The primary need of the workers is

industrial unity and by this I mean their organization in the industries in which they are employed as a whole instead of being separated into more or less impotent unions according to their crafts. Industrial unionism is the only effective means of economic organization and the quicker the workers realize this and unite within one compact body for the good of all, the sooner will they cease to be the victims of ward-heeling labor politicians and accomplish something of actual benefit to themselves and those dependent upon them. In Chicago where the labor grafters, posing as union leaders, have so long been permitted to thrive in their iniquity, there is especially urgent need of industrial unionism, and when this is fairly under way it will express itself politically in a class conscious vote of and for the working class.

So long as the workers are content with conditions as they are, so long as they are satisfied to belong to a craft union under the leadership of those who are far more interested in drawing their own salaries and feathering their own nests with graft than in the welfare of their followers, so long, in a word, as the workers are meek and submissive followers, mere sheep, they will be fleeced, and no one will hold them in greater contempt than the very grafters and parasites who fatten out of their misery.

It is not Gompers, who banquets with Belmont and Carnegie, and Mitchell, who is paid and pampered by the plutocrats, who are going to unite the workers in their struggle for emancipation. The civic federation, which was organized by the master class and consists of plutocrats, politicians and priests, in connivance with socalled labor leaders, who are used as decoys to give that body the outward appearance of representing both capital and labor, is the staunch supporter of trade-unions and the implacable foe of industrial unionism and Socialism, and this in itself should be sufficient to convince every intelligent worker that the trade union under its present leadership and, as now used, is more beneficial to the capitalist class than it is to the workers, seeing that it is the means of keeping them disunited and pitted against each other, and as an inevitable result, in wage slavery.

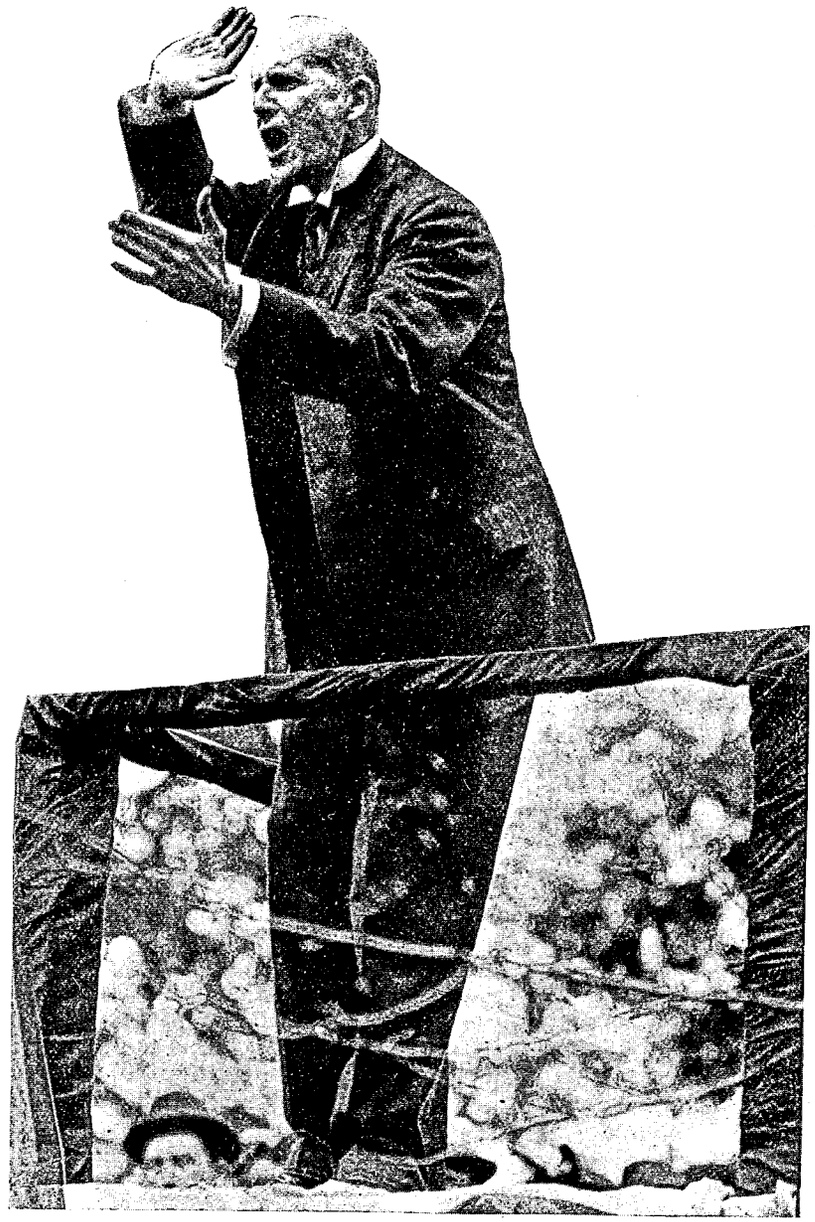
The workers themselves must take the initiative in uniting their forces for effective economic and political action; the leaders will never do it for them. They must no longer suffer themselves to be deceived by the specious arguments of their betrayers, who blatantly boast of their unionism that they may traffic in it and sell out the dupes who blindly follow them. I have very little use for labor leaders in general and none at all for the kind who feel their self-importance and are so impressed by their own wisdom that where they lead their dupes are expected to blindly follow without a question. Such "leaders" lead their victims to the shambles and deliver them over for a consideration and this is possible only among craft-divided wage-slaves who are kept apart for the very purpose that they may feel their economic helplessness and rely upon some "leader" to do something for them.

Economic unity will be speedily followed by political unity. The workers once united in one great industrial union will vote a united working class ticket. Not only this, but only when they are so united can they fit themselves to take control of industry when the change comes from wage-slavery to economic freedom. It is precisely because it is the mission of industrial unionism to unite the workers in harmonious cooperation in the industries in which they are employed, and by their enlightened inter-dependence and self-imposed discipline prepare them for industrial mastery and self-control when the hour strikes, thereby backing up with their economic power the verdict they render at the ballot box, it is precisely because of this fact that every Socialist, every class-conscious worker should be an industrial unionist and strive by all the means at his command to unify the workers in the all-embracing bonds of industrial unionism.

The Socialist party is the party of the workers, organized to express in political terms their determination to break their fetters and rise to the dignity of free men. In this party the workers must unite and develop their political power to conquer and abolish the capitalist political state and clear the way for industrial and social democracy.

But the new order can never be established by mere votes alone. This must be the result of industrial development and intelligent economic and political organization, necessitating both the industrial union and the political party of the workers to achieve their emancipation.

In this work, to be successfuly accomplished, woman must have an equal part with man. If the revolutionary movement of the workers stands for anything it stands for the absolute equality of the sexes and when this fact is fully realized and the working woman takes her place side by side with the working man all along the battlefront the great struggle will soon be crowned with victory.





"Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools who came to scoff, remained to pray."

* * *

"A man cannot help being deeply impressed by what he says. He seems to speak direct from his heart."

This was a part of a conversation overheard at the outskirts of the large crowd at Riverview Park, Sunday, Sept. 18, while the thundering applause and cheers split the air and re-echoed on every side, as the last words of the address left the speaker's lips.

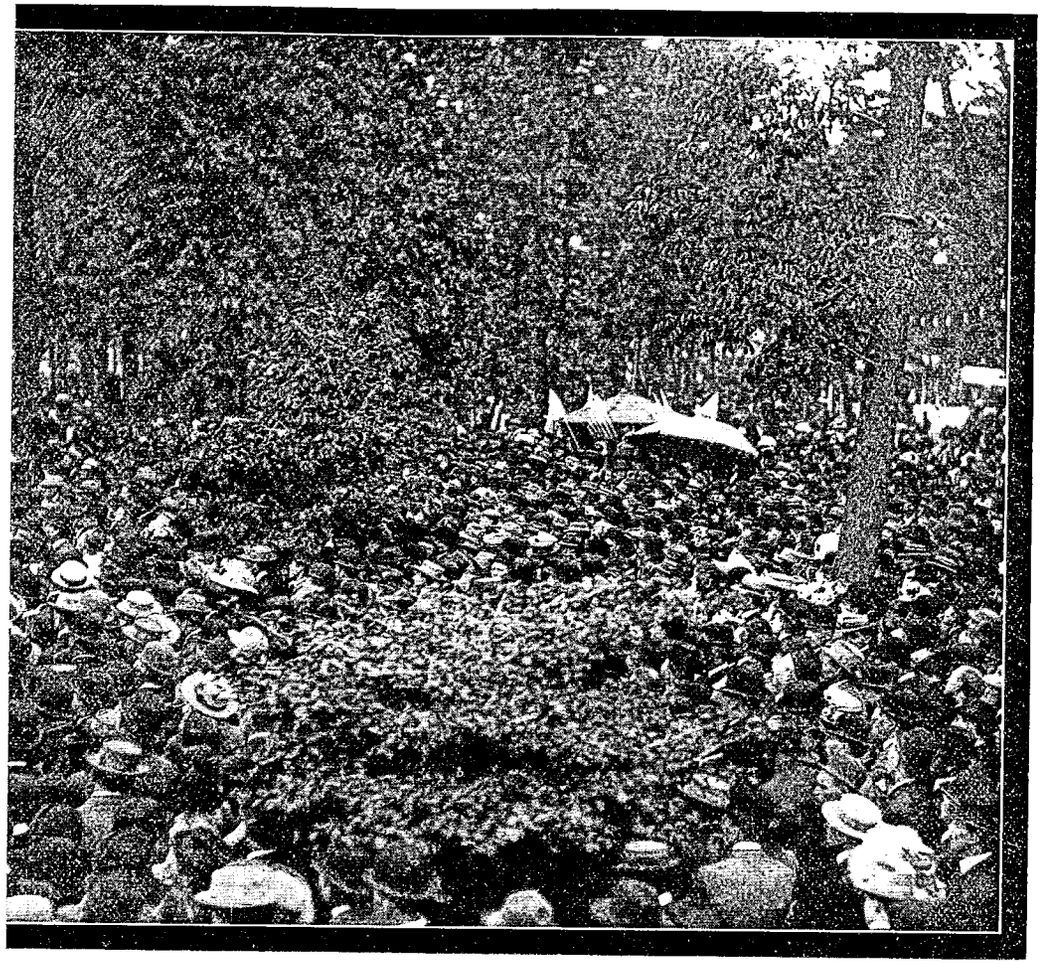
Of course it was Debs. "Our Gene," as we call him. No other man could have such a magnetic influence on the thousands of workingmen and women as had gathered there to listen.

It was a great speech. I knew it would be. When I met him at the hotel in the morning his smile seemed to show that he was at his best. Scarcely had we entered the room, and he had thrown aside his baggage, than he was full of enthusiasm about the rally.

"I tell you I am feeling fine to-day," he said. "If I don't make a good speech it is going to be my fault." So we knew what to expect.

Yet as far as that goes, he is always jovial, and bubbling over with enthusiasm. Well along in years, he is as happy in the work he is doing as a school boy when he gets his diploma. Socialism is a serious thing with him. It is the only thing. Yet he always manages to keep everybody around in good humor by his brilliant witticisms and personal anecdotes.

When we left the downtown district



in the afternoon he kept this up all the way. He was full of stories, and every now and then the Republican and Democratic parties would be the butt of the joke.

Of course he had to tell one on his own press agent, Brewer. "Whenever we leave for a trip," said Debs, "my suitcase is packed full and Brewer's is almost empty. In a few days mine is empty and his is full. Of course this may be all right, but I notice that very often I cannot find my whiskbroom and such."

We all laughed—even Brewer.

Then he spied a straw hat on the walk and calling attention to it exclaimed, "Now I won't be lonesome." We looked —he had one, too.

"Stop talking, Gene," said Brewer. "You will be hoarse before we get to the park." "Ah, go on, I am only practicing," he replied with a smile, and kept on.

Such is the man. Elderly in years, yet young in spirit. Working all the time, too. Continually on a speaking tour, he brings the message of emancipation home to thousands of workingmen, and leaves them inspired and enthused.

Nothing daunts him. He is fearless as well as tireless. The master class, with its corrupt judges and politicians, hates him, and "we love him for the enemies he has made."

The spirit of the man is clearly shown in a message that he gave us younger men here in Chicago. These are the words: "Let nothing that may arise from the earth, or fall from the skies, or be spewed from Hell, daunt or discourage you in the work which you are doing."

THE LOS ANGELES CONSPIRACY

AGAINST

ORGANIZED LABOR

BY

UNIONIST



ABOUT midnight on Friday, the 30th of September, the main office of the Los Angeles Times was wrecked by an explosion, the cause of which is not at this time positively known.

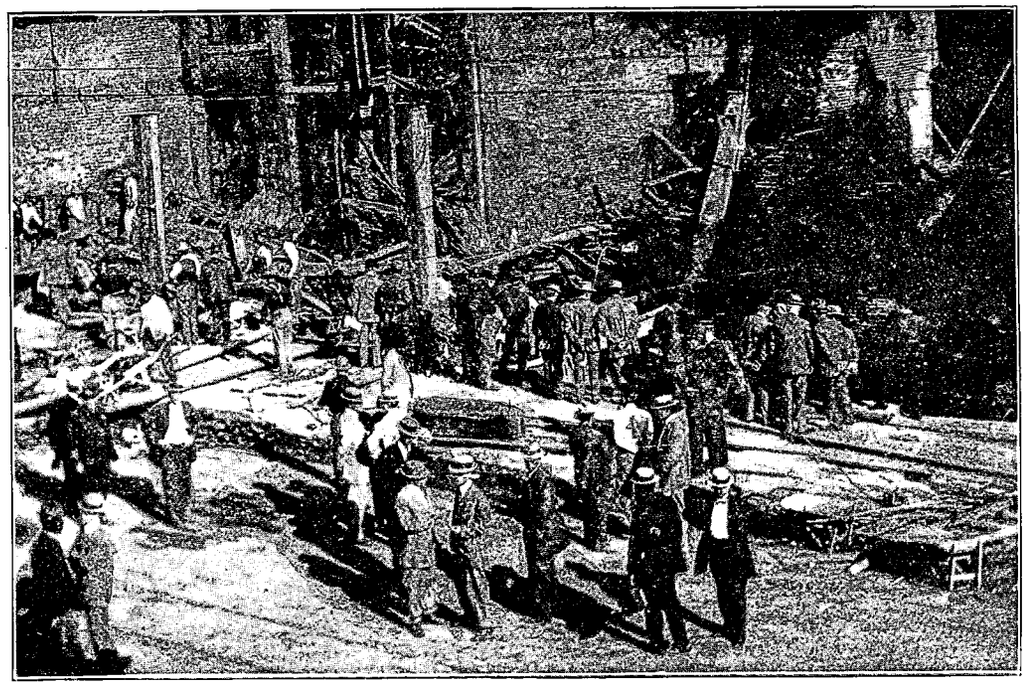
Almost instantly the entire building became enveloped in one vast sheet of flame; and, in the course of one hour, nothing remained but the solid stone front and a mass of twisted girders.

Of the fifty-odd occupants of the building at the time, twenty-one were killed and a number injured. (These men were all DESPISED workingmen). While the fire yet raged, special editions of the evening press were issued each containing a conspicuous pronouncement signed by one of the Times editors, deliberately accusing the unions of having dynamited the building. To support this monstrous and criminal accusation there is not at this time one particle of evidence.

It is interesting to note in this connection that in the course of the next twenty-four hours following the explosion, bombs were conveniently "discovered" (?) in one case by the infamous Detective Rico, near the residence of General Otis, the Times proprietor and

again at the residence of the secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. In the latter case, the bomb, after the parties concerned in the "discovery" (?) had removed themselves to a safe distance, consented to "go off" in token of asservation.

To those who remember how at Cripple Creek the Pinkerton agents of the mine owners repeatedly dynamited buildings and destroyed life, "discovered" bombs and instigated riots, in order to inflame public indignation against the striking miners—this ghastly repetition of those hideous methods of suppressing working-class organizations will cause a shudder, a flux of implacable anger—but no belief—from the Los Angeles people's paper.



There are several significant facts to which I wish to call the attention of readers of the REVIEW:

General Otis was prominent among the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association which had publicly and privately sworn to suppress the labor unions in the West, at ANY COST.

General Otis has been one of the bitterest opponents of any and all progressive movements on the part of wage-workers. His paper has been a scab shop and for many years the TIMES has not received any support from the labor unions.

At the time of the disaster General Otis was conveniently out of the city.

The Times building was very heavily insured.

The morning after the explosion, the Times printed a paper in an auxiliary office where (and this is strange, indeed) the Times had maintained a SCHOOL FOR PRINTERS.

For several years, during which General Otis has fought every step taken by organized labor for the betterment of the working class, the circulation of the TIMES has not MADE any *material headway*.

Says the Examiner: "In addition to the declaration that the building had been dynamited, there was the theory that the explosion came from an ignition of the stock of ink, oils and highly inflammable and explosive materials used in the printing and kindred processes."

The only men killed in the explosion were workers, a class of men whom the M. & M. Association have always held in extreme contempt.

The effect of the explosion has been thousands of dollars worth of FREE ADVERTISING for the TIMES. The persistent lies circulated against the trades unions have won public opinion to the side of the exploiters of labor.

Not a single CAPITALIST was injured in the alleged plot against the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

The unions had everything to lose and NOTHING TO GAIN by violence.

The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the TIMES had everything to gain through a disaster which could be fraudulently laid at the door of union labor.

WAS THIS A HUGE CONSPIRACY AGAINST UNION LABOR in Los Angeles?

* * *

The Saturday morning edition of the Times, printed at the auxiliary office by the "school for printers," consisted of one page—chiefly head-lines, announcing that the trade unionists had destroyed the Times building with dynamite bombs.

Nobody ought to be surprised at the position of the Times. If the city of Los Angeles should be destroyed by an earthquake, the next morning would find General Otis printing some kind of a sheet accusing the UNIONS of bomb throwing.

Some of us hoped for a squarer deal from the other papers, but with the exception of the Record, papers which have fought Otis for years have united to place the blame for the disaster upon some union man.

Nearly all articles begin by praising "law-abiding members of trade unions," but after a few lines wander off upon the supposition that the Los Angeles outrage was committed by some "bad" union man.

Says General Otis in an interview published in the Examiner:

"The purpose of the fiends who blew up our building and killed our men was further exemplified in the placing of bombs under my house. The discovery of this, and the one under Mr. Zeehandelaar's residence, proved conclusively that the explosion wrecking the Times building was not gas nor anything else but an outrage."

It seems a little peculiar to all intelligent men and women, that General Otis, arriving upon the scene of the fire should have been instantaneously able to lay his (mental) fingers upon UNION culprits. He has made the exploits of Sherlock Holmes look like the amateur methods of a school boy.

Personally, I spent a great deal of time quietly investigating for the REVIEW.

I have the statement of a business man located very close to the old Times building. At the first shock or explosion, he advised me that he rushed from his doorway to the street and saw flames pouring from every window of the Times building. It would have been an impossibility for dynamite to ignite the building in so short a time. Dynamite does not produce FLAMES.

Two men who were in the building at the time of the explosion and several others told me that the composing room had been filled with gas. A telegraph operator, named Furman, is reported to have become overcome with gas fumes and left the building in a stifling condition.. Ten minutes later the explosion occurred. I have been unable to locate him and to verify his story. And several men who reported as above, have since CHANGED their minds and THEIR STORIES. Evidently some sort of pressure was brought to bear upon them. Either they have been intimidated or they have been rewarded for this change of heart.

Now, of course, if it can be proved that the explosion was caused by leaking gas, or by a careless handling of oils and combustible materials the Times Mirror Company will it have a score of damage suits upon its hands and it will experience much difficulty in collecting insurance money.

From every point of view it was to the interests of General OTIS to THROW THE BLAME UPON THE LABOR UNIONS.

It was Rigo, the notorious tool, who "discovered" (?) the bomb at the Otis home. Rigo, who so freely perjured himself in the well known De Lara case. We have grave suspicions that Rigo knows the man who placed the bomb there AS WELL AS HE KNOWS HIMSELF. But we have grave doubts about his being willing to disclose this knowledge. Self-preservation is still the first law of life.

One of the well-known methods of the modern detective is to manufacture evidence in ORDER TO DISCOVER IT.

It is very true that working men and women have said many impolite and unkind things about General Otis—perhaps almost as harsh as the conduct of General Otis toward the toilers of Los Angeles would merit, but it is doubtful if anything equal in style, and vitriolic denunciation to the speech made by Hiram Johnson, Republican candidate for Governor, in the Los Angeles auditorium, has ever been published.

"In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who sold their birthright; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished, but we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. This man has attacked me on the only side to which I will not respond, concerning which rather than respond, I would lose the governorship of the state of California. He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at, when in, looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is, Harrison Gray Otis."

Luckily for Mr. Johnson, he comes from the capitalist class and has not been accused of blowing up the Times building. Fortunately he was able to give us an accurate pen-picture of General Otis, without fear of the jail.

Upon the Monday following the Times disaster, the socialists and unionists in Los Angeles were to have a parade. Preparations had been concluded two weeks before the date set for the march.

The Chief of Police advised the Workers' Committee that no transparencies would be allowed except those approved by the Mayor and himself. Seven wagonloads of arms and ammunition were conveyed from the depot to the city hall on Saturday and the streets were filled with soldiers.

Word was passed about that if the workers marched down the streets of Los Angeles the soldiers and detectives would start a riot and shoot down the paraders in order to strengthen the belief all over the United States that the Los Angeles socialists and unionists were a lot of DANGEROUS characters. The parade was called off. We did not give the enemies of the working class a chance to destroy us.

But the death of a few workingmen means nothing to a brute like General Otis. When we talk of a peaceful parade, the streets are thronged with thugs and soldiers and when we lose our lives through the greed and deliberate carelessness and criminal niggardliness of our masters, every means for PUBLICITY IS CLOSED AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS and the crimes are LAID AT OUR DOORS.

The Class Struggle is the real issue in Los Angeles. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association will carry things so far that they will kill the goose that lays the golden egg. The workers all over California are rousing their comrades into line for a great battle in the coming election. If we don't carry this whole end of California and put some men in office who will show these lying, murderous money perverts how to respect the working class, it won't be our fault, and we will keep at it until the NEXT TIME.

The indignities this band of capitalist pirates here in Los Angeles have heaped upon the working class is doing more for socialism than anything else in the world. Our meetings are getting bigger every day and we can't teach our comrades fast enough what socialism means.

Our only hope lies in UNITED political and industrial action and we are learning to UNITE.

When the Big Day comes we will meet the forces of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association not by dynamiting buildings and killing defenseless working people, but in the open. The slaves will get the shake out of their knees and the cringe out of their souls and will show the exploiters and traducers of labor that LABOR and LABOR ONLY IS KING.

In that day—when profits are declared at an end and the working class come into their own—General Otis and his gang of lying robbers will be relegated to the ignominy and obscurity they so richly deserve.

General Otis admits that he "expected" the calamity. What led him to expect it and ARE HIS OWN HANDS CLEAN? This is the question labor, all over the United States, is asking today.

OTIS was the CHIEF beneficiary through the disaster. Perhaps it would be well to do some INVESTIGATING in HIS DIRECTION.

Employers have ever regarded labor unions as hostile to their rights; they have so regarded them because it has been the business of organized workmen to get shorter hours, better conditions, safer tools, and a larger share of production than the workman individually could obtain.

—Clarence S. Darrow.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augumentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

—Karl Marx.



IGOROT HUT.

THE BONTOC IGOROTS

BY

HENRY FLURY.

THIS is as strange a corner of the world as any in which a Socialist could find himself. There are comparatively few places where Socialism is unnecessary, and Bontoc is one of them.

Although there are two thousand inhabitants (not "souls," because the natives are not "Christianized"), yet there is positively no opportunity for propaganda owing to the fact that Capitalism has not been developed.

Bontoc is an Igorot village situated in the heart of the Caraballo mountains in northern Luzon, which is the largest island of the Philippine group. It is the capital of the mountain province and can only be reached after a three day's trip on horseback along one of the most beautiful, and incidentally, one of the most dangerous, trails in the islands. The scenery along the route is magnificent and awe-inspiring; in places the trail narrows to a few inches and is only a mere scratch on the unbroken precipice which goes hurtling downwards for hundreds of feet. As one looks down, the azure river can be seen threading its way, now among the slate colored rocks and boulders, now among the diminutive pines. The mountain air is bracing, and one seems to breathe the very atmosphere of freedom.

The natives are of an ancient Malay stock, the most ancient in the Philippines, and are one of the several uncivilized hill tribes or Igorots. There is nothing exceptionally remarkable about them except that they represent as a type the half million Igorots in northern Luzon; are extremely conservative, have beautiful physiques (which show to advantage) and are economically independent. Sociologically, they are interesting.

They have no civilization, no laws, no government or chiefs, nó priests or poverty. In spite of a grudgingly small amount of soil on the steep mountain sides, the Bontoc Igorots manage to live comfortably. There is no agriculture, yet by the sign of the pointed stick (the weapon of offense on the hostile soil) they manage to get a good crop of rice or camotes (sweet potatoes), which are the two staples. Both men and women work freely in the fields, ofttimes clothed in Nature's garb alone, driving their pointed sticks into the ground to turn the sod, in unison with a simple song.

They have no government; they have social organization. It is a balance between agricultural communism and political or regulated individualism. Each man (or woman) believes himself endowed with natural sagacity and competent to govern himself. The presidente (an office instituted by the Spaniards which still survives), is an Igorot appointed head of the tribe by the United States government, who is merely the mouthpiece of the people when they want anything from the government, but is in no sense a ruler or chief.

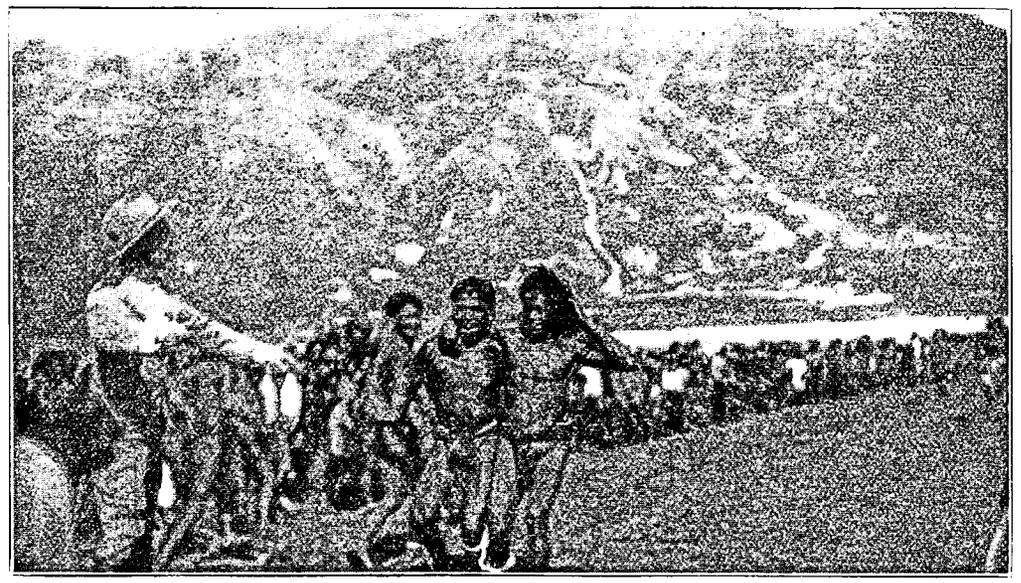
Frequent meetings of a sort of witenagemot or old men's council are held, not



IGOROTS DANCING.

so much to talk about government as about crops, the next canao (feast) and to smoke their pipes and drink tapoi (rice-cider). At planting or harvest season the work is done co-operatively, just as is the case when a newly married couple wish to have a house built. All the members of the group work associatively in communistic effort. Monogamy is general.

They are not religious or more properly ecclesiastical; priest-craft does not flourish, and the four centuries of Spanish occupation have not been able to convert them to Christianity. Any progress of ecclesiastism that has been made in the



THREE-LEGGED RACE.

Philippines has been among the later stock, among the lowland people and Filipinos proper. The pure, free atmosphere of the mountains and the beauty of the scenery seem to breed a contempt in the breast of the Igorot for an indoor or ceremonial religion. His religion is rather an admiration of Nature and satisfaction with the completeness of his own life. He has two deities: Anito is a spirit that inspires fear. To get the better of him all that it is necessary to do is to go into the hut and shut the door or bring a crowd of people. Lumawig is rather an abstract term for natural forces and is personified for convenience rather than for the purpose of worship. To the Igorot, everything is as it has ever been. He is the ideal Conservative. There is no room for improvement, no need for it. I agree with him except in one particular—in the matter of hygiene; the infant mortality is high and the huts dirty.

The Igorot is a Conservative. Ask him why he does this or that and the answer is "Cachaoyan" (custom). Custom is all sufficing. It is his alpha and omega, the reason, the logic and the excuse of existence. Once I wanted an Igorot to accompany me on a day's journey. He argued that it was impossible for him to go.

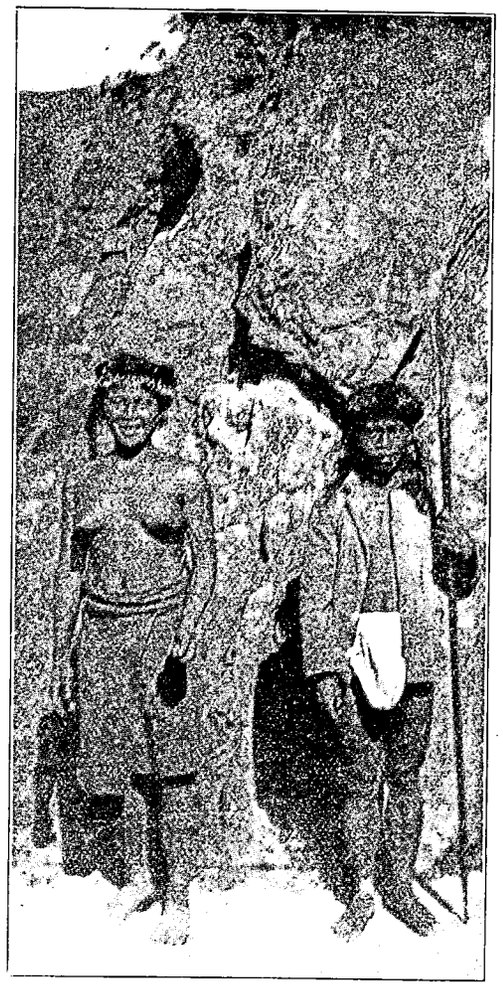
"Why?" I inquired.

"I have never been there," he said.

"Yes, but there is only one trail and I know the way," I urged.

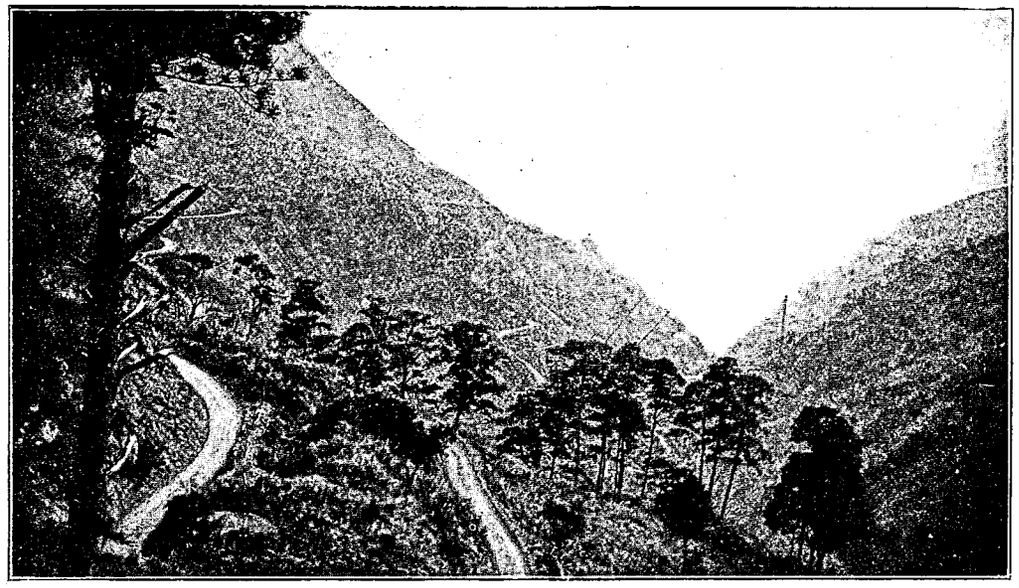
"I have never been there!" His reasoning was cogent. I desisted. This is not surprising when we remember that the basis of "civilized" law practice and government in America is based on Anglo-Saxon custom and ancient Roman law.

Comparisons are sometimes useful and the more I study the Igorots, the better does their lot seem compared to the average family in the midst of our jungles of civilization—the slums of the big cities. I have lived right in the heart of industrial society and have seen men and boys come rushing out of Baldwin's locomotive works all dirty and frowsy, crowding the street cars, pushing and struggling until I have wondered whether society had not lost something by civilization. Now, as I sit serenely smoking a cigar, watching the Bontocs leisurely wending their way homewards from rice field or potato patch in the gentle glow of the setting sun, their brown bodies blending with the shadows of evening, I know that the slum-dweller has lost his heritage. The Igorot has no need to worry about hunting a job or losing a job. Unemployment in his case means rest from toil and not annihilation. It means time for dances and canaos, time for enjoyment with his family and friends. I am holding forth no eulogy for a return to savagery, but am only drawing a comparison.



NATIVES OF BONTOC.

It is a tribute to the fair and wise treatment accorded the natives by the Americans that no American has ever lost his head, although the practice of head-hunt-



THE TRAIL TO BONTOC.

ing between tribes has only fallen into disrepute within the last two or three years. The Igorots appreciate the square deal given them by the Americans after the infamous terrorism and heartless exploitation of old Spanish days, when their rice was stolen from them, their lands confiscated and their villages often burned to the ground as sport for the king's soldiers.

An Igorot will do anything reasonable for an American, except violate a custom. One could travel from one end of the Mountain Province to the other without cost, if he wished, since the natives would furnish food for man and beast.

Look at the healthy savage whom the missionaries of trade and the traders of religion have not yet corrupted with Christianity, syphilis and the dogma of work, and then look at our miserable slaves of machines.

—Paul La Fargue.

THE COLONEL: HE TRAVELS INCOGNITO

BY

GOUROCK

The Colonel rose from his "oystermoor,"
  As colonels mostly do;
And scanned the situation o'er
  In search of something new
To further his advertising plan,
  The plan that can't be beat, oh!
A brilliant thought, "The very thing,
  I'll travel incognito."

"Hip, hip, hooray, toorooralay!
But don't you repeat it, oh!
For I am Colonel Roosevelt, and
I'm traveling incognito."

He slapped his thigh; he chuckled with glee;
  And murmured, "Most dee-lighted!
Of politicians I am *It,*
  And all the rest benighted."
He ordered forth an automobile
  In secrecy supernal.
"A breath, a word, a look, a sign;
  And 'blessings' from the Colonel."

Hip, hip, etc.

Alas for look! Alas for sign!
  For secrecy supernal!
An automo' firm has many friends
  Appended to a journal.
The Colonel swore in vigorous wrath,
  By brimstone pits eternal;
"If any advertising's to do,
  You leave it to the Colonel."

Hip, hip, etc.

The wind is ill that blows no good
  When properly adjusted;
And "wind" was sure conspicuous,
  For Teddy can be trusted.
He dandled the "kids" and patted their curls,
  And bought them sugar-candy;
For when elections are in view
  Such treatment comes in handy.

Hip, hip, etc.

And thus and so, with matters aright,
  Adjusted as they ought to,
He sped upon adventure bent
  Until by accident brought to.
A gaping crowd were soon around;
  The Fates were all attention;
"Oh! by the way, I'm Colonel Ted;
  But don't you ever mention."

Hip, hip, etc.

He topped the "dump" around the mine,
  And bird's-eye-viewed the scene o'er;
And various other experiments
  Which we will draw a screen o'er.
Dust-begrimed from head to foot,
  He certainly was no shirker
To prove himself a worker, too—
  That is, he worked the worker.

Hip, hip, etc.

Thus and so are the poor beguiled,
  In Plute's unholy mission;
To serve the ends and purposes of
  A petty politician.
By holy church; by platform, press,
  And personal conversation,
They seek to fix, 'twixt worker and worked,
  A mutual relation.

Hip, hip, etc.

Oh! proletarian, dense and dull,
  And ignorant in your welfare!
When will you take the wealth you make,
  And banish such heinous hell-fare?
Shoulder to shoulder in firm array
  Let's hope we soon shall meet, oh!
The Colonel then to save his skin
  Had best be incognito.

Hip, hip, hooray, toorooralay!
Let one and all repeat, oh!
"The Colonel then, to save his skin,
Had best be incognito."

INSURRECTION RATHER THAN WAR

BY

GUSTAVE HERVÉ

FROM "MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG."



HERVE.

WHAT is a Country?

For anybody who is not satisfied with words, or anybody who wants to forget for a moment the fantastic definitions of the Country which have been taught him at school, a Country is a group of men living under the same laws; because they themselves or their ancestors have been brought willingly or by force, more often by force, to obey the some sovereign, the same government.

* * *

Patriotism groups men according to their land of origin, as decided by the vicissitudes of history; within every country, thanks to the patriotic link, rich and poor unite against the foreigner.

Socialism groups men, poor against rich, class against class, without taking into account the differences of race and language, and over and above the frontiers traced by history.

* * *

To the poor, to the crowds of lesser civil servants, small traders without credit, peasants without capital, the propertyless mass and the multitude of domestic servants of both sexes, falls the lot of ignorance, painful or loathsome

toil, dangerous or unhealthy trades, long hours which make one disgusted with work and drive men to drink and women even lower still. To them starvation wages or insignificant profits; to them the insecurity of the morrow, the rigours of the law at the slightest fault, and if illness, old age, or unemployment comes, privations and dark misery with, especially for women, its procession of sorrows and shame.

That's what a Country is—a monstrous social inequality, the shameful exploitation of a nation by a privileged class!

* * *

There is nothing more natural, more logical, than that in every Country the rich should be patriots! Nobody would wonder at THEIR fighting and getting killed occasionally for THEIR Country. Yet, even so, in France ever since the reign of Napoleon they have found means to avoid conscription.

* * *

But what confounds intelligence is that in all countries the beggars, poverty-stricken, disinherited, the over-worked beasts of burden, ill-fed, badly housed, badly clothed, badly educated, as are three-fourths of the inhabitants of every country, march like one man at the first call, whatever may be the cause of war.

* * *

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that the pariahs ples they shear be profoundly convinced that the interests of the rich and of the poor are identical in every nation.

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that pariahs of every country consider the rich countryman who exploit them, not as enemies, but as friends, and on certain days as brethren.

Patriotism in every nation masks the class antagonisms to the great profit of the leading classes; through it, they prolong and facilitate its domination.

But patriotism is not only at the present hour the moral upholder of the capitalist system; it serves as a pretext for the keeping up of formidable permanent armies, which are the material upholder, the last bulwark of the privileged classes.

The pretext, the only avowable and avowed aim of the army, is to defend the county against the foreigners; but once dressed in the country's livery, when the barrack training has killed in him every intelligence, every consciousness of his own interests, the man of the people is but a gendarme in the service of the exploiters against his brethren of misery.

* * *

The proletarians have no country.

The differences which exist between the present countries are all superficial differences.

The capitalist regime is the same in all countries; and as it cannot work without a minimum of political liberties, all countries which live under a capitalist system enjoy elementary liberties which cannot anywhere be denied any longer to the proletariat. Even in Russia, the autocratic regime is today beaten to death.

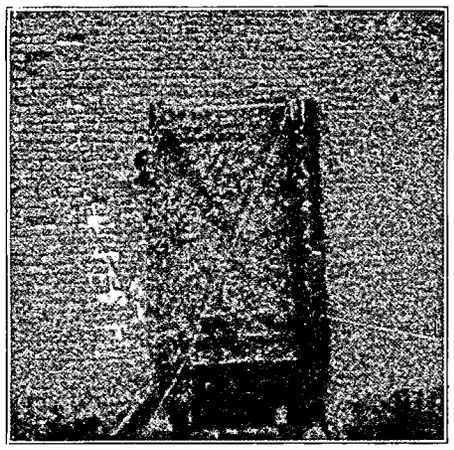
The proletarians who give their lives for the present countries are dupes, stupid brutes.

The only war which is not a deception is that at the end of which, if they are victors, proletarians may hope by the expropriation of the capitalist class to put their hands on the social wealth accumulated by human genius for generations past.

There is only one war which is worthy of intelligent men, it is civil war, social revolution.

* * *

Whoever be the aggressor, rather insurrection than war!



A SLAVE PEN.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS

AUTHOR OF HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES.

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ANY condition, it may be safely premised, that can even slightly shock law-makers and the ruling forces represented by them into an expression of horror must be incontrovertibly true. That very manifestation of itself supplies the conclusive proof. To comprehend the force of this it is only necessary to scan the roll of other incessant horrors to which the paramount class is callous or which it insists upon perpetuating. The extraordinary phenomenon of such a class being perturbed by any horror whatsoever is then translucently seen.

Thousands of miners are every year maimed or blown into dissolution or entombed alive. But these are such trivial, perfunctory incidents that in that infallible register of the emotions of the propertied class—the stock market—not a quiver is felt. The fine susceptibilities of that class arrogating to itself so exclusive a possession of refinement, culture, piety and philanthropy are nowise disturbed. Of what importance is it that a multitude of widows and orphans are thus violently deprived of loving providers and left to shift for themselves in the extremes of grief, destitution and misery? They are all of the impoverished class, obscure, gaunt people, having no recognized place in society except for purposes of statistical classification. Imagination must not be wasted over their sufferings; it must be reserved for the one great terrible tragedy which never fails to shake the very vitals of the capitalist class. Acute, indeed, is the quickened imagination of this class, and intense its wrath, when anything looms up to threaten or interfere with its profits. Then the occasion, obviously, becomes a national calamity, and the whole country rings with tragic cries of rage.

The same governing forces which are forbidden to enact and enforce adequate laws for the protection of the lives of the workers are ordered to speed to the relief of the oppressed rich. And they do it in post-haste dispatch. Legislatures which amuse themselves with the yearly pastime of torturing labor legislation to death, and the courts which prove their claims of magestic judicial fitness by squelching most of such measures as have been painfully passed for the benefit of the workers—these and every other function of government hustle into activity. All unite in the one sublime effort of hastening to show their delicate consideration for the sufferings of capitalists by passing and enforcing every act demanded. But the slaughter of workingmen is no material matter; workers are the cheapest of all tools and can easily be replaced. Not with the dead of the working class nor with their survivors is capitalist society concerned, but only with its own immunity. Officials go through a mummery of investigating; reports are soon forthcoming traducing the victims

with having been the culpable, and the mine owners wax secure in their palaces.

When some potentate, no matter how bloody his record, however steeped in tyranny and murder, passes away the cheap hirelings who parade in our loftiest offices rush their effusive messages of condolence, and no mere private messages are they, but invested with the full blaze of official publicity. The death of a great capitalist moves all that is powerful in society to professions of mourning and to eulogy. But where is to be seen the faintest symptom of concern, much less of horror, over the abounding, never-ceasing slaughter in all of the channels of industry? Within a decade, one single decade, 53,000 railroad workers were killed while at work, and more than 800,000 maimed or (as the official phrase indifferently goes) "otherwise injured." Killed or maimed in the very act of earning their living, which fact is of no import to capitalist society; killed and maimed in the act of piling up profits for a group of schemers, which fact is also of no relevance to the aforesaid schemers, provided the profits continue. Murder and profits go together—a fundamental which orthodox political economists still have to discover; and this all-encircling murder causes no tremor to ruling society and all swayed by its code. Only when it is feared that some legislation, paltry enough, may be passed to compel the use of life-saving equipment or to reduce the racking hours of labor is perturbation felt, and it is one angrily bent upon pushing that legislation out of the way.

The steady scourge of death goes on endlessly among the workers on railroads and in factories, mills, shops and mines. Violent death kills off an immense number, estimated at nearly a million a year; and millions not slain outright are subjected to the slow agony of being swept to their graves by diseases contracted in foul working or living quarters. And what neither violence nor disease suffice to do, the worry and strain and all of the other evil factors inseparable from the insecurity and privations of the system conspire to do.

Do these conditions arouse any outcry? None. When opposition to such a system shows itself, the capitalist has his ready reply, and it is a reply hoary with antiquated service. His very victims—the living victims—are blandly assured that the system is a most rational, beneficial one, although care is taken not to specify **whom** it benefits. All of his retainers take their cue acordingly; they know it well by instinct and training;—the mouthy politician, the sleek clergyman, the servile editor, and, above all, those prime lackeys of capitalism, the judges of the courts. No mere accident is it, but a consistent program, that virtually every time a disabled worker sues a corporation for redress his case is found to be "without merit," nor is it fortuitous that the vast number of prison inmates are poor men, women and children.

Only one consolation, it may be said in passing, is allowed the worker. How profound is the interest of the government (which is capitalism's agent) in the welfare of the worker! See how this touching solicitude is carried out; how the government regularly collects statistics of "industrial accidents," and distributes the information. No objection must be raised to the exploitation and slaughter of workers, but (what a glorious privilege!) he is allowed to know how many of his brothers and sisters are yearly killed and maimed and how many die of this disease or that! The life of a worker is worth no expenditure, but millions may be properly spent in investigating **how** he dies. Here is to be seen in all its glory the full triumph of that loudly-proclaimed bourgeois reform which is to correct all evils—that reform called "Publicity."

But what, it may be impatiently asked, has all of this to do with the white slave traffic? It is in these conditions that slavery of every form has its root and substance. If capitalist society cares nothing for the slaughtered, it cares still less for the fate of their survivors. What, indeed, is the fate of these? What becomes of the sons and daughters—particularly the daughters—of slain, disabled or sick workers? Of the children of the tens of millions of workers living in cankering care, sometimes in utter destitution, and always in precarious uncer-

tainty? If strong, able men bend down prematurely under the stress, and so frequently take refuge in drink or resort to theft, to what extremities are women and girls, with their narrow opportunities and their weaker physical organization, driven? If they lack a supporter, or they cannot get work, or their pay is too scant, and their homes (should they have any) mean and miserable, what do they do?

* * * *

These piercing questions, opening up the whole depths and ramifications of the industrial infamy, never trouble the master class which instinctively knows that the solution will mean its own extermination. It is most commonplace knowledge—even the smuggest moralizers say it—that vile conditions are the fecund breeders of every form of vice and crime. But these results of the system when taking place among the poor, are usually attributed not to conditions or environment, but to some "inherent depravity" of the workers themselves. Not content with hurling the workers into poverty and demoralizing them with all of poverty's sinister influences, capitalism, backed by theology and the authority of law, punishes the workers for the very vices and crimes into which its own system is so well calculated to force them. At the same time, it creates an entirely different code of morality for itself. Its practices entail no such terrible consequences as do those of the poor. Neither odium nor loss of caste ensues to the woman who under the cover of wealth yields herself from choice. But the poor girl who either does so voluntarily or who is forced to surrender herself because of the iron necessity of living immediately steps on the high road to the realm of the outcasts, often dies in the hells of the social underground, and her corpse is shunted away to Potter's field, or goes on the dissecting table in a medical college.

All of these facts are so familiar that the white slave agitation came not as a revelation, but purely as another significant instance of the hypocrisy of capitalist morality. Persistently silent as to the other horrors on every side—the



ALL THE FRESH AIR THESE POOR SLAVES GET IS IN THE BACK YARD OF THE DIVES, WHERE THEY ARE WATCHED BY COLORED ATTENDANTS.

slaughter of the worker and all of the system's other abominations—why should capitalist society allow itself to be aroused, even ephemerally, over the white slave traffic? Where Congress, that unfailing echo of capitalism, has long and contemptuously rejected vital measure after measure drafted for the benefit of the working class, it begins to pass acts for the suppression of the white slave traffic. This readiness of itself was suspicious; what could the impelling motive be?

The reason is transparent. Although official reports in abundance, while not going deeply into the subject nor with any clear comprehension, have pointed out in facts if not in philosophy that economic conditions lay at the bottom of all prostitution, yet no capitalist is so fool-hardy of his own interests as to allow agitation along that line. Legislators in Congress have made perfervid speeches on the horrors of the white slave traffic, but the pettifoggers did not realize or care to face this one great fact: That no case is known of a rich girl or woman being forced to walk the streets or go into a brothel. There is the salient facts; at the basis of white slavery lay poverty, and at the basis of poverty present economic conditions.

But these economic conditions are profitable to a certain class. The economic resources and establishments of the country are owned by this definite class, headed by the most powerful plutocrats in the world. These great capitalists command the power of the nation, and tolerate no interference with the conditions from which they derive their stupendous wealth. The more servile, degraded and defenseless the status of the working class, the greater is the power of the capitalist class.

On the other hand, the white slave traffic is merely one of the results of those conditions. Legislating against results does not offset the conditions. No lawmaking body at present would dare to do anything seriously contrary to the interests of the great capitalists. But with the white slavers it is a different matter. They are obscure men and women, with absolutely no power and no influence except that bought by paying protection money to police officials or petty political bosses. *They* never put a tool in Congress or a puppet on the bench. In attacking them no vested interest seems threatened, and no dividend will decline.

But as recent events have shown, even legislating against results has its indirect effects upon so indefensible a thing as the capitalist system. In allowing the white slave traffic to be uncovered, the capitalists inadvertently permitted one of the most horrible results of their own "divinely ordained" system to be exposed, and one that most poignantly touches even those blind to all other infamies of capitalism. Along with this realization came a quick lapse of interest in the actual and persistent enforcement of the law. After all, victims are only the daughters of workingmen, and the capitalist class, as a class, is not much concerned. That part of the act of Congress of 1907 declaring it to be a crime to harbor girls or women imported for immoral purposes was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, thus almost vitiating the law's effectiveness. Had the case been one of an act for the benefit of the ruling class, can anyone doubt that the omniscient judges would have pronounced it obviously constitutional?

There is another incisive reason why capitalist society should now be unwilling to make public the investigations carried on by its own officials. All of the elements schooled by self-interest and instinct to follow the lead of capitalists and interpret their demands, now join in discouraging talk of the subject and in minimizing the extent and horrible nature of the traffic. Twenty years ago, when there was no aggressive and powerful Socialist Party to seize hold of facts and explain their real meaning to the people at large, such precautions were not so necessary. But now with a host of Socialist orators, writers and agitators the white slave revelations form one of the most powerful means whereby to rouse the working class to an understanding of its condition and to the system's inquities. Hence it was that, affrighted by the disclosures that United States Senate Report No. 196 contained, and the uses to which they could be put in overthrowing the system,

someone or some persons in high power virtually suppressed its circulation.

Ruling society, with fine casuistry, seeks to draw a distinction between the ordinary prostitute and the white slave. It makes the assumption that the one goes into the life voluntarily, but *why* voluntarily no explanation is given except the customary one of "inherent depravity," while the other, the white slave victim, is sold into it involuntarily by deception, stratagem and force. What it refuses to say is that every girl or woman that has to sell herself is a white slave, no matter how the methods in projecting her into that life vary. And, further, it will not incriminate its own system by admitting that the underlying cause in nearly every case is identical, that cause being the absence of proper provision for the maintenance of normal life. In the case of the white slave victim it is generally the fact that she is seeking work, which makes her a victim to deception; in that of the average prostitute the inability to get work or adequate wages is the actuating factor. Concatenated with these factors and superimposed upon them is the demoralizing environment created by poverty.

The white slave traffic is simply a part of an immense system, the culmination of which is prostitution of a vast number of girls and women. Official estimates place the number of white slave victims imported into this country at from 15,000 to 30,000 a year. But this number is small compared to the total number of prostitutes in the United States. One of two inspectors delegated by the United States Government to investigate the white slave question in Europe and America, repeatedly assured me, after an extended investigation, that there were at least 100,000 girls and women in New York City alone who derive a living from the sale of their bodies. These inspectors found (what is common knowledge) that the traffic went on continuously in monarchies as well as republics, in cities ruled by republican, democratic and reform parties. In Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and other large cities the number of prostitutes is also enormous, and there is not a small town, especially of an industrial character, which does not have its quota.

Nearly twenty years ago the total number of prostitutes in the United States was estimated by the National Purity Congress at 230,000—an obvious underestimate. At a conservative estimate it is probable that the number at present is fully a million. Here is the final brood of the capitalist system: a million girls and women, all babes once, and little innocents, as inherently fine and pure as the most punctilious moralizer could wish. And now what are they? Outcasts flung down into the depths, kicked in their hopeless degradation (for no hope is there) to outlawed haunts and alleyways and slums. Judged by this one single fact, all that is called civilization stands damned, and the system breeding it will be looked upon in future ages as something so unspeakably hideous as to excite incredulity.

Behind it all that one great principle asserts itself: People must have the means to live. This is the lever by which innocent foreign girls are snared over. The testimony in virtually every case investigated shows that it was promises of work, of bettering their condition, that influenced the victims to yield to the artful lies of the procurers. It is not to the purpose here to describe the revolting methods by which the procurers make sure of their victims; we shall pass over detailing the horrible extremes of violence, the overpowering, the imprisonment and sale. Once in the ranks an astounding fact occurs to her if she thinks. As an ordinary working girl her value is nil; she would not fetch a dollar if put up in the market, for the simple reason is that chattel slavery has long since been discarded by capitalism as too expensive. She has the full legal right to starve if she is so minded, and society offers her abundant opportunities to do so; there are many more of her kind who can be cheaply hired. But as a harlot, if she be young and attractive, her "selling value" is from $400 to $2,000. Such is the glorious incentive that capitalist society, prating of virtue, offers to virtue! How splendid an illustration of its noble efficiency in "preserving the home and the sanctity of the family!"

The average longevity, or rather exploitation, of the average prostitute is from three to five years. To make up for the gaps, constant recruiting has to be done. Importation partly supplies the demand, but far more so by the inroads upon the daughters of the workers in America. Young girls of tender age are systematically decoyed, ruined and sold. The records of the state courts and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children give only an indication of the vastness of this traffic. But an even larger number of older girls and women either are directly propelled into the life by circumstances or are gradually drifted into it. The impelling factors are low wages, environment or lack of work or support.

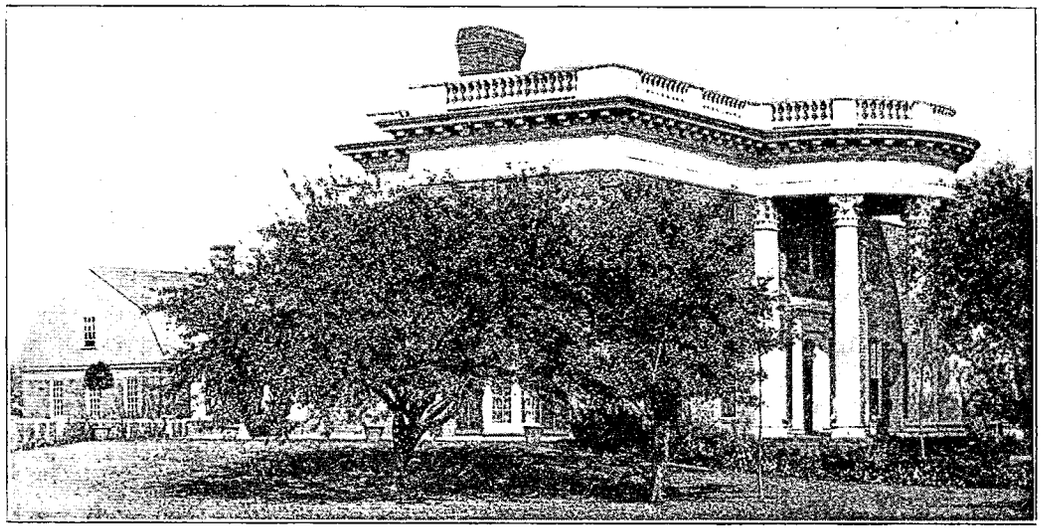
Every genuine investigation held in the last seventy years into mill, factory and shop conditions has shown that young girls learn more immorality in one year in a mill than in five years out of it, and that the low wages and high cost of living have their corresponding effect in increasing prostitution. Recently, in going the rounds of the religious missions in Chicago I was everywhere informed that at least one-half of the native prostitutes in Chicago were products of department stores. It was not without good reason that an Illinois legislator some years ago introduced a resolution to investigate the department stores on the ground that conditions in them led to a frightful state of immorality. The same is true of department stores in every city. Nor was it without securing abundant proof that the United States Industrial Commission reported in 1902 of the results of the low wages of women: "It is manifest from the figures given that the amount of earnings in many cases is less than the actual cost of the necessities of life. The existence of such a state of affairs must inevitably lead in many cases to the adoption of a life of immorality, and in fact there is no doubt that the low rate of wages is one of the most frequent causes of prostitution."

This is the fertile ground supplied by capitalism for the sinister work of the pimp and procurer; the exploitation of the daughters of the workers goes hand in hand with their despoilment and ravishment. This being so, it can be seen how farcical "moral waves" and "white slave agitations" are when conducted and then suppressed by the beneficiaries of the system so productive of these unspeakable evils. Long have these conditions persisted, and they will continue until the capitalist system is obliterated from the face of the earth.



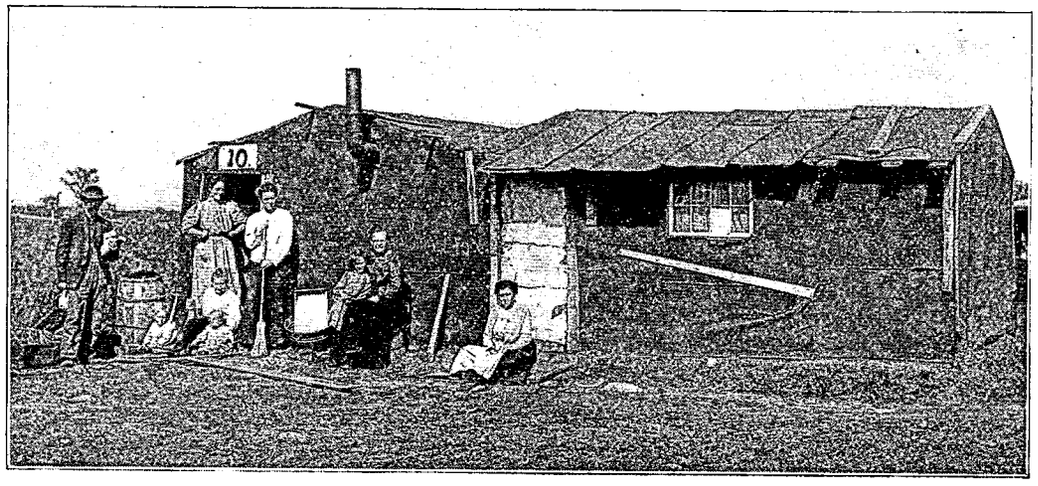
MASTERS AND SLAVES IN MICHIGAN

BY JAMES F. McFARLAN



THE MASTER'S RESIDENCE.

Here resides one of the owners of the Buick Automobile Works. He is a kind gentleman and believes in Tag Day and other charities. He votes the Republican ticket.



THE SLAVE'S SHACK.

This home of one of the slaves of "The Buick" is subject to removal from the land of "The Buick" on five days' notice. He votes the "prosperity" ticket, the same as his master, and probably believes in Tag Day.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

(For several months the REVIEW has been receiving requests from all over the United States for a Course in Marxian Economics. Comrades have advised us that almost every local in the country has been adding new members during the campaign and that these locals desire to instruct the new recruits in the meaning of Socialism. In response to these letters from our friends, the REVIEW has decided to run a series of simple lessons in the economics of Karl Marx.

The simplest wage-worker in the socialist party and the stupidest socialist college man or woman know more about economics than Theodore Roosevelt or the wisest Democrat in America. These men jumble definitions and terms in utter disregard to scientific thinking. The socialist economist alone defines his terms and stands for a definite aim and program.

Socialism depends, for its strength, upon the intelligence of its membership, every one of whom is an active educator for the revolutionary movement.)

WHAT YOU SELL TO THE BOSS.

IF you are a workingman or woman, no matter what you do in a shop or factory or mine, you know that there are TWO kinds of power used in the plant—human, or LABOR-POWER, and steam, or water (or perhaps—gas-explosion) power.

The owner of a new barrel mill in Indiana decided it would be cheaper to have some company furnish POWER to run his mill than to install a power plant himself, so he sent for the three representa tives of the three power plants in that city.

The first man came from the company that offered to run the machines in the mill by STEAM power; the second came from a firm which wanted to sell him a gasoline engine to furnish power by the explosions of gas, while the third came from a great water-power company. This man offered to supply power to run the mill machinery at a lower price than the others asked. Of course, he secured the contract.

By this time the mill owner was almost ready to have his plant opened. He had logs (or raw material) ready to start on; he had machinery and power to run that machinery. Only one thing more was needed to start the plant running and to produce staves and hoops for barrels. This was the COMMODITY which you workers supply. It is HUMAN POWER, human LABOR-POWER.

One hundred years ago almost everything was produced by human labor-power, but gradually improved machinery has been invented that lessens the human toil needed to make things. Big machines, run by steam, or water-power, now do most of the heavy and difficult work. But the owner of the mine or factory or mill needs one other COMMODITY to guide the machines, to prepare raw material for the machines, to tend the machines and feed them. He needs YOUR LABOR-POWER.

The barrel manufacturer in Indiana said he needed "hands." He meant HANDS TO DO things. He meant LABOR-POWER. So he put an advertisement in the paper reading "Men Wanted." Of course he did not want to buy MEN outright, as folks used to buy chattel slaves. He hired some of you to work for him. He bought your human POWER (to work)—your LABOR-POWER.

And you sold him your LABOR-POWER, just as a stockman sells horses

or a baker sells bread. You went to the boss with something to SELL. He was in the market to BUY human LABOR-POWER, and if your price was low you probably got a job.

Some of us work many years before we realize that even we wage-workers have ONE COMMODITY to sell. As long as we are able to work we try to find a BUYER of our LABOR-POWER. We hunt for a job and the boss that goes with a job.

Men and women who have no other means of support HAVE TO SELL their LABOR-POWER for wages in order to live.

A COMMODITY is something that satisfies some human want; something produced by LABOR-POWER for sale or exchange. A dress made by a woman for herself is not a commodity. A dress made to be sold to somebody else is a commodity. It is not made for use, but for SALE.

Sheep are commodities, as are shoes, houses, gloves, bread, steam-power and water-power, when sold by one man to another. And your strength to MAKE things, your human laboring power (or, as Marx says, your LABOR-POWER) is also a commodity when sold to an employer for wages.

Now you know that any man who is selling a commodity asks as high a price for it as he can. The little grocer who runs the small store near your home charges just as much as possible in selling butter to you. The coal dealers raise their prices whenever they can. And when you strike the boss for a job, you ask just as high a price for your labor-power as you think you can get.

High prices for LABOR-POWER is what wage-workers want. LOW prices for LABOR-POWER is what your employer wants.

Are your interests identical?

What happens when there are ten men competing to SELL their LABOR-POWER? Who gets the JOB?

What happens when there are several jobs and only one worker? Will he receive HIGHER or LOWER wages? Will he get a good price for his labor-power?

When workingmen are scarce and manufacturers are forced to pay a high price for LABOR-POWER (high wages) in a certain locality, does the scarcity of workers last long? If not, why not?

When men are hunting jobs toward which cities do they go? Why?

Does SUPPLY and DEMAND have anything to do with the PRICE at which you are able to sell your LABOR-POWER?

Why is the steel trust putting up a fifty million-dollar plant in China? Will they be able to make more profits manufacturing steel there than in America? Why?

Why do Chinese workmen come to America to sell their labor-power?

Karl Marx talks much of COMMODITIES—their VALUE and their PRICE, and in order to understand his teachings, we must know first of all that we are sellers of a COMMODITY called LABOR-POWER.

Next month we shall take up the question of what determines the VALUE of your LABOR-POWER and the value of all other commodities.

We do not expect the Study Classes to spend a month's time studying this single lesson. These lessons are only a guide to the economics of Karl Marx himself.

We suggest that classes buy and study three books. These contain the gist of the whole Socialist philosophy:

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx & Engels; 10c in paper; 50c in cloth.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels; same price.

Value, Price and Profit, by Marx; same price.

These lessons are only an attempt to say, in the language of working men and women, the things Marx says in his own books.

THE BOY SCOUT AND THE WORKERS

BY

BRUCE ROGERS



BRUCE ROGERS.

"A SCOUT IS LOYAL TO THE PRESIDENT AND HIS OFFICERS, AND TO HIS PARENTS, HIS COUNTRY AND HIS EMPLOYERS."

LET the full significance of the Boy Scout Movement sink into the minds of the wealth-producing class.

The worker who scorns this new military enterprise as of no concern to him most pitifully deludes himself.

A military establishment in its very nature can never be anything but a despotism and if we are to have an enlightened civilization militarism must go.

The super-rich of the Capitalist Class in charge of this government and the governments abroad, have, for the last score of years, encountered much difficulty in bolstering up the profession of collective murder. Lurid bill boards showing the boys in blue and kahki, exhortations in the public press by the paid liars and apologists of Capitalist misrule have failed to bring the necessary enlistments. Nor has an increase of pay and allowances enabled them to hold more than a scant one-fifth of the recruits they obtain for one term of three years. Then, too, the world contagion of class consciousness is spreading like a plague through the army and navy, and it has seemed to the Capitalists that they were but organizing the working class in arms to do the bidding of the working class in civil life.

Even the petty Capitalists, the dear tax-payers, are murmuring at the increasing burden which they in turn try to shift to the shoulders of the rebelling workers.

That most despicable bit of legislation

ever enacted by the American Congress, the Dick Military Bill, it is feared, will fall short of its murderous application.

"What must we do to beat the workers into subjection when they have perfected their industrial organization?" council the ruling class.

The Boy Scouts is the happy answer and this movement is practically without expense, when considered in relation to its tremendous proportions. With the lickspittle press and pious retainers of the existing misrule shouting approval, this crafty plan originating in the brain of Baden-Powell, English rough-rider and militarist, has in the short period of three months put five million boys into military training. Simply by taking advantage of the bounding spirits of the healthy youths of the middle class they make of them our future rurales, cossacks, constabularies, invincibles!

Let us examine, if ever so briefly, the Boy Scouts' insidious Oath and Law.

Before he becomes a Scout the boy must take the Scout's binding and solemn Oath, as follows:

I will give my word of honor that I will do by best:

(1) *To do my duty to God and the country.*

(2) To help others at all times.

(3) *To obey the Scout Law.*

And this is the Scout Law:

(1) A Scout's honor is to be trusted.

(2) *A Scout is loyal to the President, and his officers, and to his parents, his country and his employers.*

(3) A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.

(4) A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, *no matter to what social class the other belongs.*

(5) A Scout is courteous.

(6) A Scout is a friend to animals.

(7) *A Scout obeys orders of his parents, patrol leader, or schoolmaster without question.*

(8) A Scout smiles and looks pleasant under all circumstances.

(9) A Scout is thrifty.

Space allowed will not permit a treatment of each of these provisions. It will be apparent that some of them are pure sugar-coated, while others, such as No. 1 of the Scout Law, are reversions to the follies of medieval knight-erranty.

No. 3 of the Oath, and Nos. 2, 4 and 7 of the Scout Law are of course directly related. They are the meat of the Boy Scout Movement and essential to subjection.

We know how the ideas in Provision No. 1 of the remarkable Oath, *duty to God,* has spattered the centuries with blood in the past.

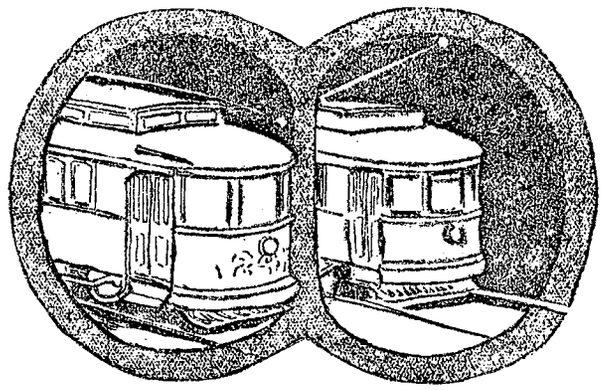
We have in Provision No. 2 an innovation in candor, *loyalty to the President* (sounds much like the oath of fealty to a Monarch) *and to his officers.* The President is Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and as such has a number of officers. Under the Dick Law he has Sheriffs, Marshalls and Deputies. The President also appoints some 500,000 civil officers. *And to his* (the Scout's) *employers.* Comment is quite unnecessary.

In No. 4 we have the frank avowal of the social class lines we have been insisting upon.

In Provision No. 7 we have the obedience without question, the clinching essential of despotic rule.

We may do more than see to it that we are not deceived!

Note.—THE REVIEW earnestly begs its readers to use every means at their disposal to teach the boys and girls with whom they come in touch the true meaning of WAR and MILITARISM, PATRIOTISM and the FLAG. All Socialist schools for the young should make it an especial point to teach love of the working CLASS rather than of country. We must teach also that only a war in the interests of the working class can have any interest for us.



ECONOMIZING SPACE IN GREAT CITIES

YEAR after year people from all over the country and the entire world continue to flock to the great cities and an effort to relieve the congestion in crowded districts has developed entirely new feats in civil engineering.

Two months ago the world of the building trades gasped with wonder in beholding New York City tearing down a large, perfectly good 16-story business square for the purpose of erecting a 50-story edifice.

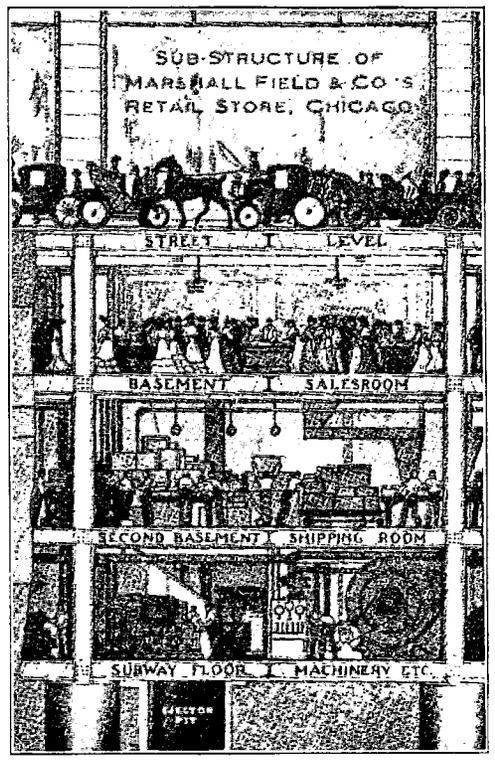
Long ago city folk grew accustomed to seeing elevated trains rushing past their third or fourth story flat windows; surface railways carrying their full quota of men and women in the streets below and New Yorkers have just grown familiar with the great subway or tube tunnel that sends every day a million people through the bowels of the earth from one far corner of the metropolis to another.

At present many people in Chicago are watching the construction of the La Salle street double tube tunnel to be run through the Chicago river.

Great dredges are deepening the river bed where the two steel tube tunnels are to be laid. These are each forty-four feet in width and 278 feet long and will be dropped into the river at the point of the La Salle street bridge. The water will be pumped from them and reinforced concrete will give Chicago the second steel shell tunnel in the world.

Chicago already possesses an underground freight tunnelway that has done much toward lessening the congestion in the Loop District.

A teamster who was instructed to deliver some goods in the basement of one of the large Chicago department stores, was directed to the second basement. At that point he discovered that he was not yet down far enough and that his package was to be delivered in the third basement, or power plant. "I don't know how many more there are," he said.



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD IN EUROPE

TRANSLATED BY

OLIN AND DVORAK



COMRADE WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, delegate from the Socialist Party of the United States to the International Congress at Copenhagen, is now making a tour through Europe speaking for Socialism.

One of the papers at Copenhagen reports the Haywood meeting as follows:

Mr. Haywood spoke to the workers of Christiania, Norway, two successive evenings. On his very first stop in Norway he scored a decided success.

The lecture in the People's House, Christiania, Norway, was interpreted to the audience by Olav Kringen and was met with storms of applause. Haywood said:

"Our class war in the United States is identical with the one you have here in Europe. It is a continued warfare between the owners and the disowned, between those who work and have nothing and those who never work and have everything. It is a fight between the oppressor and the oppressed—waged against those who eat bread by the sweat of another man's brow.

"The Western Federation of Miners was born in jail. Many of those who agitated for it are in jail still and many of us are going there before we realize our desires. The beginning of the struggle in the West started in 1892 in Leadville, Colorado, in which was located some of the greatest mines in the world. The workers were very restless. None of the comforts and privileges that come with civilization were given them. Wages were $3.50 per day and the cost of food was far above that. One day the mine owners attempted to force wages down to $3.00. The workers protested and ceased work. The mine owners organized themselves into an association and raised funds to break the union. The result was a battle between organized Capital and organized Labor. The soldiers were called out and 1,200 workers were arrested. They were thrown into bull pens—hurriedly constructed structures of wood. They were held and fed like dogs. They were not allowed to communicate with the outside world and, finally, after several months' bondage, fourteen of these men were sent to the penitentiary. While in that bull pen the 1,200 workers organized into a Federation and, in 1893, the Western Federation of Miners held its first congress in Butte, Mont.

"Our next big strike occurred in Cripple Creek, in 1894. This was carried on in the Colorado gold mines and the issue was the eight-hour day. Here, again, the mine owners immediately demanded soldiers, but this time they had to contend with a different kind of a proposition.

"We had a union man in the governor's chair and he positively refused to call the soldiers out for strike duty. The mine owners turned to the sheriff and he organized a band of tried and trusty sheriffs —the scum of Colorado. The strikers were intrenched upon very nearly the highest point of Bull Hill. Finding a fight unavoidable, the governor called out the troops and stationed them in the middle of the hill's incline.

One morning the deputies marched forth up the hill. But on the way they encountered the troops. And, discreetly, they walked right down again. This strike was of short duration and was a

victory for the miners because the governor was a workingman, and because he was true to his class.

Children Chained to the Machines.

"Conditions are no better in our American factories. There I found little boys and girls, old shattered men and women chained to the machines. Not chained with iron bands, rope or rawhide, but chained by Necessity—driven by the goad of Starvation, and Organized Capital.

"Conditions on the farms are just as bad. I saw sights in Texas last year that shall never be effaced from my mind. One day I saw a woman dragging a heavy farm implement. Every little while she would look back to a certain point and glance cautiously about. When she thought nobody observed her, she dropped the plow, rushed to the coveted spot, picked up a bundle and pressed it to her breast. It was her child.

"Workingmen in Texas often live in holes in the ground, covered over at the top to keep out the rain. In these holes they eat, sleep and rest. In these holes babies are born and brought to manhood and womanhood.

"Wageworkers in America are worse off than the chattel slaves of former days. Any intelligent man would choose chattel slavery in preference to wage slavery. Chattel slaves are the valuable property of their owners. They receive care and protection just as do horses or cows. When one falls sick the physician is called to attend to him. Care is given that he become a healthy man again.

"The wage slaves are owned only upon the installment plan. They are paid wages only so long as they are speedy workers and when they die a hundred other workers rush forward to secure their jobs. Employers of labor do not care how soon their wageworkers sicken and die.

The War of 1899.

"In 1899 the mine workers tried to get back the advantages they had lost in 1896. A strike was called and again began a mighty battle between Capital and Labor. Capitalism, as usual, yelped for soldiers, but most of these had been sent to Cuba to oust the Spaniards, and few came. However, the capitalists mustered black troops against the workers. Thousands of mine workers were arrested.

"The local jail was so small that the mine owners had a wooden structure erected into which the mine workers were driven. They slept on the bare ground or upon hay. The food given them would have been scorned by a mangy dog. Men died daily.

"Among the arrested workers were many strict Catholics. Mike Devine, one of these, was sent to a hospital because of an injury. Knowing that he was in a dying condition Mike asked for a priest. The officer who heard his request said: 'You can confess in hell.'

"Things grew worse and worse in Colorado, till in 1904 wages had sunk to $1.80 a day. The men became desperate and the work of organization began in earnest. The mine owners hired spies to report upon the work of the union. Later forty-five union men were discharged. The entire force went out on strike. This caused the biggest class war that has ever been recorded historically.

"Deputies were organized into marauding squads and the soldiers were instructed to protect property at any cost. As usual the governor—one Peabody—proved how much greater value he placed upon property than upon human life.

"The strike lasted several months. The workers remained true to their union. The outrages perpetrated against them did not have the desired result of embroiling them in bloody battles. All was orderly and peaceful on the part of the mine workers.

"Then it happened that a depot was blown up and several strikebreakers were killed. It was a notorious fact that the employers had no cause to call out the military forces. This depot explosion gave one to them. The troops came, 1,600 men were arrested. They were loaded into trains and shipped broadcast. None received food or drink. Some landed in New Mexico and other states. Many were left upon the desert to starve. Whole families were torn from their own homes and sent from the state at the point of guns.

"In the 1906 panic the mine owners paid their workers in clearing house checks instead of in money. And they CUT

wages to $1.00 a day. Whereupon the men properly rebelled. And Theodore Roosevelt, one of the most brutal self-advertisers, sent the soldiers to crush them down — BEFORE TROOPS WERE EVEN ASKED FOR. These soldiers committed every kind of outrage, from assaulting women to shooting down little children.

"One night Moyer, Pettibone and I were dragged out of our homes, arrested and placed in chains. Our families did not know what had become of us. We were rushed to a railroad station, placed upon an express train and kidnapped out of the state into Idaho.

"We were refused trial in our own state. Later we discovered we were charged with murdering Governor Steunenberg. None of us had ever seen him.

It was while we were under arrest that the great Square Deal (?) Howler, Roosevelt, kicked us in the face and trampled upon us by publicly calling us UNDESIRABLE CITIZENS. This is the act we would expect of a man who shot a Spaniard in the back and boasted of his brutality. He sought to his utmost to sway public opinion against us; he did his utmost to send us to the gallows. He is a moral coward and deserves to be so branded wherever workingmen congregate. Never has he accomplished one good thing in the interests of the working class.

"Things looked black for us while we waited for trial. We were denounced from pulpit and by the press. We appealed from every court up to the Supreme Court. At last we appealed to the people of our class—the workers of America. From all over the world the responses came. Money poured upon us. The Socialist press and magazines helped us in every way.

"This placed us in a position to engage the best legal talent the nation afforded. The attorney in charge of our case knew that the evidence had been manufactured against us and after a great fight he exonerated us.

"It is partly to you, my comrades, my fellow-workers, that I owe my life. It is the organized working class that put up the fight for me. But I have a favor to ask you. I ask you to do for yourselves what you have done for me. I beg you to organize politically as well as industrially. Stand hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, and you will be able to do for the whole working class what you did for my comrades and for me."

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

—Manifesto.



CARL LIEBKNECHT.

CARL LIEBKNECHT

BY

WILLIAM E. BOHN

A FORM a bit above medium height, lithe, nervous, tense; a shock of coal black hair; eyes that sparkle and gleam with every word. That is Karl Liebknecht—at least the physical part of him. His is a body all aglow with the message of the revolution. In pubic he speaks smoothly, gracefully. In private questions and answers shoot out of him as though they had the force of dynamite behind them. And in reality they have more than that. He speaks with the triumphant conviction of one who represents the triumphing working-class of the world.

The questions I put to him were prosaic in the extreme. In his public addresses he had delivered the message of the German proletariat to the workers of America. He had shown that industrial Europe and industrial America are but parts of the same great world development. He had proved that we are all fighting the same masters. And with tremendous power he had called on to the toilers of the new world to unite themselves as one man to those of the old. So I felt a bit ashamed of myself when I approached with commonplace questions about German tactics and the state of the German movement. But a moment's talk showed me that to this man there is naught of the commonplace in anything that has to do with the struggle of the world's workers.

"What do you think of the Copenhagen resolution on co-operatives?" I ventured.

"It was good, it was right," he flashed back. "The co-operative societies of Germany are making great progress."

"Then your movement has now three wings instead of two?"

"Not three, no, no. It has four. Let me change your figure. Our movement goes on four legs. They are: the labor unions, the Socialistic party, the co-operative societies, and our young people's educational organizations."

"Do you regard the four as of equal importance?"

"Yes, yes. Certainly they are of equal importance."

Later we came upon the debates in the recent German party congress. Liebknecht, of course, had taken a prominent part in these debates. I wanted to get an inside view of them. All that he needed to start him was an account of the misrepresentations of the American capitalist press. I told him that our

great dailies had prophesied a split in the German Socialist Democracy. He seemed to swell to twice his normal size.

"A split! There was no thought of it, not even the most far-off glimmering of a notion of it! You see we have serious work to do. We face a national crisis of the most stupendous sort. All the forces of reaction are solid against us. The government will stop at nothing. What few constitutional rights we have may be wiped out at any moment. You saw the statement of one of our feudal landholders that if the Reichstag went too far a lieutenant and ten soldiers could clean them out. That statement shot a ray of light through the whole German situation. We must fight. The working-class must have all its forces ready for conflict at any moment. There can be no thought of division. And as a matter of fact no one has thought of it."

"But what of the Baden comrades? Do you feel certain that they will abide by the decision of the congress? Suppose they persist in their course and vote for another budget. What will happen? Will not that be a tantamount to a split in the party?"

"But they will not do such a thing. At least not as a body. Of course a few individuals may. In that case they will be automatically shut out of the party. That will be all there will be to it. Their action will have no effect whatever on the party as a whole. No, no, there will be no split; there can be no split."

"Will the internal antagonisms which came to expression at the congress cut down the Socialist victory in the Reichstag elections?"

"Not at all. Of course no one can tell how great our victory will be. It depends partly on the time of the elections. If they were to occur now it would be tremendous. Our enemies have prophesied that we will carry 120 seats out of the 397. Were the elections to come tomorrow we should carry more. But the elections will probably not come till next summer. What may happen in the meantime cannot be foretold. All depends on our keeping up the present feeling against the reactionary government."

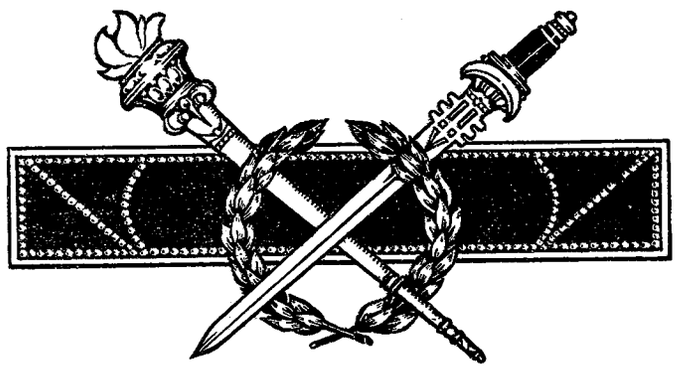
This naturally led to a discussion of the Prussian struggle for equal, direct and secret ballot.

"What will be the next move of the government?" I asked.

"It will bring in a new suffrage bill. It will be slightly better than the one which was recently defeated, but not much. We will fight it, of course."

"But suppose the government does not give way. Suppose it lets matters come to a crisis. What weapons will you use? Will you resort to the general strike?"

"Yes. We will use all means at our disposal. If necessary we will use the last weapon. We will call a general strike. You see this is a fight, a real fight, and we are ready for it. We have the power. Our enemy knows it. We know it. We will fight!"





THE STORY OF RUBBER IN THE KONGO FREE STATE

BY

JACK MORTIN

LEOPOLD, King of Belgium, he of the avaricious mind and the grasping hand, was the first to recognize the immense profits to be gained from the rubber of the Dark Continent.

After the fashion of modern Capitalism, he concealed his real aims and called together at Brussels, in 1876, a conference of travelers and "humanitarians" for the purpose of organizing the International African Association for the avowed purpose of exploring the country and establishing resting stations for travelers and founding centers of civilization in Africa.

A few years later found Stanley, with the best of intentions in the world, contributing his services to the political "humanitarian" organization. From place to place he journeyed in the Dark Continent, securing treaty after treaty from the chiefs of the various tribes.

He found the natives everywhere eager for trade. He gladdened their hearts when he told them they would be able to exchange palm kernels, ivory and rubber for beads, fancy red coats, whisky, trinkets, etc. When a chief understood that it was only necessary to attach his mark or sign to papers giving the International African Association certain privileges in order to effect this glorious state of affairs, he gladly signed all that was required of him.

We believe that nearly five hundred chiefs signed these papers. Armed with these "treaties," Leopold secured the permission of the "civilized world," at the Congress of Berlin, to found the Congo Free State—so named, without doubt, because it left King Leopold in possession of the right to exploit the natives freely, without let or hindrance.

Immediately, but with all due and becoming diplomacy, of course, King Leopold asserted his right to issue laws without publishing them in Europe. He became the supreme head of the Congo Free State, with full power to appoint the ministers of state.

The riff-raff of Europe was collected and sent to Africa to become the agents of Leopold, and the fierce and fighting tribes of the continent were recruited and armed to aid these slave-drivers in their exploitation of the more peaceful tribes.

The lands actually used by the natives were but small villages about which they planted small fields of grain and manioc. These lands possessed no attraction for the International African Association (better known as King Leopold).

The real wealth of the natives was the ivory, copal and rubber, which lay hid in the deep forests. It was of these King Leopold had determined to become possessed.

It was not, of course, till the king's army of agents and slave-drivers had been armed and stationed all over the Congo —had thoroughly entrenched itself—that it made known his commands.

Then it was that the great white men

began to demand copal, ivory and rubber from the natives. As the agents received a percentage of these products they continued to increase the quantity demanded of the tribes, that is "the taxes" demanded by the great king were increased from time to time.

The profits in rubber, enormous in the beginning, increased by leaps and bounds. The demands of the agents grew so great that occasionally the tribes rebelled. But the punishments, mutilations, and deaths of the rebels drove their black brothers deep into the deadly forests to satisfy the growing appetite of the white man.

Alone and afraid, the natives were again and again driven into the jungle, where the rubber plant must be sought. Always they feared the wild beasts, the fevers, poisons and great snakes. Death lurked everywhere, but the black brother had learned not to return empty-handed. For that way came death also. And so for days, sometimes weeks at a time, they plied the jungle till the specified amount of rubber was found, when they returned to the village. Within a few days they were sent forth on another quest. Often a man fails to return. But this does not trouble the International African Association. He is only one more slave whose life has been sacrificed to the profits of the rubber trade.

The demand for rubber is increasing by leaps and bounds and the natives are finding it ever more difficult to find. Great companies are being formed for the planting of rubber trees in every rubber-producing country on the globe.

But it will be some time before these trees begin to bear, and in the meantime, the rag man and the garbage sorter will continue to gather up every old pair of worn-out rubbers, old scraps of belting and battered pieces of rubber hose, all of which will ultimately find their way back to the rubber manufacturer, where they will undergo several processes of cleaning—to again reappear as automobile tires or over-shoes.



RUBBER TREES.

ANDREW CARNEGIE'S DISCOVERY

BY

WILLIAM RESTELLE SHIER

"THE greatest discovery of my life," says Andrew Carnegie, "is that the men who actually do the work never get rich."

Quite so! To get rich you must be an expert at "working" others.

Ten dollars a day is considered big wages. Yet to earn a million dollars a man would have to labor exactly 274 years, less eleven days, never stopping to go fishing on Sunday or for a spree on the Fourth of July.

If old Adam had set out to be a millionaire by saving up five dollars a week when God created him, he would be working yet.

There are 8,000 millionaires in the United States. Possibly they were born before Adam and have been hoarding money ever since!

In New York City alone there are 1,320 millionaires. In the same city 50,000 children go hungry to school every morning.

How did these men acquire such colossal fortunes? By rolling up their sleeves and wrestling with the forces of nature? Not by a long shot. They got them by grabbing the wealth produced by others.

AN INDISPUTABLE FACT.

All wealth is produced by labor, mental as well as manual.

Yet Andrew Carnegie tells us that those who do the work never get rich. No one will dispute that.

All men and women engaged in work in the productive industries work hard and long and they are very poor.

Professional people work hard, yet they are only comfortably well off.

Farmers work hard, yet most of their farms are heavily mortgaged.

Small business men work hard, yet bankruptcy stares them constantly in the face.

Miners, sailors, lumbermen, mechanics, teachers, clerks and the generality of people work hard, yet they get only enough to keep them in good working order from day to day.

Why? That is the master riddle of this age.

THE RIDDLE SOLVED.

If on an island containing 1,000 people, ten men *owned* all the land, all the forests, all the factories, all the mines, all the stores, all the things upon which its inhabitants depended for food and clothing and shelter, and in addition to this they *owned* the government, they could compel their fellow citizens, could they not, to pay them a heavy tribute for the privilege of living on the earth?

Therein lies the answer to our riddle. It is all summed up in one word—PRIVATE O-W-N-E-R-S-H-I-P.

Let that word "ownership" burn deeply into your brain!

America is simply a huge island in which 250,000 people own the things upon which its vast population depend for employment and the necessaries of life.

That is why the few are excessively rich and the many excessively poor.

SOME IMPORTANT INFORMATION.

The total wealth of the United States in 1900 was $95,000,000,000.

Of this amount the capitalist class, numbering 250,000 persons, owned $67,000,000,000; the middle class, numbering 8,430,000 persons, owned $24,000,000,000; the wage-earning class, called the proletariat, numbering 20,400,000 persons, owned $4,000,000,000.

Thus, ONE PER CENT of the population owned in 1900 SEVENTY-ONE PER CENT of all "our" country's wealth, while sixty-nine per cent of the population owned only four per cent of the wealth.

John D. Rockefeller alone is estimated to own ONE-FORTIETH of all the property in this country, and his "Standard Oil Group," consisting of himself, H. H. Rogers, H. M. Flagler, John Archbold, O. M. Payne and other millionaires, is said to control ONE-TENTH of this nation's securities.

Even in 1890, according to government statistics, before the concentration of wealth had attained the stupendous proportions it has reached today, the richest one per cent of the families received as much as the poorest 50 per cent, that is, one-fourth of the annual income; and the wealthiest 10 per cent received about as much as the remaining 90 per cent.

In 1904 the number of productive workers in the United States was 23,450,000, of whom 16,250,000 belonged to the wage-earning class and 7,200,000 to the middle class.

The total wage-value of their labor-power was $6,969,000,000.

The total value of their product was $31,450,000,000.

Therefore, the share of productive labor in its output was only 22 per cent.

The other 27 per cent was spent by the master class in extending its control over industry, equipping armies and navies, "fixing" the legislatures and the courts, buying titles for their daughters, traveling round the world, employing retinues of servants and providing themselves with all the luxuries that modern civilization places at their command.

WHAT IT ALL MEANS.

Reduced to everyday language, these big figures and troublesome percentages simply tell us that this country is OWNED, not by the working people, but by a small number of enormously rich families who are enabled to rob the workers of four-fifths of what they produce because they control the mines, the railroads, the mills, the telephones, the departmental stores, the steamships, the foundries, the slaughter houses, the steel plants, the factories, the real estate; in short, the entire machinery of production, distribution and exchange.

The vast army of men and women who sweat daily under the Stars and Stripes are laboring, not for themselves, but for an aristocracy of money that fattens on their ignorance and toil.

The worker is getting only 22 cents on the dollar. For every dollar he receives in wages he has produced five dollars' worth of goods.

If you, my working class friend, work ten hours a day, you have produced the equivalent of your wages in the first two hours.

The other eight hours you are laboring for the benefit of the 250,000 persons who own 70 per cent of this country's wealth. They sop it up in the form of rent, interest and profit.

Mary E. Marcy once heard a miner say that he got $2 a day for digging out $10 worth of coal. A big strapping teamster who heard his remark asked:

"Well, why do you do it?"

"What are you going to do about it?" the miner replied. "The boss OWNS the mine."

And therein lies the reason WHY those who actually do the work never get rich.

Since the mine itself and the machinery in the mine belongs to a capitalist, so does the coal dug out.

If the miner extracts from the earth 4 tons of coal a day, and those 4 tons are worth at the mine's mouth $10, that $10 belongs to the proprietor of the mine, not to the coal digger.

But a part—a small part—of that $10 must be given the miner in the form of wages to enable him to provide himself and family with the necessaries of life. All over and above what is required for his keep is retained by the capitalists.

Now, if the workers themselves OWNED the mine, then all the products of that mine would belong to THEM, and the money those products exchanged for would be spent by THEIR families instead of by their oppressors.

If the machinery of production belonged to the workers, then so would the products.

Socialists insist that the class that produces the wealth of the world should be the ones to enjoy it.

WHO IS THE FARMER?

BY W. J. BELL

WHENEVER the Socialist party is able to determine who are *farmers* it will not be slow to take a definite and permanent stand on the much mooted "land question." It is this use of a word or term without a comprehension of its application, together with the custom of regarding as infallible the conclusions drawn by reverenced "authorities" that were given expression at a time or place where economic phrases were different from those existing in our own country, that create the confusion in our attitude and tactics on such questions.

An expression of Engels in 1844, resulting from his analysis of conditions obtaining at that time and in that country, causes us to include the *landlord,* large and small, as farmers in this country.

We are repeatedly told that the "farmer" is a capitalist, and that his interests are not in common with the wage slave. That is true of the landlord, but not of the farmer, the man who does the work. Some of these landlords do a part of their own work, just as a capitalist may do a part of his own work. The small farmer, who constitutes the bulk of the industry, is not a landlord in fact, though he may possess a piece of paper designating him as owner of a small piece of land. He does not own it, but is a slave to the mortgagee, or rent lord. Though not receiving *wages,* his position is the same, with as great or greater element of uncertainty than the wage slave, Engels to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Far more demoralizing than even poverty in its influence upon the workingman, is the *insecurity of his position,* the necessity of living upon wages (farm hand wages, rent share, and price of products remaining after transportation and distributor's steals are deducted) *from hand to mouth,* that, in short, which makes a proletarian of him."—Engels.

"The smaller peasants * * * are less at the mercy of accident; they have at least something secure."—Engels. Then the European peasant, before capitalism was fully developed, with the trust fixing the price the farmer shall receive for his product, and the price he shall pay for his supplies, was in far better economic condition than the American farmer of today.

Unorganized and unskilled workers may be more insecure than the present-day farmer and as a result they are the hardest element to reach with propaganda, being without hope or aspiration.

Organized workers work less hours, receive larger value for their labor, are no more at the mercy of accident, have less responsibility and are as secure in position as the farmer.

"The slave is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master, the serf has at least a scrap of land on which to live, each has, at worst, a guarantee for life itself."—Engels.

The wage slave, while employed, is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master. The farmer is not, and when he fails to yield a profit to the landlord he has not a scrap of land on which to live.

The degree in which the workers leave the farm and congest in the cities tells the tale as to where their best economic interest lies.

For the Socialist party to protect the farmer in the possession of his "patch" when he has none save that on his pants, and classify him as a "capitalist" will tend to weaken the faith of the real farmer in the sincerity of our movement, and drive him from rather than attract him to us.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT

BY

PROF. THOMAS C. MASARYK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE, MEMBER OF THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT

THE emperor Francis Joseph invited Theodore Roosevelt to his court as an ex-colonel, not as an ex-president of the greatest republic; the writers versed in the Austro-Spanish etiquette of the court could not have characterized the former president better or in a more biting way while he was making his European trip as a preliminary to the next presidential campaign; it is true, Roosevelt's principal organ (the *Outlook,* April 30), tells us that Roosevelt protested against this title with which he was everywhere received, but the writer adds the significant remark that the title is quite universally recognized at home and that he himself writes only: Colonel Roosevelt. In talking to a veteran of the Spanish-American war, Roosevelt, while yet president, prided himself upon his title of colonel—claiming to prefer it, as won by himself, to the title of commander-in-chief belonging to him as president. I have this from a report written by Prof. W. B. Hale, in the fall of 1908, upon his observations in the White House, and the report shows that Roosevelt likes the title of Colonel exceedingly—it reminds one of so many heroes of the civil war and offers Roosevelt compensation for his failure to engage the enemy with his rough riders.

Any political observer may clearly see what Roosevelt hopes to achieve through his speeches and his travels; moreover, soon after Roosevelt's landing in Europe the news was cabled from New York, referring to the last meeting of the republican committee, that Roosevelt would accept the presidential nomination for the coming election if it should be offered to him unanimously. The report says further that Roosevelt's friends are well aware of his intentions even though they may not have been enlightened by him directly; it is likewise worthy of notice that even during his sojourn in Europe negotiations concerning the presidency were carried on with him.

The former president of the United States travels like a king, he speaks and acts like a king—from Egypt to Germany and England we see and hear Roosevelt associating only with the mighty of this earth, everywhere he turns to the aristocracy and the rich, nowhere does he seek the representatives of the people; in Egypt he praises the ruling nation, in Hungary he does the same; in superlative terms he compliments the French, the Swedes, and others. Roosevelt's actions in Paris and Berlin deserve to be compared; it is evident that the man did not feel at home in Paris as he did with the emperor William. His speech in the Sorbonne on the public spirit in a republic is weak and shallow, the speech of a political trimmer; France, as a republic, has the greatest problems to solve: the relation of the state to the church is an acute problem, in the election then approaching the relation of socialism to the state and the bourgeoisie was involved, the great European republic faces a great problem of school education not wholly solved as yet, and so forth—Roosevelt speaks about a republic: he ought to say something about a European republic working out its destiny alongside of, and in opposition to, monarchies, but he says nothing about it and limits his speech to a few well meant phrases about virtues which are considered wholly desirable nowadays in every land, even in constitutional monarchies. And how artlessly Colonel Roosevelt identifies the two conceptions, republic and democracy!

In Germany, however, that is, in Berlin, Colonel Roosevelt feels perfectly at home. I know that in his youth he had studied in Germany, and that may be cited in explanation of his liking for emperor William

and for Prussian institutions; but it is precisely as a colonel that Colonel Roosevelt feels at home in Berlin, the monarchial, conservative, and reactionary Berlin. "Tell me with whom you associate and I shall tell you who you are."

The American and the English papers had announced that Roosevelt was preparing with particular care his Berlin address; I had no curiosity, however, to hear what Colonel Roosevelt would tell the Berliners for he had spoken before on the relations of America to Germany. Roosevelt praised the German people for their remarkable union of idealism with a wholesome and practical common sense; the Americans, he said, had learned from the Germans a great deal about the organization of school and university systems, the Germans had built up the most complete military and industrial organization in the world and for that reason the Americans can learn and borrow much from the Germans, and they can do it the more easily as they are related racially, the veins of the Yankees containing much German blood of the numerous immigrants.

Roosevelt had spoken thus as president in one of his university speeches (in Worcester, 1905) and he repeated it in Berlin, though only in some of his impromptus, for his chief oration dealt with the progress of culture. Notwithstanding all his adroitness, Roosevelt committed more than one blunder on his tour, and his Berlin speech likewise was a blunder. Roosevelt wanted to impress the learned Germans by his historico-philosophical view of the world—that was a blunder, and one no less tactless than his political blunders in Egypt, London and, in fact, everywhere. In his speeches Roosevelt gave proof that he spoke almost everywhere about things of which he did not possess sufficient knowledge, and that he overestimated his powers considerably. "I fear he has overdone it"—an enthusiastic admirer of the colonel said to me after his London slip. He overshot the mark, that is sure.

European constitutional lawyers often refer to the great powers vested in the president by the American constitution; quite often this reference is made in defense of the semi-autocratic monarchism of Europe—the American president, they say, possesses greater powers than this or that king or emperor. Naturally, that cannot be true; the American president heretofore has possessed a large measure of administrative powers, it is true, but they are powers well defined and limited by the constitution, while the power of even the king of England is the power of a king, and a king is made of a different stuff than a president; he is king by the grace of God, he is the highest aristocrat ruling over all, thanks to the peculiar dynastic power which is traditional and hereditary.

The political evolution of the United States has undoubtedly enlarged the constitutional authority of the president; the prestige and power of the president grow with the prestige and power of the United States; it must particularly be admitted that the United States originally was something wholly different from what it is today, the evolution of practical politics having outstripped the written Constitution. American constitutional lawyers have recognized that the federal government and the national congress have become the organ of an all-powerful centralization which threatens the sovereignty of the several states. For proofs I may refer to the instructive book of Professor Wilson.

President Roosevelt understands this evolution of the federal government and its tendency and has furthered it with all his political powers. That is shown by his official acts toward the several states, and he has expressed himself to that effect with great vigor on many occasions. In his message to Congress in 1908, shortly before the end of his four-year term, he proclaims the centralization of authority in one man's hands as the guiding principle of the United States government. Democracy is in peril, he says, whenever the administration of political power is scattered among a variety of legislators and administrators—democracy is not in peril when all the authority of the people has been intrusted to one man. The message is a solemn repudiation of Montesquieu and his followers.

As a matter of fact, the Congress, in the early years of the American republic, was more of a deliberative body; in the course of time it became a lawmaking body, and about the only lawmaking body. Ex-president Roosevelt would subordinate the many lawgivers to the one and only one, by all means; the people would be indemnified by this lawmaker exercising his authority in sight of the people, as Roosevelt puts it,

and being from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the people.

As president, Roosevelt sought to extend and to fortify his authority in all possible ways. Thus, for instance, he arranged, very cleverly, for an exchange of professors. No French, Italian, or English professors were officially invited by him, but only Germans. The German university professors, particularly the jurists, political economists and historians, are conservative in politics; they are the intellectual props of Prussian monarchism and imperialism—the influence of these universally respected men, many of whom are recognized as authorities in their respective sciences, will naturally strengthen the conservative views of the American universities and their students in accordance with Roosevelt's wishes. The effect of this influence may easily be demonstrated in the case of those American scholars who have been subjected to the influence of German science; I have here in mind the representatives of the mental sciences, particularly of those sciences which are, directly or indirectly, in the service of politics. Professor Burgess, lecturer on constitutional law, may be cited as an example. It is instructive to observe how he transfers into the American political system legal notions worked out in Germany (the political, the monarchial meaning of those notions). How, for instance, he takes the old monarchial maxim, "the king can do no wrong," and works it over into infallibility of the state and thus finds a legal support for the growing power of the president.

Roosevelt, as president has carried out in practice what Prof. Burgess and others have done in theory. In this he has followed a way which has heretofore been reserved for monarchs, basing his power on an enlarged army and an enlarged navy. In justification of these plans he could point out the Japanese peril and refer to the occupation of the Philippines, it is true, but that is not saying that Roosevelt himself, in his inmost heart, is not a militarist. The Japanese peril, the occupation of the Philippines —why, that is just the military and imperialist policy of Colonel Roosevelt and a part of the American people. Roosevelt himself soon showed in an unmistakable way how his militarism should be looked upon. As president, Colonel Roosevelt introduced into the White House regal ways and manners that were unrepublican, and certainly undemocratic. He would have a fanfare sounded when entering the audience room; he introduced military honors. As president, Colonel Roosevelt let his daughter act with Prince Henry at the christening of a ship in a way that was not any more in accord with the traditional, simple, republican manners. His daughter made a tour of the world, paying ceremonial visits to strange and very strange courts, something that the daughters of former presidents had never done before; and a special law was passed in order that she might bring home, free of duty, the many valuable presents of foreign rulers.

These things and many others of the same kind are unmistakable symptoms, aye, more than symptoms, they are partial manifestations of the evolution of the North American republic in the direction of imperialism, autocracy, and monarchy.

During Roosevelt's term the American papers spoke very often about that increase of the personal power of the president. Roosevelt, they said, knew how to strengthen his party through judicious appointments to important offices and thus to increase his own prestige very considerably. During his presidency, too, criticisms of the government by the press led to several confiscations, the like of which one could only find in Europe, and probably in Russia alone.

It was interesting to observe how long he hesitated whether or not to seek a third term, contrary to the precedent established by Washington and others. He designated his friend Taft as the next president and then wisely left for Africa in order to convince the short-sighted ones that he did not care for politics any more; but just now he has announced the condition—an autocratic one!—under which he would accept nomination, and makes use of his European tour to further his presidential campaign. A campaign tour—in Europe!

Roosevelt's political and social program cannot be misunderstood now, after the long years of his presidency.

Let us consider his treatment of the trusts and of socialism, the two great social contenders in the United States. Not only the great capitalists but likewise the middle classes and even the workingmen were divided in their attitude toward Roosevelt as soon as he had commenced his attack upon the trusts; some believed he had found a solution of one of the gravest questions. However, in the course of his anti-trust campaign the intentions of Roosevelt became known to the parties, and the fears of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie were quieted. They found out that Roosevelt was merely advising the capitalists to exercise caution, and that he would seek to maintain and strengthen the existing order by means of little concessions to the workingmen; Roosevelt had never had any real social reforms in view; his "friendliness united with firmness" meant no more than the old support of the poor, though shrewdly disguised. The condemnation of "undesirable" citizens was sufficient to enlighten the frightened trust magnates.

In June, 1906, the esteemed *North American Review* printed an article bearing the significant title of "An Appeal to Our Millionaires," the very title suggesting opposition to the Socialist weekly called *Appeal to Reason*. In that article an anonymous writer whom the editor declares to be one of the most prominent philosophers of America, attempts to make it clear to the capitalists that they must not carry the accumulation of riches and the social contrast between themselves and the workers beyond certain limits which would furnish the Socialist leaders with an opportunity, with the aid of the exasperated and dissatisfied workingmen to displace the large capitalists.

The prominent philosopher who preferred to remain unnamed has merely registered the main idea of President Roosevelt. A few weeks before the publication of that article (April 14, 1906), at the laying of the corner stone of the office building of the House of Representatives, Roosevelt had delivered one of his numerous orations, and that oration, as the editor of the *Outlook* rightly remarks, contains the quintessence of Roosevelt's policies. That quintessence may be condensed into two program pills; and the Socialists must swallow their pill first: "robberies perpetrated in violation of law by some labor leaders" will positively not be tolerated! Recipe for the capitalists—the National Government must "in some form" exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business in order to deal with the far-reaching evils of over-capitalization. That is all. Even the *Outlook* editor rises to remark that such a program is hardly sufficient since over-capitalization must be prevented and the existing industrial system modified for that reason. "We cannot go on eating fats and sweets and preserve our health by an occasional dose of calomel" (a purgative).

President Roosevelt has never elaborated that vague program; for when, for example, he recommends a "progressive" tax on gifts and inheritances he certainly does not cause any heartache to the trust magnates. His real concern is to find a healing plaster for the wounds of the Baptist Sunday school teacher, Mr. Rockefeller; Mr. Rockefeller had been sentenced to pay an enormous fine, but the sentence was rescinded, and Colonel Roosevelt sent him some of his animals from Africa, and, at Mr. Rockefeller's request, will be one of the administrators of the many millions of the Rockefeller estate. The mayoralty of Mr. Seidel in Milwaukee will only render Colonel Roosevelt more cautious.

EDITORIAL

A Winning Fight. In a few days another United States Congress is to be elected. It may be controlled by the Republicans, who for years have efficiently helped the big capitalists in their historic task of reorganizing industry and putting the little capitalists out of business. It may be controlled by the Democrats, who for nearly a generation have been vainly trying to obstruct industrial evolution and save the petty exploiters from their inevitable end. Which of the two wins is a slight matter to the trust magnates, for they own enough of the Democratic politicians to make that party harmless. And it makes still less difference to the wage-worker, for no matter which of the old parties wins, HE LOSES. Gradually the workers of all capitalist countries have been learning that Republicans and Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives, however they may disagree on minor details, are always sure to uphold the capitalists in their position as rulers over the wage-workers. And so, slowly and painfully, we the wage-workers in every country are building up a party of our own, the Socialist party. It is a political party, but it is more than a political party. It is the outward expression of an ever growing class consciousness and unity of purpose among the workers of the world. Divided, we are helpless before the capitalists. United, we shall be irresistible; we shall sweep away the stocks and bonds, the land titles and franchises, the injunctions, clubs and bayonets that now compel us to work for the owning class, and we shall take up the joyful task of rebuilding a world for ourselves, the workers. Ours is a winning fight, for every triumph of organized capital only adds to the numbers and the relative importance of OUR CLASS. And what is more, every measure taken against us by the capitalists and politicians intensifies the class consciousness of the workers which our function as a party is to develop and make effective. Elections are for us a measure of our progress toward unifying the workers. Let us do all that we can at the polls on the eighth of November, and then start with fresh energy upon the never-ending campaign.

A Socialist Politician. We go to press too early this month to print full details of the great railroad strike of the revolutionary unionists of France. Only the dispatches in the capitalist papers are available, and these indicate that the General Confederation of Labor has displayed surprising strength, and would have forced a complete surrender on the part of the railways but for the interference of the government. Curiously enough, it happens that the government official who is most active in fighting the union is Briand, a former member of the Socialist party of France. Several years ago he and a few office-holding and office-seeking associates attempted to merge the Socialists into a parliamentary alliance with capitalist politicians to run the government on "reform" lines. Their scheme was repudiated by the membership and they presently found themselves outside the party. But being clever politicians, they made themselves so useful to the capitalists of France that they were enabled to retain office, which for them was the main thing. Now Briand has shown his devotion to his masters by threatening to draft the strikers into the regular army if they do not return to work at once. Meanwhile the railroads have agreed to raise wages, so that the fight is apparently at an end for the time being. The Socialist party and the revolutionary unions are evidently coming out of the fight stronger than ever before. Briand has sold out to the capitalists, but he could deliver no one but himself. The Socialist workers in France, as in America, think for themselves, know what they want, and are not easily led astray by politicians.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY

WM. E. BOHN

PORTUGAL. A Revolution, But Not the Revolution. All Socialists rejoice at the news of the overthrow of the Portuguese throne. This event indicates progress. It shows, at least, that modern business rules Portugal. It shows that the medieval church is fast losing its power. That is something to rejoice over. For where modern business rules conditions are fair for a real revolution.

That the deposition of King Manuel is, however, no sign of a working-class revolt is clear from the despatches published in our capitalist dailies. The correspondents lay much stress on the fact that the "lower classes," "the mob," had little to do with the affair. This was a nice revolution, well planned and executed by army, navy and police. The rights of property, we are told, were everywhere jealously guarded.

The best result that can come from such a change as this is a clearing up of popular understanding. Perhaps the workers of Portugal will discover now that their real enemy is not the church, but the system which has thus far used the church as its shield. And when the working-class discovers its real enemy there will be a real revolution.

FRANCE. The Irrepressible Conflict. As we go to press 100,000 French railway workers are out on strike. It will be at least a week before authentic news about this great industrial struggle will reach this side of the water. But even now one thing stands out as it never did before. The strike of the railway employes is regarded, both in France and this country, as a revolt against the government. The men are striking for a raise in wages from sixty cents a day to a dollar. To strive for this in a perfectly peaceful way is regarded as a sort of treason. Could anything show more clearly the function of the republican government?

GERMANY. The Social Democracy for Revolution. The congress of the Social Democratic party met at Magdeburg, September 18-24. In some respects this gathering was as momentous as any other in the whole history of the German Socialist movement. Our German comrades are in the midst of a tremendous conflict. On both economic and political fields the class-struggle in this classic land of Socialism grows more acute with every passing day. This congress was like a great council of war in the midst of battle. The representatives of the German working-class met at Magdeburg to count their numbers, estimate their strength, and determine, so far as possible, what are the tactics demanded by the great struggle in which they are engaged. As to this matter of tactics there are grave differences among them, differences in which their enemy saw hope of division and weakness. It is with a feeling of deepest satisfaction that the Socialist press can record the fact that the hope of the enemy has been brought to naught. For the Magdeburg congress gave one of the most impressive demonstrations of working-class earnestness and working-class solidarity which the world has ever seen.

The report of the national executive committee was a tale of rapid progress in matters of organization. During the past year there has been a gain of 87,000 members. Of these new members 20,000 are women. The total membership is now 720,000. In some districts more than a third of the Socialist voters are party members. But the organizers are by no means content. Their intention is to organize the majority of voters in the majority of districts. This is no mere dream. The party has organizations in all but two of the 397 districts.

Young People's Organization. The Social Democracy maintains young people's

societies in 360 towns. In 314 towns it has founded educational institutions, and in 109 it is represented by children's protective associations. All of these organizations have it for their avowed purpose to educate the youth of Germany into Socialism. Besides these there are in operation 187 educational associations in as many towns and cities. They have expended upon their activities during the past year the sum of $125,000.

Party Press. The party supports 72 daily papers, of which number 26 receive subventions from the party treasury. During the past year there have been distributed 23,162,000 leaflets and 2,544,000 pamphlets.

All of this goes to show, as was affirmed by the report of the executive committee, that the Social Democracy has become the center of popular education in Germany as well as the only vital, saving force in German political life.

Two vital matters of tactics came up for discussion. These were the attitude of Socialist parliamentarians toward governmental budgets and the advisability of making use of the general strike in the Prussian suffrage war.

It was the first of these which occasioned the most determined difference of opinion. Discussion of it always involves the age-old differences of temperament between North-German and South-German. More than this, it brings into clear relief differences arising from differing political and social institutions.

It will be remembered that at previous congresses held at Lübeck and Nürnberg resolutions were adopted which made it obligatory for Socialist members of the various state parliaments to vote against governmental budgets on the last reading. The opening paragraphs of the resolution adopted at Nürnberg read as follows: "The party convention indorses anew the resolutions of Lübeck and Dresden, which read: 'As long as the state remains in the hands of the ruling class it is an organ of class rule and constitutes a means of keeping down the propertyless masses. The political purpose of the proletarian class-struggle is to get possession of the powers of state by conquering the enemy. Any policy of compromise with the existing social and political order is not to be considered.'

"As a necessary consequence of this fundamental conception and in view of the fact that a vote in favor of a budget must be regarded as a vote of confidence in the government, Socialist deputies are always to refuse to vote in favor of a budget presented by an opposing government—except in case the defeat of such a budget through the action of our comrades means the acceptance of one less favorable to the working-class.

Some months ago the majority of the Socialist group in the parliament of Baden cast their votes for the government's budget. Since that time there has been going on in the German party press a thorough-going discussion of the relation between Socialist parliamentarians and the capital state. In general the strictest revolutionists, the so-called Marxists, have condemned the action of the Baden comrades. The Revisionists, on the contrary, have defended it. The former are strongest in the north of Germany, the latter in the south.

The executive committee of the party introduced at Magdeburg a resolution which reaffirmed the one passed at Nürnberg and then went on as follows: "The congress sees in the granting of the budget by the majority of the Socialist deputies in the parliament of Baden a conscious breach of the rule laid down to govern the action of Socialist parliamentary groups and a serious attack on the unity of the party. Unity cannot be maintained unless all party members subordinate themselves to the decisions of party congresses. The disregard of such decisions is one of the gravest misdemeanors which a party member can commit against the party.

"Therefore the congress hereby expresses its most pronounced disapproval of Socialist deputies who voted for the budget in the parliament of Baden."

Comrade Bebel defended this resolution in an address which held the congress spellbound for two hours. He maintained that the traditional Socialist tactics, the tactics of uncompromising opposition, have been abundantly justified. They have accomplished two great results. They have forced the bourgeois government to pass all sorts of reform laws and they have brought the working-class into the Socialist party even more rapidly than anyone had dared hope. What excuse can there be for a change?

Comrade Frank, of Mannheim, spoke for the Baden group. He explained the situation which was held to justify the action under discussion. After the last election the parliament of Baden found itself made up of 20 Socialists, 17 Liberals and 26 Clericals. This meant, of course, that if the Socialists refused to join with the Liberals the Clericals, the most bigoted of all reactionaries, would control the house. To prevent this the Socialists consented to form a "bloc." For doing this they were rewarded with various posts of responsibility and influence. They secured, it was explained, the passage of numerous measures which will bring benefit to the working-class, notably an extremely liberal school-law.

The resolution of the executive committee was finally adopted by a vote of 289 to 80. In a later session the congress adopted a resolution providing that anyone who breaks the rule laid down in the resolution on the budget question will thereby be automatically shut out of the party. This means, of course, that the great majority of German Socialists are strongly in favor of straight revolutionary tactics.

Use of General Strike in Suffrage War. The discussion of this subject was also fraught with wide significance. For a long time Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has been carrying on a campaign in favor of the general strike. She has been opposed by Karl Kautsky and many other influential leaders. At the congress she introduced a resolution advising the use of the general strike as a last resort in the struggle for a modern suffrage law in Prussia. This resolution was finally carried by a good majority.

No doubt *Vorwaerts* speaks the conviction of all German Socialism when it says: "Not weakened, but strengthened, filled with the consciousness of power, our united party marches to the impending conflict."

ENGLAND. New Life in an Old Movement. The English labor movement seems to be rousing itself. To be sure enough things have happened to it of late to force it to fight for its life. But it has seemed until lately as if English unionists were not quite sure whether their organizations were worth fighting for. There is, however, a new feeling abroad in the English world of labor.

This new feeling was very evident in the trade union congress which met at Sheffield September 14-18. The chief subject up for discussion was the now famous Osborne case. It will be remembered that some time ago a certain Osborne objected to paying his assessment toward the support of the Labor members of Parliament. He went into court and secured an injunction. The case was carried from one court to another till it finally reached the House of Lords. There, of course, Osborne was upheld. This decision has hopelessly crippled the Labor party.

The matter roused the union congress as few things have ever done. One delegate after another declared himself ready to go to jail if that were necessary to the full assertion of his right to tax himself to support members of Parliament or do anything else which seemed advisable to advance the interest of his class. It was the general sentiment of the congress that members of Parliament should be paid by the government. Nevertheless practically all of the speakers insisted that the unions should have the right to do whatever they thought best with their own money.

The resolution adopted condemned the House of Lords and called on union men throughout the country to fight for a reversal of the decision in every way possible.

It is illuminating to read that in a discussion of this topic Mr. Shackleton, the representative of the Labor group in Parliament, defended the Liberal government and urged the need of patience and caution. "Just wait," he said in effect; "be quiet, don't get too violent, and the Liberal government will see to it that in the end you get all that is good for you."

This attitude of Mr. Shackleton helps one to understand why it is that the unions have found it impossible to support their parliamentary representatives by voluntary contributions from the members. In one large union, it is reported, only four pence were contributed.

Apparently the rank and file are fast losing what little interest they had in representatives.

The congress denounced in most unmeasured terms the employment agencies which have been established in accordance with a measure put through by the Liberal government. These agencies have been proved to be nothing but recruiting offices to supply strikebreakers; and resolution of the congress declared as much. This was done in opposition to Mr. Shackleton and other parliamentary leaders.

All in all the congress goes to show that the English labor unions are breaking away from the leadership which has kept them "safe and sane."

And recent developments in the form of strikes and lock-outs have shown even more clearly what is taking place in the English working-class mind. There are at present serious labor difficulties in the English shipyards and cotton mills and in the Welsh coal fields. In all these fields of labor the workers have broken their agreements. That is, they have grown tired of taking grievances to boards which always put them off with promises or decided in favor of the employers. They are being denounced as anarchists. But denunciation seems to have little effect upon them. They are in a healthy state of revolt. What may come of it no man can tell. There is much talk of a change in the form of union organization. Let us hope that it will come, and that soon.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

ONE of the important questions of policy that has arisen in the trade union movement, as far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, is the relation of the latter to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is almost certain that regardless of the probable action of the St. Louis convention of the Federation endorsing the position of the executive council, which favors placing the Canadian body in the category of state federations, this question will not be settled for several weighty reasons.

In the first place the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is a national body and deals with national as well as provincial questions, and, therefore, the men on the other side of the boundary line assert that not only should the Congress be not regarded as a state or provincial body, but that the various international unions having locals in Canada should, through those subordinate bodies, be affiliated with and bear their share of the burden of the Congress in the matter of spreading the work of organization, working for favorable legislation, etc.

Moreover the Canadian labor movement has been growing rapidly during the past few years and the outlook is that it will expand still faster in the next couple of years, so that prominent men in the labor ranks are looking forward to the formation of provincial branches to be attached to the Congress and to correspond with the state federations on this side of the line. Then, the Canadians say, the Congress would be in an awkward position if it held only a state charter for the provincial bodies could not be regarded as city central organizations and would become a sort of a step-child.

It's not that the Canadian unionists are aspiring for power in the American labor movement or are narrow nationalists. The cause of the contention lies deeper than that. It was produced by capitalistic meddling. In order to divide and conquer, the capitalists have been assiduously and patriotically engaged in waving the flag and shouting "Canada for Canadians." Their orators and newspapers have insinuated and sneered that Canadian workers are regarded as inferiors by the unionists of the States, that all the headquarters were located on this side of the border, that a flood of Canadian coin is flowing into the coffers of the labor officials in the States without return, and that the workers in the Dominion ought to have their separate organizations, same as the toilers in the various European countries, or at least be affiliated with the British unionists rather than those in the States.

Quite naturally some of these arguments become pretty firmly implanted in the minds of the thoughtless elements, and those men who know better and are active workers have some difficulty in explaining matters to those who are misled by the jingoistic and hypocritical plutes and their satellites. Consequently the labor spokesmen in Canada are quite naturally desirous of overcoming the obstacles that are in their way, and unless the question is handled in a tactful manner it may create an undesirable condition in the not distant future.

THE Actors' Union and the White Rats (the latter a famous social and fraternal organization among the theatrical profession) have been making attempts to get together, but without result. The Rats applied for a charter from the A. F. of L., but the A. U. entered a protest, whereupon a conference was called and held, but without result. The matter went before the St. Louis A. F. of L. convention and doubtless efforts will be continued to bring about a merger between the two organizations.

While the White Rats is composed of many of the leading actors in the country, and heretofore has not been regarded as a labor organization, yet the

centralization of capital in the theatrical world and the commercializing of art during recent years brought the men and women who earn a living behind the footlights to a realization of the fact that they are in the same boat as other people who are compelled to work for pay.

What with the theatrical combines and booking agencies exploiting them, and the competition for employment that exists in the profession, the lot of the actor folks is none too pleasant. Not all is gold that glitters—especially on the stage.

THE Railway Employes' and Investors' Association, a hybrid organization that was formed last year, has finally exposed its hands. At a conference held in New York several weeks ago, which was packed by the corporations with several hundred delegates "representing" ever so many hundred thousand railroaders, it was solemnly resolved to favor increasing freight rates for the benefit of the master class and to elect "friends" to office to protect the innocent combines.

It is, of course, too early to determine how many "friends" were elected, but it is a safe guess that if not sufficient won out at the polls enough others will be bought or bulldozed to enable the corporations to continue their sandbagging game.

But that isn't the point to be considered here. The galling thing about that New York convention, and which ought to cause every self-respecting railroad man in the country to blush, was that Pat Morrissey, the $15,000 labor skate who presides over the so-called Employes' and Investors' Association, was cunning enough to place the railway workers on the auction block and sell them mighty cheap—in fact they were virtually given away!

It is no excuse to argue that the men had received advances in wages during the past year. The Lord knows the men had to fight hard enough to obtain what they finally did get, to meet the increased cost of living, and everybody but a gibbering idiot knows that they are compelled to work hard enough for the stipend that they receive without being expected to get down upon their marrow bones and gratefully lick the boots of their masters.

THE delegates to the New York convention, who doubtless had their expenses paid by the corporations, showed that they were a cheap bunch, not because they helped the fat plute to put the boots to Mr. Common People (the favorite woe-stricken subject of the cartoonist), but were too timid or cowardly to make a few demands for themselves. Nothing was said about reducing the capitalization of the watered stock, which requires the railway men to work long hours and for little pay in order that dividends may be paid, and the sweating for which has almost reached the limit, it is desired to gouge the public by raising transportation rates. Nothing was said about employers' liability and workmen's compensation to fairly and justly reward those who sacrifice their lives and limbs to enrich the Morgans and Rockefellers and Hills, instead of leaving them dependent upon the charity doles that are handed out. Safety appliances, long hours that exhaust the men and cause the killing and maiming of hundreds of innocent people, the miserable wage received in some branches of railroading, the anti-union attitude of many corporations or their official hirelings, and other matters bearing upon the material interests of labor, received no consideration at the hands of the slavish delegates who were herded in New York by the immaculate overseer, Morrissey, and upon the signal of clacquers applauded the smooth rascals who orated about "our flag," "our glorious institutions," and the like, winding up by shouting "aye" when it came to the adoption of resolutions endorsing the proposed hold-up of the American people, which resolutions were duly dispatched to the four corners of the country by the plutocratic Associated Press. Seldom, if ever, in the history of this country has there been such an exhibition of cringing servility and cowardice as was that New York convention.

ELECTIONS in two of the big organizations take place next month. In the United Mine Workers the contest for



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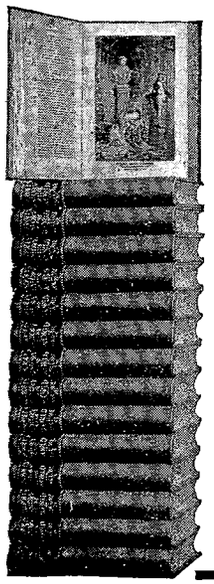
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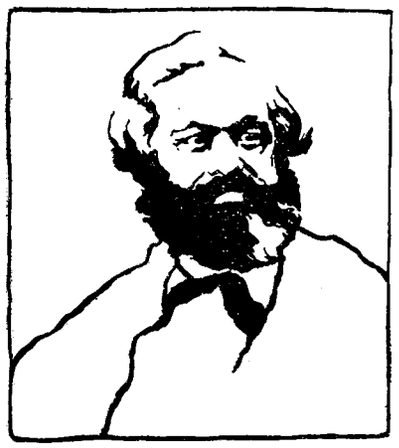
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president will be between Thomas L. Lewis, the present incumbent, and John White of Iowa. In the Brotherhood of Carpenters the race is between William Huber, present incumbent, and W. G. Schardt, of Chicago, for the presidency. In both organizations the opposition to the present officials is quite formidable.

THE Western Federation of Miners' strike against the Homestake mine at Lead, S. D., controlled by the Hearst estate, is attracting the attention of the organized workers of the country. The United Mine Workers' convention in Indianapolis, the Brotherhood of Carpenters' convention in Des Moines, Ia., and the central bodies of San Francisco and other Western cities, have declared boycotts against all the Hearst papers until such time as that famous "workingman's friend," W. R. Hearst, makes his peace with the W. F. of M.

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LITERATURE

The Fighting Editor, or Warren and the Appeal.—Under this title George D. Brewer has written a book that is full of interest from the first page to the last. It includes a word picture of the Appeal to Reason office, a life sketch of Fred D. Warren, an account of the fight which the Appeal carried on for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone when they were in the shadow of the gallows, and a story of the fight which the United States government has been waging ever since Haywood's acquittal upon Warren and the Appeal. Every reader of THE REVIEW should know that Fred Warren is now under sentence to six months' imprisonment for an alleged technical violation of the postal laws. He is out on bail pending a decision from the United States Court of Appeals, which has been delayed for six months, and probably will be handed down after the November election is over. *The Fighting Editor* gives a complete story of the whole case, with the full text of Warren's speech before the U. S. District Court at Fort Scott and before the Court of Appeals at St. Paul. Cloth, library style, 211 pages, 50 cents postpaid. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

History of The Great American Fortunes, Vol. III, by Gustavus Myers, Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago. Cloth, $1.50.

In this third volume of his excellent work Comrade Myers continues his historical review of the methods by which great fortunes have been accumulated in America. Fourteen chapters are devoted to the great railroad fortunes and their owners, including magnates like Russell Sage, Jay Gould, John I. Blair, John W. Garrett, Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, J. Pierpont Morgan, Stephen B. Elkins, James J. Hill and others. Long forgotten government reports, investigation committees of Congress, court litigations and other sources of history are resurrected to tell the story of fraud, bribery, swindle and theft that form the basis of these great fortunes.

There are those who hold that great fortunes based on what is called "legitimate investment" and having no taint of bribery, fraud or theft, in the ordinary acceptance of these terms, are to be commended and their possessors honored for their genius in accumulating them. It is furthermore held that this "legitimate" method of exploiting others is the normal one, and the "illegitimate" one is exceptional. Myers' investigations prove the reverse. In fact, it is doubtful whether there is a single great fortune in America that has been acquired by relying on the advantage which ownership of the sources of employment give. The apologists for the existing regime are deprived of this consolation, and an investigation into the origin of huge forms of wealth will no doubt reveal that all of their owners have violated every principle of their own code of honesty, false and contemptible as that code is.

In the present volume the author gives us the story of Russell Sage's first venture on the sea of finance, which shows the reader how the future millionaire, as alderman of Troy, New York, swindled that city out of a railroad. Later he is found with a choice group of other swindlers acquiring railroads and "double-crossing" some of his "pals" and getting away with the loot. The narrative leaves him a venerable millionaire among the vandals of Wall Street, and, on his death, leaving his immense fortune to his widow, who in turn gives a part of the plunder to a society to probe that baffling mystery—what is the cause of poverty?

Jay Gould, the master thief of his century, next crosses the stage, leaving wreck and ruin in his path. However, his career is more or less known to even the dullest, but it is well to have him embalmed with the rest. John I. Blair, always held as a model of "business virtue" even today, is shown to have been of the same stamp as the other pirates, and another idol goes over into the gut-

ter. Then comes the "Pacific quartet," Huntington, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins, starting with nothing and ending by owning immense tracts of land, railroads, governors, judges, senators and other forms of merchandise. One becomes a governor, another senator, and still another takes a part of his loot and founds a famous California university, winning, incidentally, instant recognition as a "philanthropist" and promoter of education.

J. Pierpont Morgan next appears during the civil war and gives the "poor boy" with ambition, courage and persistence the proper idea how to "get a start in the world" and win applause as a Sunday school model. He leaped into fame by purchasing rotten rifles condemned by the government at the rate of $3.50 each and selling them back to the government for $22 apiece! These were no doubt the times that tried the souls of eminent financiers—there were so many opportunities of this kind. Morgan's preeminence based on this early venture is traced down to the present, when the narrative leaves him a pious passer of the collection plate in a fashionable church. "Steve" Elkins, who owns West Virginia as his private preserve, blossomed into one of those "beauty roses" John D. Jr., told us of a few years ago, by confiscating land in New Mexico, and later went to the senate, where he still is, to guard his thefts and those of his fellow pirates. "Jim" Hill, the railroad king of the northwest, who is now teaching us national economics in a great magazine, has a background in his life as a railroad wrecker and looter which is given the last chapter in the volume.

We are glad to note that the author will in future volumes review the career of Harriman and the rise of the Standard Oil Company, and also deal with great fortunes based on public franchises, mines and industries. An index to the three volumes is contained in the third one, which is the largest book of the three. The entire work will be prized by many for the incontrovertible facts it contains, as well as the great mass of documentary evidence that supports every statement made and conclusion drawn.

JAMES ONEAL.

The Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker, by Theresa S. Malkiel, published by the Co-operative Press, 15 Spruce street, New York, N. Y., in attractive paper cover at 25 cents (cloth 50 cents) is one of the most realistic stories we have had the pleasure of reading in a long time. The little book is dedicated to "the nameless heroines of the Shirtwaist Makers' Strike"—a touching eulogy to the splendid, class-conscious girls and women who raised such consternation in the hearts of the employers in New York City last year.

We are not going to tell you the story here, because we want you to have the pleasure of suffering as the young girl on strike suffers, of fighting when she fights, and enjoying her victories as though they were you own, as you will in reading the pages of Mrs. Malkiel's little book.

Nobody gets so close to the hopes and fears and struggles of workingmen and women who has not made his life, or her life, a part and parcel of the revolutionary Socialist movement. We have had too many books from the Investigator, who fancies she is drawing her pictures from ABOVE; we have had a very few books idealizing the working girl or the working man into a superior being and endowing them with godlike qualities they have never possessed. We need more books showing the splendid simplicity, the rugged fighting spirit and the plain humaneness of the working class. Mrs. Malkiel has shown us the life of a natural, ordinary young working woman and the evolution of her ideas. It is a story everyone will enjoy.

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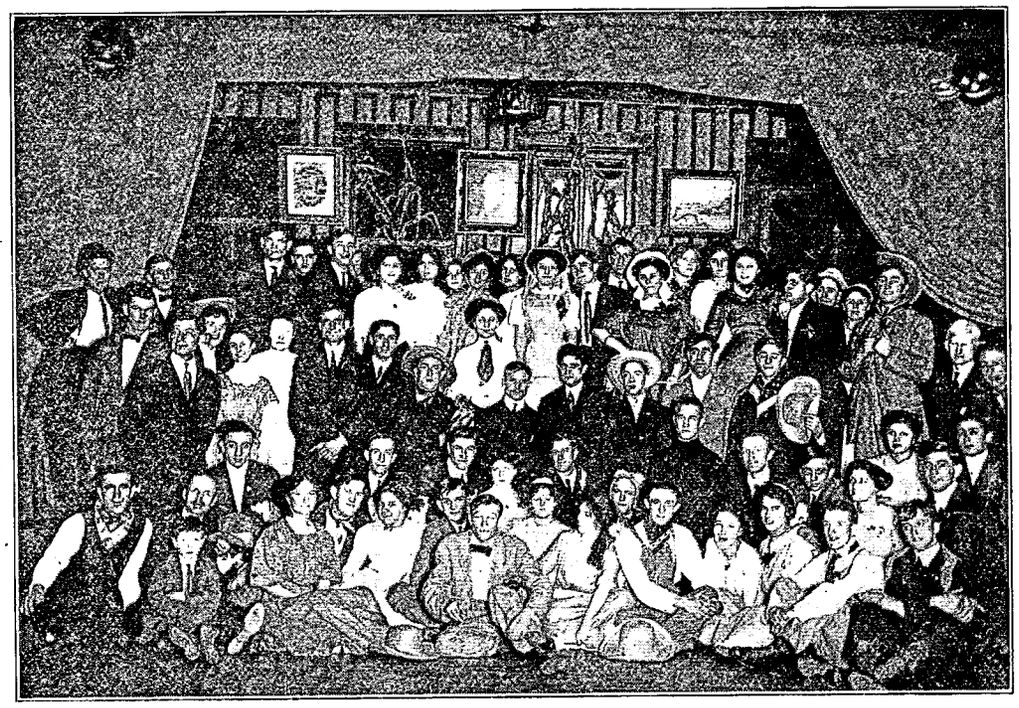
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NEWS AND VIEWS



YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE, CHICAGO—FALL FESTIVAL.

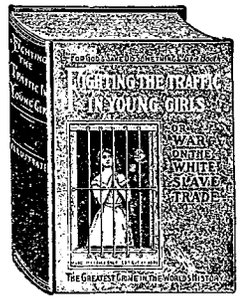
Young People's Socialist League.—Nearly four years ago a group of young people, filled with the enthusiasm of the Socialist philosophy, got together in Chicago and decided that a young people's organization was absolutely necessary to the wellbeing of the Socialist movement in Chicago. Hard work on the part of this small group has brought about great results. A neat hall and headquarters has been established in the same building with the *Daily Socialist* and the party national office. The league is out of debt and has planned some splendid free lectures to be given this winter. There will always be a free lecture at headquarters on Wednesday and Sunday evenings.

But we see the necessity of establishing social centers for the young folks in every city in America. If the young folks will not attend dry business meetings, we can band them together in social groups and teach them Socialism by means of lectures and discussions. The Young People's Socialist League of Chicago (180 Washington street) is ready and willing to assist comrades at any other point. Drop us a line and get a copy of our by-laws and constitution and we will be pleased to give you any information possible.—By Merle B. Haver.

The Springfield, Ohio, comrades put up a sign reading as follows: Comrades; give us your order for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the fighting magazine of the working class. To sell to your co-workers. It's easy. Pay us when you have collected their dimes. The one who sells the most will receive a duplicate bound volume of any 50 cent book in our library. Literature Committee. Their first order was for 20 copies and they are now getting over 200 each month. Comrade Townend writes us that the Springfield method will organize the comrades and get them in the habit of voluntarily distributing literature. "It makes habitual readers of our co-workers and in time, class-conscious militant Socialists. It will build up a literature fund. It will enable them to buy leafllets by the 1,000. It is BUSINESS! A double-headed business. It makes money and it makes Socialists!"

"Human Vultures Who Fatten on the Shame of Innocent Girls"

FIGHTING THE TRAFFIC IN YOUNG GIRLS, or WAR ON THE WHITE SLAVE TRADE



By ERNEST A. BELL

Secretary of the Illinois Vigilance Association—With Special Chapters by the Following Persons:

HON. EDWIN W. SIMS, United States District Attorney, Chicago.
HON. HARRY L. PARKIN, Assist. United States Dist. Attorney, Chicago.
HON. CLIFFORD G. ROE, Assist. States Attorney, Cook County, Illinois.
WM. ALEXANDER COOTE, Secretary of the National Vigilance Association. London, England.
JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS, of the National Vigilance Committee, New York.
CHARLES N. CRITTENTON, President of the National Florence Crittenton Mission.
MRS. OPHELIA AMIGH, Supt. of the Illinois Training School for Girls.
PRINCIPAL D. F. SUTHERLAND, Red Water Institute, Red Water, Tex.
DR. WILLIAM T. BELFIELD, Professor in Rush Medical College, Chicago.
DR. WINFIELD SCOTT HALL, Professor in Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago

"Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls" is the most sensational indictment of the White Slave trade ever published. The greatest shame and sin of our Twentieth Century civilization is exposed to the light in all its hideous and horrifying truth. The world wide organization of the White Slave Trade in all the countries of the world is revealed and the methods of these hell-hounds who make a business of dealing in young girls is fully and completely exposed.

Thousands Upon Thousands of Young Girls

are annually sold into a life of sin and shame. The blackest slavery that has ever stained human history is going on right at your very door at this minute. **Young girls from 13 to 20** are **daily** being **stolen** and **sold** into houses of ill-fame. This is not being done by one man, but by a gigantic organization whose sole business is luring young girls away from home and then selling them to keepers of dives to live a life that is worse than death.

The Whole Nation is Astounded

at the magnitude of this greatest of all evils, the White Slave trade. This hideous monster of vice has no geographical boundaries, it is in every clime, seeking its victims with a relentless and inhuman ferocity. This great work, written by the ablest and best qualified men and women in the world, tells the awful tragedy of the means used to procure these young girls, the price they are sold for and the horrible and debasing lives they have to lead.

Hundreds of personal statements from the girls themselves, sad and pitiful, but nevertheless true, are recorded in this book.

Every Chapter, Every Page, Every Paragraph and Every Sentence Of this entire volume of over 500 pages leaves the one who reads it numb and chill with the utter heartlessness of these demons who lure from homes of culture and virtue, young girls, wives and mothers and **wreck their souls** and **kill their bodies.**

You can see these young women crying out in the night; you can see the blanched faces and hear the ribald laughter of souls that are lost and minds that are warped; you can see the men that go into the rural districts, in the smaller cities, and there under the lurid promise of a good position and social advantages in the big cities, **bring into the jaws of this awful monster,** young girls who should be the mothers of our Nation's future.

To the Youths and Young Men of America

There are some things in connection with what is called "Sowing wild oats," "Having a good time in the city," etc., that you ought to know. Absolute facts and results that eminent physicians who have studied the subject, and whose experience is very wide, have found to exist as the result of this pernicious pastime. Every young man who contemplates asking some good, sweet pure young woman to be his wife, should look well to himself, so that both may be saved years of misery in the future. This book contains **special chapters** written by **prominent doctors,** that you should read for the preservation of your health, **her health** and the happiness of both, as well as the generations to come.

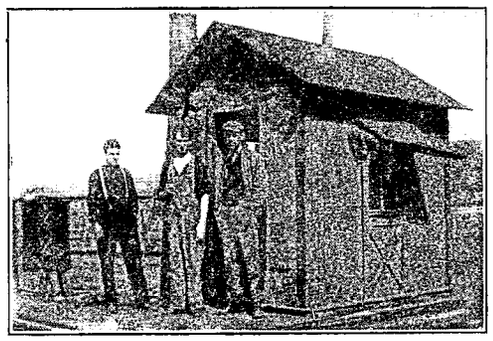
The **exceptional authorship** of this work is a **Guarantee** of the **truth** and **authenticity** of the terrible conditions that exist and the necessity for the co-operation of every Christian to help exterminate this great evil.

Fully Illustrated

This volume is **strikingly illustrated** with actual photographs and drawings of White Slavers, plying their nefarious trade, luring young girls into the net of shame, vice resorts, and their victims, the awful result of the White Slave trade on its victims, and the great war now being waged to suppress this burning shame of our nation. **Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls** is the most complete and authentic work on this burning subject, and contains a special grade of No. 1 book paper, over **500 pages of Text** printed on a special grade paper, and **32 pages of half-tone illustrations,** handsomely bound in the following styles:

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HOME BOOK CONCERN, Victoria Bldg., 3137 Logan Blvd., CHICAGO, ILL.



From Rochester, Pa.—Enclosed will find a picture of the 1909 Local Grievance Committee of the "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen," of Conway, Pa. All members of the Socialist party.

The center one is myself, agent for *Chicago Daily Socialist, Hope,* and INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Yours for the revolution,

J. R. GALLIGAN.

Socialist Stickers on Freight Cars.—Comrade J. F. Mabie writes from Butte, Montana: "Last night I spent an hour or more in the freight yards here putting stickers on the freight cars. I pasted them on the end of the car by the lever that is used to uncouple and on the door by the lock so that any man who uncouples a car or opens a door will be sure to see it. It is safe to say that those stickers that I put on in an hour will be read by five hundred people. Could you not mention this plan in the REVIEW? A few comrades in a big railroad center could in a few days send these all over the country." The stickers referred to are supplied from this office at cost, 25 cents for a hundred each of three kinds, samples free on request.

Selling Reviews for admission tickets to lectures is the new method Socialists in Niagara Falls are using to introduce the REVIEW in their city. Comrade Parsons ordered 100 copies which the comrades sold as admission tickets at a lecture given recently. The hall held only 150 persons, but he came back ordering 50 MORE copies. Evidently the hall was filled and overflowing. Don't forget this method of acquainting your neighbors with the REVIEW.

Comrade L. T. Rush, who is now in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, continues to send in a few REVIEW subscriptions every week. On Oct. 2d three more came our way and Comrade Rush wrote: "We have to make use of every day and get the foundation of education laid. The mortar of the movement is the working class press. I take subscriptions in my spare time." What the Socialist movement needs most of all is more earnest men and women who will carry the message of Socialism into the shops, mines, the mills and factories. We are always cheered and inspired by a letter from Comrade Rush.

BOOKS FOR THE WORKERS.

Not for Those Who Are Mentally Deformed.

Thomas Paine, the Father of Republics, by T. B. Wakeman	$0.10
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The Sunday Question, by W. S. Bell	.15
Age of Reason, by Thomas Paine	.15
Examination of the Prophecies, by Thomas Paine	.15
Crime Against Criminals, by R. G. Ingersoll,	.15
Economic Equities, by J. K. Ingalls; a book for the workers	.25
Ingersoll to the Clergy, by R. G. Ingersoll	.25
The Better World, by E. B. Southwick, M. D.	.50
A Few Words About the Devil, and Other Essays, by Charles Bradlaugh. Cloth, $1.00; paper	.50
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MEAD CYCLE CO. Dept. R-248 CHICAGO

Comrade Ash, of New Mexico, sends in $14.00 for fourteen new REVIEW subscriptions and put $14.00 worth of premium Socialist books to work telling his friends what Socialism means. "I would like to write a few words of praise for your magazine, but I am not gifted that way," he writes. "Nobody asked me to get subscribers for the REVIEW but it looked good to me and here are fourteen." We wish more of our friends were gifted in the matter of getting subscriptions. Subscriptions are better than talk any day, Comrade Ash.

Congratulations.—It is not customary for revolutionists to indulge in outbursts of congratulatory feelings to those who are merely doing their duty. But I make your case an exception, because you seem to be almost alone in being fair and absolutely true to the real proletarian class. Therefore, I think the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is by far the best Socialist publication in America. All Socialists, in theory, favor industrial organization, but they are so carried away with political action that they overlook the industrial side. I have been an active Socialist agitator for seven years, but not till I came to the Pacific Coast last winter, where the fearless fires of the revolution seem to burn in the very air, did I ever recognize the supreme importance of organizing on the industrial field—in the shop, mill, mine and factory, right at the point of production. I am convinced, now, that we must organize and get control of the industries right where we are exploited and enslaved, use the general strike and direct action, and wrest from the bosses all we can and as rapidly as we can till we can get control of it all. Then it will only be necessary to fire the bosses and stop the profits, turning the latter back into the pay envelopes of the workers. As we grow, we will gain the knowledge by experience, right in the places we work, to run the industries.

I traveled 40 miles to vote for Debs and Hanford last election, and wasn't sure I could vote when I got there. But I voted. So, I am not against political action. But it doesn't always go far enough.

M. B. BUTLER.

Socialist Hustlers!

The Socialist movement has developed many live, active, up-to-date hustlers, men who have made records at sub. taking, who can approach people, put up a convincing talk and close a quick deal. We want to get in touch with such men.

We can show you how to turn this ability into good round dollars. * Light, pleasant, steady work and a chance to travel, too, and work for Socialism, if you wish. We have shown others how to make from $25.00 to $100.00 per week. Why not you?**

WRITE FOR PARTICULARS

THE DIXIE PORTRAIT CO. 6435 Eggleston Ave. CHICAGO

From Phil Engle.—There is a Liberty Park in Salt Lake City, where all summer the Socialists and the I. W. W. men and women and other educators have held meetings devoted to the working class.

Early in the season the chief of police attempted to stop these open air meetings but finding that the Reds refused to be bluffed, he left them in peace.

The Socialists began to crow for it looked as though the free speech fight in Salt Lake City would not have to come off.

But the daily papers were not content to let the matter rest. Every day or so they published articles for the benefit of the soldiers who come down to town from Fort Douglas, telling them how their flag was being insulted by the street anarchists.

Article after article appeared in the *Evening Telegram,* in which hints were mingled inviting the soldiers to break in and "defend the flag," by mobbing the speakers. They did not urge them on in plain English, but the soldiers understood the suggestions and they acted accordingly.

The eggs they used in showing their enmity must have been beef trust cold storage. One brave soldier boy struck W. G. Henry with a pair of brass knuckles and then the nonprofessional fighters took a hand in the game.

For almost a month, every night, brought an encounter between the soldiers and the Socialists. Strange to say the nonprofessionals had the best of it and the professional fighters bore away many evidences of the valor of the workingmen, and so, the "Army" discreetly withdrew leaving Labor in the field.

But this gave the police an excuse to stop the meetings on the grounds that they were causing disorder. As reported in *Plain Talk,* a Socialist paper published in Salt Lake City, the various organizations enduring the persecutions of the police got together. That night all six of their speakers—Watts, Young, Engle, Brilliant, Osgood and Kerns were arrested. Bonds were furnished—instantly released. Later the cases were dismissed. Comrade William Thurston Brown and Wm. Jurgens were also arrested and Comrade Brown was brutally beaten by a policeman. Comrade Brown had the "Bull" arrested and the Free Speech League announced bigger meetings and proceeded to hold them.

The city council seemed to lose interest in a fight that was never won and backed down. The ordinance against us was tabled. Meetings in Salt Lake City are better and bigger than ever.

International Lanugauge. Booklet containing Grammar and Elements of Esperanto for two-cent stamp, from Arthur Baker, 701 East Fortieth Street, Chicago. Complete compendium for home study, with propaganda magazine one year, $1.50.

$100 **MONTHLY** and expenses to trustworthy men and women to travel and distribute samples; big manufacturer. Steady work. S. Scheffer, Treas., MJ-153, Chicago.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

My Country, Right or Wrong.—It was the ringing words of **Gustave Herve** at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress that roused proletarians the world over into militant opposition to War, and that struck terror into the hearts of the economic masters of society from Germany to Japan.

This was the clarion call that will some day render impossible capitalist wars and all wars between the nations of the world:

"The Congress . . . calls upon all comrades, in view of the diplomatic incidents which, coming from all quarters, threaten European peace, to answer any declaration of war, from **whatever** side it may come, by military strike and **Insurrection.**"

Gustave Hervé is the author of a book which is beyond all comparison the most powerful indictment of **War** and of **Patriotism** ever written. It has lately been translated into English and published in London, under the title **My Country, Right or Wrong.**

PARTIAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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The Anti-Patriotic Propaganda in the Working Class Districts of France.
Anti-Patriotic Propaganda Among the French Rurals.
The Question Will Be Put.
Appendix on the Stuttgart Congress of 1907.

We have purchased from the English translator, Comrade Bowman, all the remaining sheets of the English edition, and have had them bound in extra cloth, stamped in gold. There are **only five hundred copies,** all we could get. There will not be nearly enough for all who want them, therefore

THIS BOOK IS NOT FOR SALE.

You cannot buy it at any price. We will **give** you a copy, mailing it to your address, if you send **three dollars** for subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. In return for this $3.00 we will send THE REVIEW three years to one name or one year to three new names, or will send you three yearly subscription cards or twelve three-months' cards.

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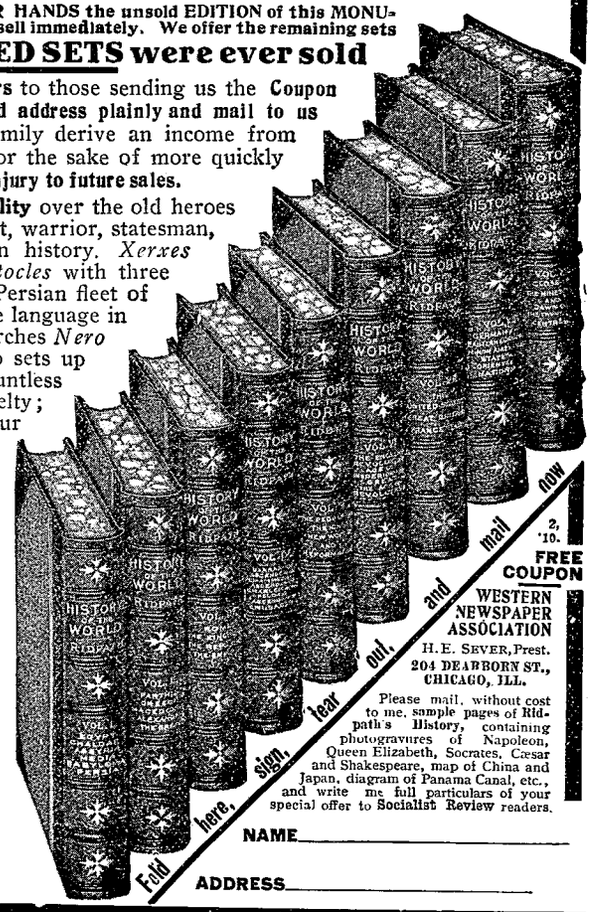
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RIDPATH throws the mantle of personality over the old heroes of history. *Alexander* is there; patriot, warrior, statesman, diplomat, crowning the glory of Grecian history. *Xerxes* from his mountain platform sees *Themistocles* with three hundred and fifty Greek ships smash his Persian fleet of over a thousand sail, and help to mould the language in which this paragraph is written. Rome perches *Nero* upon the greatest throne on earth, and so sets up a poor madman's name to stand for countless centuries as the synonym of savage cruelty; *Napoleon* fights Waterloo again under your very eyes, and reels before the iron fact that at last the end of his gilded dream has come. *Bismarck* is there, gruff, overbearing, a giant pugilist in the diplomatic ring, laughing with grim disdain at France, which says, "You shall not." *Washington* is there, "four square to all the winds," grave, thoughtful, proof against the wiles of British strategy and the poisoned darts of false friends; clear-seeing over the heads of his fellow-countrymen, and on into another century, the most colossal world-figure of his time.

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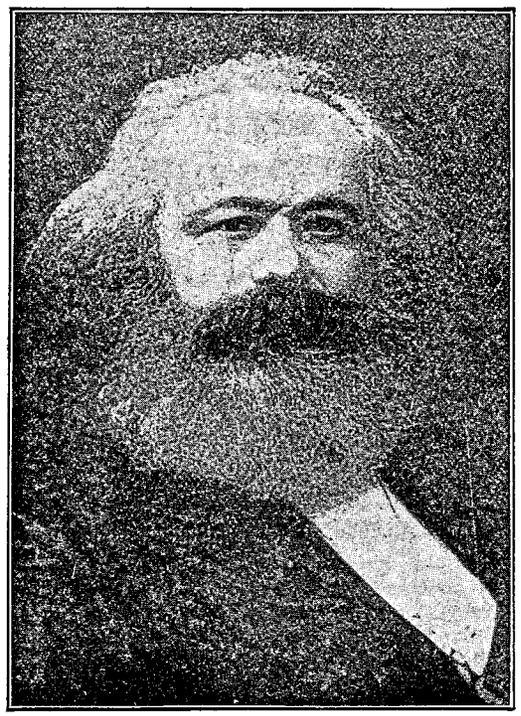
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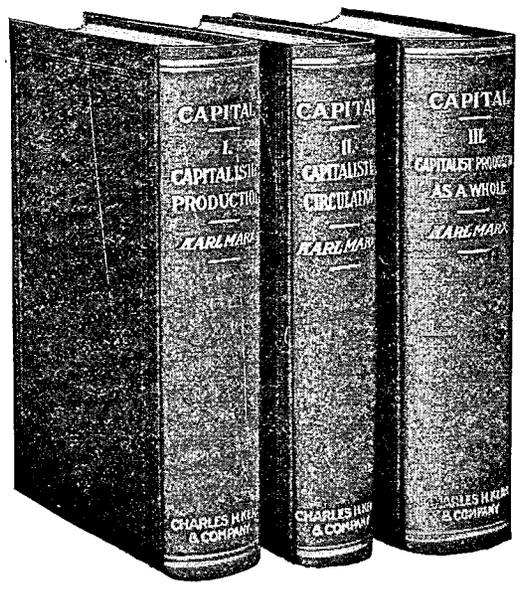


¶ **Marx's CAPITAL,** the greatest of all Socialist books, is now for the first time within the reach of English-speaking people. It is in three large volumes.

¶ Volume I is entitled **The Process of Capitalist Production.** It gives in full detail an explanation and analysis of the process by which the wage-worker is compelled to labor for the bare cost of living, while the **Surplus Value** which he produces is taken from him by the capitalist. Cloth, 869 pages, $2.00.

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn

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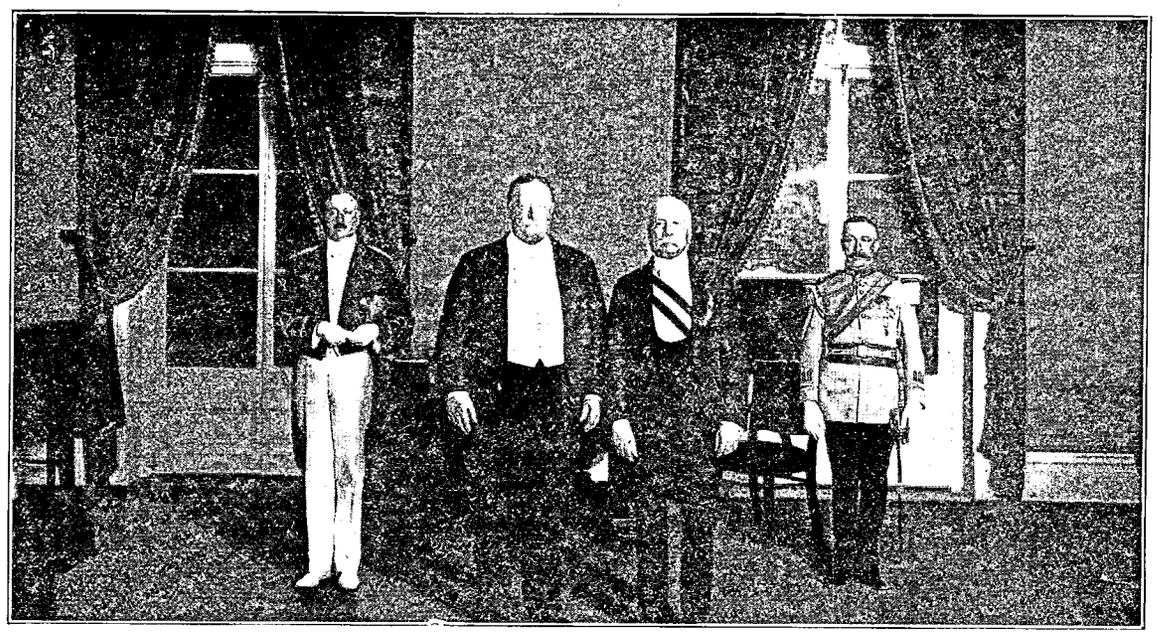
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TAFT AND DIAZ AT EL PASO, TEXAS.

THE AMERICAN PARTNERS OF DIAZ

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

(FROM ADVANCE SHEETS OF "BARBAROUS MEXICO.")

THE United States is a partner in the slavery of Mexico. After freeing his black slaves Uncle Sam, at the end of half a century, has become a slaver again. Uncle Sam has gone to slave-driving in a foreign country.

No, I shall not charge this to Uncle Sam, the genial, liberty-loving fellow citizen of our childhood. I would rather say that Uncle Sam is dead and that another is masquerading in his place—a counterfeit Uncle Sam who has so far deceived the people into believing that he is the real one. It is that person whom I charge with being a slaver.

This is a strong statement, but I believe that the facts justify it. The United States is responsible in part for the extension of the system of slavery in Mexico; second, it is responsible as the determining force in the continuation of that slavery; third, it is responsible knowingly for these things.

When I say the United States I do not

mean a few minor and irresponsible American officials. Nor do I mean the American nation—which, in my humble judgment, is unjustly charged with the crimes of some persons over whom, under conditions as they exist, it has no control. I use the term in its most literal and exact sense. I mean the organized power which officially represents this country at home and abroad. I mean the Federal Government and the interests that control the Federal Government.

Adherents of a certain political cult in this country are wont to declare that chattel slavery was abolished in the United States because it ceased to be profitable. Without commenting on the truth or fallacy of his assertion, I aver that there are plenty of Americans who are prepared to prove that slavery is profitable in Mexico. Because it is considered profitable, these Americans have, in various ways, had a hand in the extension of the institution. Desiring to perpetuate Mexican slavery and considering General Diaz a necessary factor in that perpetuation, they have given him their undivided support. By their control of the press they have glorified his name, when otherwise his name should be by right a stench in the nostrils of the world. But they have gone much farther than this. By their control of the political machinery of their government, the United States government, they have held him in his place when otherwise he would have fallen. *Most effectively has the police power of this country been used to destroy a movement of Mexicans for the abolition of Mexican slavery and to keep the chief slavedriver of Barbarous Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, upon his throne.*

Still another step can we go in these generalizations. By making itself an indispensable factor in his continuation in the governmental power, through its business partnership, its press conspiracy and its police and military alliance, the United States has virtually reduced Diaz to a political dependency, and by so doing has virtually *transformed Mexico into a slave colony of the United States.*

As I have already suggested, these are generalizations, but if I did not believe that the facts set forth in this and the succeeding chapter fully justified each and every one of them, I would not make them.

Pardon me for again referring to the remarkable defense of Mexican slavery and Mexican despotism which we find in the United States, inasmuch as it is itself a strong presumption of guilty partnership in that slavery and despotism. What publication or individual in the United States, pray you, was ever known to defend the system of political oppression in Russia? What publication or individual in the United States was ever known to excuse the slave atrocities of the Congo Free State? How many Americans are in the habit of singing paeans of praise to Czar Nicholas or the late King Leopold?

Americans of whatever class not only do not dare to do these things, but they do not care to do them. But what a difference when it comes to Mexico! Here slavery is sacred. Here autocracy is deified.

It will not do to deny the honesty of the comparison between Mexico and Russia or the Congo. For every worshipper of Diaz knows that he is an autocrat and a slavedriver and enough of them admit it to leave no ground for doubt that they know it.

What, then, is the reason for this strange diversion of attitude? Why do so many prostrate themselves before the Czar of Mexico and none prostrate themselves before the Czar of Russia? Why is America flooded with books hailing the Mexican autocrat as the greatest man of the age while it is impossible to buy a single book, regularly published and circulated, that seriously criticizes him?

The inference is inevitable that it is because Diaz is the Golden Calf in but another form, that Americans are profiting by Mexican slavery and are exerting themselves to maintain it.

But there are easily provable facts that carry us far beyond any mere inference, however logical it may be.

What is the most universal reply that has been made to my criticisms of Mexico and Mexico's ruler? That there are $900,000,000 of American capital invested in Mexico.

To the Powers that Be in the United States the nine hundred million dollars of American capital form a conclusive argument against any criticism of President Diaz. They are an overwhelming defense of Mexican slavery.

"Hush! Hush!" the word goes about. "Why, we have nine hundred million dollars grinding out profits down there!" And the American publishers obediently hush.

In that $900,000,000 of American capital in Mexico is to be found the full explanation not only of the American defense of the Mexican government, but also of the political dependency of Diaz upon the Powers that Be in this country. Wherever capital flows capital controls the government. This doctrine is recognized everywhere and by all men who have as much as half an eye for the lessons that the world is writing. The last decade or two has proved it in every country where large aggregations of capital have gathered.

No wonder there is a growing anti-American sentiment in Mexico. The Mexican people are naturally patriotic. They have gone through tremendous trials to throw off the foreign yoke in past generations and they are unwilling to bend beneath the foreign yoke today. They want the opportunity of working out their own national destiny as a separate people. They look upon the United States as a great Colossus which is about to seize them and bend them to its will.

And they are right. American capital in Mexico will not be denied. The partnership of Diaz and American capital has wrecked Mexico as a national entity. The United States government, as long as it represents American capital—and the most rampant hypocrite will hardly deny that it does today—will have a deciding voice in Mexican affairs. From the viewpoint of patriotic Mexicans the outlook is melancholy indeed.

Let us cast our eyes over Mexico and see what some of that $900,000,000 of American capital is doing there.

The Morgan-Guggenheim copper merger is in absolute control of the copper output of Mexico.

M. Guggenheim Sons own all the large smelters in Mexico, as well as vast mining properties. They occupy the same powerful position in the mining industry generally in Mexico as they occupy in the United States.

The Standard Oil Company, under the name of the Waters-Pierce, with many subsidiary corporations, controls a vastly major portion of the crude oil flow of Mexico. It controls a still greater portion of the wholesale and retail trade in oil—ninety per cent of it, so its managers claim. At the present writing there is an oil war in Mexico caused by an attempt of the only other oil distributing concern in the country—controlled by the Pearsons—to force the Standard to buy it out at a favorable price. The situation predicts an early victory for the Standard, after which its monopoly will be complete.

Agents of the American Sugar Trust have just secured from the Federal and State governments concessions for the production of sugar beets and beet sugar so favorable as to insure it a complete monopoly of the Mexican sugar business within the next ten years.

The Continental Rubber Company, of which John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is credited with holding the controlling interest, and which controls fifteen per cent of the world's production of raw rubber, is in possession of millions of acres of rubber lands, the best in Mexico.

The Wells-Fargo Express Company, the property of the Southern Pacific Railroad, through its partnership with the government, holds an absolute monopoly of the express carrying business of Mexico.

E. N. Brown, president of the National Railways of Mexico and a satellite of H. Clay Pierce and the late E. H. Harriman, is a member of the board of directors of the Banco Nacional, which is by far the largest financial institution in Mexico, a concern that has over fifty branches, in which all the chief members of the Diaz financial camarrilla are interested and through which all financial deals of the Mexican government are transacted.

Finally, the Southern Pacific Railroad and allied Harriman heirs, despite the much vaunted government railway merger, own outright or control by virtue of near-ownership, three-fourths of the main line railway mileage of Mexico, which

enables it today to impose as absolute a monopoly in restraint of trade as exists in the case of any railway combination in the United States.

These are merely some of the largest aggregations of American capital in Mexico. For example, the Harriman heirs own two and one-half millions acres of oil land in the Tampico country, and a number of other Americans own properties running into the millions of acres. Americans are involved in the combinations which control the flour and meat trades of Mexico. The purely trade interests are themselves considerable. Eighty per cent of Mexican exports come to the United States and sixty-six per cent of Mexican imports are sent to her by us, the American trade with Mexico totaling some $75,000,000 a year.

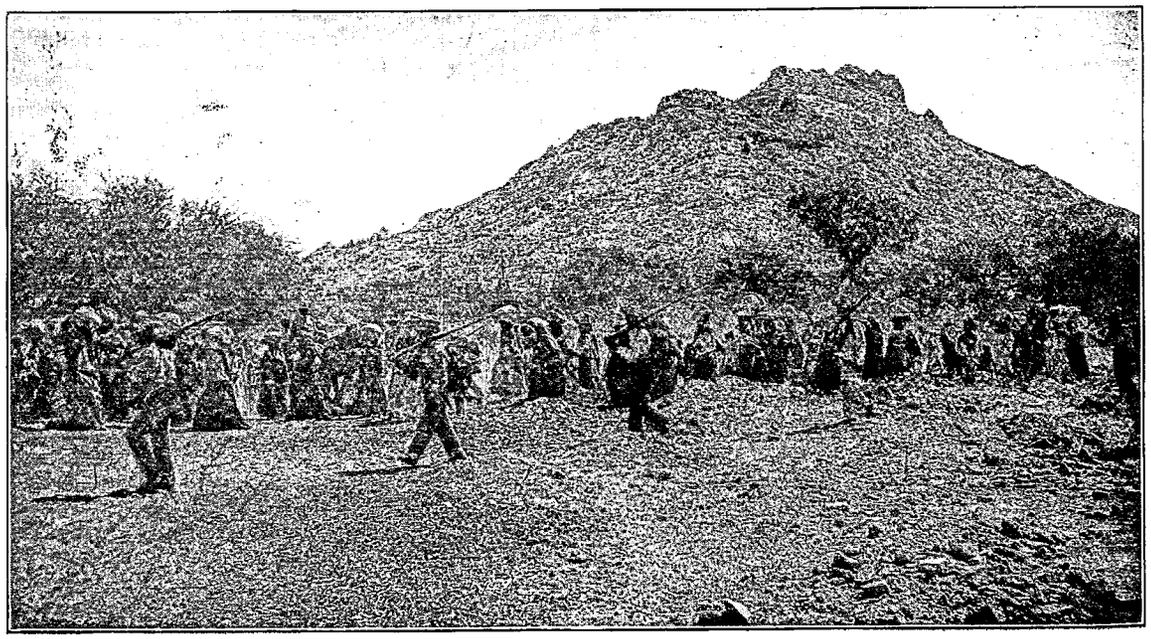
So you see how it is in Mexico. The Americanization of Mexico of which Wall Street boasts, is being accomplished and accomplished with a vengeance.

It were hardly worth while to pause at this juncture and discuss the question why Mexicans did not get in on the ground floor and control these industries. It is not, as numerous writers would have us believe, because Americans are the only intelligent people in the world and because God made Mexicans a stupid people and intended that they should be governed by their superiors. One very good reason why Diaz delivered his country into the hands of Americans was that Americans had more money to pay for special privileges. And Americans had more money because, while all Mexicans were becoming impoverished by the war for the overthrow of the foreigner, Maximilian, thousands of Americans were making fortunes by means of grafting army contracts involved in our Civil War.

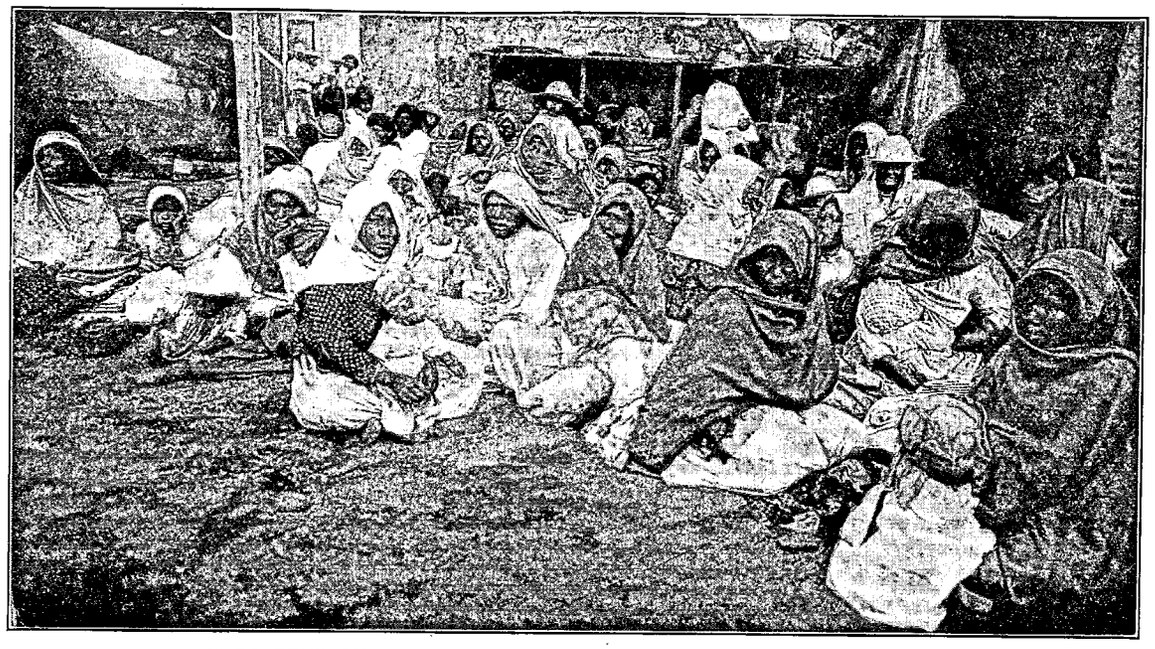
Let me present an instance or two of the way in which Americans are contributing to the extension of slavery:

Take the Yaqui atrocities, for example. Vice-president Corral, who was then in control of the government of the state of Sonora, stirred up a Yaqui war because he saw an opportunity to get the Yaqui lands and sell them at a good price to American capitalists. The Yaqui country is rich in both mining and agricultural possibilities. American capitalists bought the lands while the Yaquis were still on them, then stimulated the war of extermination and finally instigated the scheme to deport them into slavery in Yucatan.

But American capital did not stop even



BAND OF YAQUIS ON THE EXILE ROAD.



"BULL PEN" ON THE EXILE ROAD BETWEEN SONORA AND YUCATAN.

there. It followed the Yaqui women and children away from their homes. It saw families dismembered, women forced into wifehood with Chinamen, men beaten to death. It saw these things, encouraged them and covered them up from the eyes of the world because of its interest in the price of sisal hemp, because it feared that with the passing of slave labor the price of sisal hemp would rise. The American Cordage Trust, a ramification of Standard Oil, absorbs over half the henequen export of Yucatan. The Standard Oil press declares there is no slavery in Mexico. Governor Fred N. Warner, of Michigan, publicly denied my expose of slavery in Yucatan. Governor Warner is interested in contracts involving the purchase annually of half a million dollars worth of sisal hemp from the slave kings of Yucatan.

Also, Americans work the slaves—buy them, drive them, lock them up at night, beat them, kill them, exactly as do other employers of labor in Mexico. And they admit that they do these things. In my possession are scores of admissions by American planters that they employ labor which is essentially slave labor. All over the tropical section of Mexico, on the plantations of rubber, sugar-cane, tropical fruits—everywhere—you will find Americans buying, beating, imprisoning, killing slaves.

Let me quote you just one interview I had with a well known and popular American of Diaz's metropolis, a man who for five years ran a large plantation near Santa Lucrecia.

"When we needed a lot of *enganchados*," he told me, "all we had to do was to wire to one of the numerous *enganchadores* in Mexico, saying: 'We want so many men and so many women on such and such a day.' Sometimes we'd call for three or four hundred, but the *enganchadores* would never fail to deliver the full number on the dot. We paid fifty *pesos* apiece for them, rejecting those that didn't look good to us, and that was all there was to it. We always kept them as long as they lasted.

"It's healthier down there than it is right here in the city of Mexico," he told me. "If you have the means to take care of yourself you can keep as well there as you can anywhere on earth."

Less than five minutes after making this statement he told me:

"Yes, I remember a lot of three hundred *enganchados* we received one Spring.

In less than three months we buried more than half of them."

The hand of the American slave-driver of Mexico has been known to reach out for its victims even as far as his own home—the United States. During my travels in Mexico, in order to become better acquainted with the common people, I spent most of my traveling days in second or third class cars. Riding in a third class car between Tierra Blanca and Veracruz one night, I spied an American negro sitting in a corner.

"I wonder if they ever caught *him* down here?" I said to myself. "I'll find out."

Tom West, a free-born Kentucky negro of twenty-five, hesitated to admit that he had ever been a slave. But he confessed gradually.

"Ah was workin' in a brick yahd in Kaintucky at two dollahs a day," was the way Tom put it, "when anothah cullahd man came along an' tole me he knowed where Ah cud get three seventy-five a day. Ah said 'Ah'm with ye.' So he hands me one o' them book prospectuses an' the next day he tuk me to the office o' the company an' they said the same thing—three seventy-five American money, or seven an' a half Mex! So Ah come with eighty othah cullahd folks by way o' Tampa, Florida, and Veracruz, down here to a coffee and rubbah plantation at La Junta, near Santa Lucrecia, Oaxaca.

"Seven and a half a day! Huh! Seven and a half! That's just what they paid me when they let me go—aftah two yeahs! Ah run away twict, but they ketched me and brung me back. Did they beat me? Naw, they beat lots o' othahs, but they nevah beat me. Ah yeh, they batted me a few times with a stick, but Ah wouldn't a let 'em beat me; no suh, not me."

The plantation that caught Tom West, Kentuckian, was an American plantation. Some months after talking with Tom I happened to hold a conversation with a man who identified himself as Tom's master after I had told him Tom's story.

"Those niggers," this American told me, "were an experiment that didn't turn out very well. They must have been ours, for I don't know of anybody else down that way that had them at the time of which you speak. The seven and a half a day? Oh, the agents told 'em anything to get them. That was none of our business. We simply bought them and paid for them and then made them work out their purchase price before we gave them any money. Yes, we kept them under lock and key at night and had to guard them with guns in the daytime. When they tried to make a break we'd tie 'em up and give 'em a good dressing down with a club. The authorities? We chummed with the authorities. They were our friends."

The partnership of American capital with President Diaz not only puts at its disposal a system of slave labor, but also permits it to utilize the system of peonage and to beat the class of wage-laborers down to the lowest point of subsistence. Where slavery does not exist in Mexico you find peonage, a mild form of slavery or you find cheap wage-labor. Diaz's *rurales* shot Colonel Green's copper miners into submission and threats of imprisonment put an end to the great strike on an American-Mexican railroad. American capitalists boast of the fact that their Diaz "does not permit any foolishness on the part of these labor unions." In such facts as these are found the reason for their hysterical defense of him.

Today the main lines of Mexican railroads aggregate 12,500 miles. Of this mileage the Southern Pacific Company controls and will probably soon own 8,941 miles, or nearly three-fourths of the total. These lines consist of:

The Southern Pacific in Mexico, 950 miles; the Kansas City, Mexico and Orient, 279 miles; the Pan-American, 296 miles; the Mexican, 327 miles; the National Railways of Mexico, 7,089 miles.

Of these the Southern Pacific is the only one that is being operated openly as the property of the Harriman heirs. The Orient road is operated under the presidency of A. E. Stilwell, a Harriman ally, whose vice-president, George H. Ross, is a director of the Chicago & Alton road, a Harriman property with which the Orient road has traffic agreements. Construction is still going on on both of these roads and they are drawing from the Diaz government about $20,000

of subsidy for every mile built, or nearly enough to build the road.

The Pan-American railroad was recently acquired by David H. Thompson, who is the nominal president. Thompson was the United States ambassador to Mexico, where he seems to have represented the Harriman interests first and the other American interests afterwards. After securing the road, he resigned the ambasadorship. It is a pretty generally accepted fact that Thompson was acting for Harriman in securing the road. Harrimen men are associated with him as directors of the road. The especial purpose of Thompson's securing the road was to incorporate it as a part of Harriman's plan to make an all-rail route from the Arizona border to Central America.

The only control exercised by the Harriman interests over the "Mexican Railway," as far as the writer knows, is that involved in the pooling of interests, in both freight and passenger traffic, of the Mexican road and the National Railways of Mexico.

Briefly, the story is this: The consolidation under nominal government control of the two principal railroad systems in Mexico, the Mexican Central and the Mexican National, was brought about, not, as is officially given out, to provide against the absorption of the Mexican highways by foreign capitalists, but to provide *for* that very thing. It was a deal between E. H. Harriman, on the one hand, and the government financial camarilla, on the other, the victim in the case being Mexico. It was a sort of deferred sale of the Mexican railroads to Harriman, the members of the camarilla getting as their share of the loot millions and millions of dollars through the juggling of securities and stock in effecting the merger. On the whole, it constitutes perhaps the most colossal single piece of plundering carried out by the organized wreckers of the Mexican nation.

* * * * * * * *

The Mexican Central and Mexican National systems are both cheaply built roads; their rolling stock is of very low grade. Their entire joint mileage at the time of the merger was 5,400 miles, and yet under the merger they were capitalized at $615,000,000 gold, or $112,000 per mile. Oceans of water there. The Mexican Central was 30 years old, yet had never paid a penny. The Mexican National was over 25 years old, yet it had paid less than two per cent. Yet in the over-capitalized merger we find that the company binds itself to pay *four and one-half per cent on* $225,000,000 *worth of bonds and four per cent on* $160,000,000 *worth of bonds, or* $16,525,000 *interest a year, and pay it semi-annually!*

Out of the merger deal Harriman is supposed to have received, in addition to merger stocks and bonds, a cash consideration and special secret concessions and subsidies for his west coast road. Harriman dictated the contract as to the payment of interest on those merger bonds and his successors will compel payment or foreclose. As long as Diaz remains in power, as long as the Mexican government is "good"; that is, as long as it continues in partnership with American capital, the matter can be arranged—if in no other way, by paying the deficiency out of the Mexican treasury. But the moment there is trouble it is expected that the government will be unable to pay and the railroad will become American in name as well as in fact.

Trouble! That word is an exceedingly significant one here. A Mexican revolution will probably mean trouble of this particular sort, for every revolution of the past in Mexico has seen the necessity of the government's repudiating all or a part of the national obligations for a time. Thus the final step in the complete Americanization of Mexico's railways will be one of the clubs held over the Mexican people to prevent them from overturning a government that is particularly favorable to American capital.

Trouble! Trouble will come, too, when Mexico attempts to kick over the traces of undue American "influence." The United States will intervene with an army, if necessary, to maintain Diaz or a successor who would continue the special partnership with American capital. In case of a serious revolution the United States will intervene on the plea of protecting American capital. American intervention will destroy the last hope of Mexico for an independent national existence. Mexican patriots cannot

forget this, for it is daily paraded before them by the Diaz press itself. Thus the threat of an American army in Mexico is another of the American influences which keep Mexico from revolution against the autocracy of Diaz.

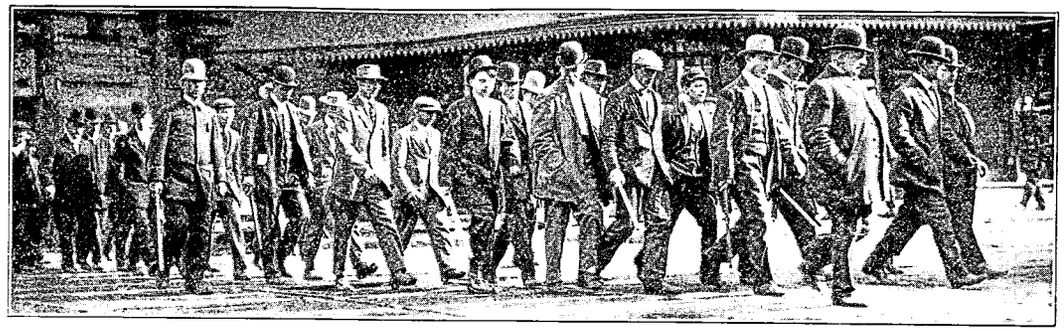
American capital is not at present in favor of political annexation of Mexico. This is because the slavery by which it profits can be maintained with greater safety under the Mexican flag than under the American flag. As long as Mexico can be controlled—in other words, as long as she can be held as a slave colony—she will not be annexed, for once she is annexed the protest of the American people will become so great that the slavery must of necessity be abolished or veiled under less brutal and downright forms. The annexation of Mexico will come only when she cannot be controlled by other means. Nevertheless, the threat of annexation is today held as a club over the Mexican people to prevent them from forcibly removing Diaz.

Do I guess when I prophesy that the United States will intervene in case of a revolution against Diaz? Hardly, *for the United States has already intervened in that very cause.* The United States has not waited for the revolution to assume a serious aspect, but has lent its powers most strenuously to stamping out its first evidences. President Taft and Attorney General Wickersham, at the behest of American capital, have already placed the United States government in the service of Diaz to aid in stamping out an incipient revolution with which, for justifiable grounds, our revolution of 1776 cannot for an instant be thought of by comparison. Attorney General Wickersham is credited with being a heavy stockholder in the National Railways of Mexico; Henry W. Taft, brother of the president, is general counsel for the same corporation. Thus it will be seen that these officials have a personal as well as a political interest in maintaining the system of Diaz.

Three times during the past two years the United States government has rushed an army to the Mexican border in order to crush a movement of Liberals which had risen against the autocrat of Mexico. Constantly during the past three years the American government through its Secret Service, its Department of Justice, its Immigration officials, its border rangers, has maintained in the border states a reign of terror for Mexicans, in which it has lent itself unreservedly to the extermination of political refugees of Mexico who have sought safety from the long arm of Diaz upon the soil of the "land of the free and the home of the brave."



"IN MEXICO WOMEN ARE CHEAPER THAN GRIST MILLS."



COPS AND THUGS GUARDING SCABS.

THE EXPRESSMEN'S STRIKE IN NEW YORK

BY

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

SENSATION loving New York was startled two weeks ago by an armed battle among desperate men in the streets adjacent to the Grand Central depot and by riots around the ferry houses and on the ferry boats in mid-river, in which policemen were assaulted by "the mob." Then only did the modest demand of 10,000 men for an eleven-hour workday and a wage of from $50 to $80 per month, obscure temporarily the blatant Roosevelt and vituperative Hearst of the all-absorbing political campaign.

The strike commenced among the drivers and drivers' helpers of the United States Express Company, a corporation whose profits are so enormous that they pay 3 per cent dividends semi-annually on $10,000,000—over seven million of which is computed to be watered stock by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Milwaukee. This means 10 per cent "earnings" semi-annually on $3,000,000 actual capital. A splendid outpouring of rebellious workers from all the other express companies, and many department stores, followed, which included the employes of the Wells Fargo, Adams and American companies.

Fake employment agencies had opened up for business throughout the city a few weeks previous, and they at once proceeded to furnish strikebreakers. The kind of "men" they furnished, callow country youths or thugs, either could not or would not do the work and expressage was rapidly at a standstill. Within three days the companies claimed a loss of $100,000 per day and 500,000 packages were tied up in the Grand Central station, also cars stalled along the railroads west to Chicago. This in spite of the fact that the strikebreakers are receiving $4 per day and meals and are under police protection.

Attempts were made to deliver bundles by messenger service, whereupon eleven boys of the W. U. T. Company walked out; also by the taxicabs of the Westcott Company, which brought out 200 chauffeurs.

Consternation reigned among the politicians of the Democratic party. A labor dispute just before election would materially endanger their chances for victory. But when the conflicts occurred in the streets of New York and Jersey City, Mayor Gaynor allowed policemen to mount the express wagons and with drawn clubs they protected the strikebreakers. Up and down Broadway was seen the shameful spectacle

of blue-coated officers diverted from their supposed task of keeping traffic orderly and protecting pedestrians, to their *real mission* of protecting private property for the class in whose services government is operating today. (A rather pointed lesson to "Home Rule" advocates and Irish Nationalists were these Irish police "scabbing" on Irish strikers.)

Lawyer Platt, son of the notorious late U. S. Senator, emboldened by Mayor Gaynor's action, imperiously demanded that Governor Fort of New Jersey order out the militia to protect the company there, and complaining against the traffic rules of Jersey City's police commissioners, designed to keep order.

The official dignity of the commissioner was much ruffled by this action. But it forcibly illustrates the indifferent attitude of the large corporation towards political government. "Serve us or we ignore you," is their unspoken but implied command. Heads of powerful trusts whose servants sit in Congress, do not take orders from local authorities. Governor Fort, with a weather eye to the election, refused to interfere.

A committee of strike leaders at once visited Mayor Gaynor and he promised to remove the police guards, but a few hours later he issued newspaper interviews denying the labor leaders' version of his remarks. *The police remained.*

Immediately among the rank and file of the enthusiastic and outraged strikers sentiment for a general strike rose high. They had the spirit of fight and a strong sense of solidarity. But their craft form of organization, including teamsters of numerous and varied industries, would, in a general tie-up, be taking a slice from each, but crippling none.

It would bring out, for instance, bakery wagon drivers, piano drivers, and cart teamsters, teamsters handling building materials, coach, cab and funeral drivers, etc. While each of these branches would probably be imbued with a firm determination to help win the demands of their fellow unionists, they could not affect the express companies. They are isolated industrially from the scene of action. Nevertheless the idea of 45,000 men in a general sympathetic strike is inspiring as an instance of growing class unity. It served to compel Mayor Gaynor to ostensibly remove the police escort. But mounted officers rode within calling distance.

Simultaneously came the action of the International Association of Longshoremen of 40,000 membership, which notified the steamship companies that *they would handle no goods handled by strikebreakers,* and furthermore announced to the strikers that they were willing and ready to enter a general strike, when the expressmen said the word. Then the mayor "acted." He has strangely established a reputation as a fair-minded and just man, to the extent of dazzling many radicals, yet his administration has been characterized by indecision and vacillation—as exemplified by his "action." Ignoring the city ordinance requiring that all drivers be licensed and the fact that *none of the strikebreakers had complied with the law,* he adopted the pose of conciliator and arbitrator.

The Express Companies had solicited the aid of the Civic Federation and a committee of the latter infamous organization appeared on the scene, including John Mitchell and Tim Healy. "Peace and heart-to-heart talks" was the slogan of the hour. William H. Ashton, organizer of the A. F. of L., is quoted in the New York *World* of November 3 as standing ready to accept the decision of a board of arbitrators appointed by either the Civic Federation or the Merchants Association, and as saying emphatically, "I will force the strikers to accept such a settlement." Under the contradictory circumstances of the men talking general strike and war, the leaders talking arbitration and peace, a mass-meeting was held Friday, November 4, in Teutonia Hall. The leaders did the speech-making. Persuasively glib of tongue and tricky in parliamentary procedure, these men, who were anxious to have the differences arbitrated by the companies' allies and who boasted of their power to force the men to accept such a decision—instigated a motion to postpone further action for one week. Generously they gave the companies time to consider and probably hoped to carry their friends, the Democratic politicians safely over Election Day, while they gained time to head off a general strike among the men. "The general strike is the one thing we do not want to call," said Mr. Tobin. "It is our last weapon. We do not like to injure innocent business men, but we must fight to the end."



THE EXPRESS COMPANY OPENLY DEFIED THE LAW.

The strong class feelings engendered by a general strike is not to be desired by "identity of interests" advocates, nor is the further illustration to the rank and file, of the impotency of their present form of organization, which cross-cuts industry but cannot paralyze it.

A further statement to the mass-meeting by this Mr. Tobin, who is President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is worthy of consideration. He said he was astounded to hear that conditions were so miserable among the teamsters; that men worked for as low as $11 and $12 per week and had no scale of hours. Remarkable, is it not, that the President of a union can publicly declare his ignorance of the wages paid in a cosmopolitan center and not be fired for incompetency?

Insistence upon the part of some wily politician finally compelled the Mayor to commit himself upon the license dispute. He ordered that all drivers apply for licenses and that no unlicensed driver be accorded police protection, this after the guards were supposed to have been removed. If a striker throws a brick he is summarily accorded "police protection"—to the station house. One may venture the pertinent question to Mayor Gaynor, "Why are the unlicensed drivers not arrested for violation of a city ordinance?"

The Board of Licenses is allowed three days to pass upon applications, during which time, were they so disposed, they could compel the applicants to desist from driving, instead of which the law is suspended.

The Express Companies claim immunity from the regulation, under the Interstate Commerce Act. They have signified their intention of contesting its constitutionality and of demanding Federal protection, if their drivers are molested—a pretext to secure regular soldiers. Wagons to deliver goods in New Jersey have been sent out for New York, and the New York deliveries start from Jersey City bearing signs "Interstate Commerce Only." Thus the law in both states is openly defied.

All day Friday, committees from the strikers waited upon the respective companies and submitted reports to the mass-meeting in the following "encouraging" manner. American Company's—vice-president would "look into the grievances;" Adams Company—"all seemed favorable excepting the clause demanding recognition of the union;" United States Company—"progress."

Saturday afternoon a committee of labor leaders who had hung around Mayor Gaynor's office all day awaiting a response to their offer to arbitrate, received the following letter:

Hon.W. J. Gaynor, Mayor, New York City.

Dear Sir: Although no demand was made on any express company before the strike except by a small body of helpers of the United States Express Company for an increase in pay, the men will be re-employed

in their former positions and at former wages, without discrimination against any because of having left the service, upon their individual applications made not later than Monday, November 7, 1910.

After resumption of work and without delay each company will confer with its employees and endeavor to arrange wages satisfactory to the men and the company.

Yours truly,

Signed by: Adams, American, National, United States and Wells, Fargo Co.

Thus the extremely mild proposition of the union that "the men shall not be discriminated against for any cause whatsoever except for the use of personal violence during the strike," was curtly rejected.

The delay has served simply to increase the impatience of the men, as has the death of one of their number, Peter Roach, who was shot by a strikebreaker, and they are at date of writing (November 10), clamoring for a general strike. They have been joined by nearly 2,000 chauffeurs and cab drivers, who are out not only in sympathy with the expressmen but to demand a weekly wage of $17.50 and a twelve-hour day, also abolition of the rule holding them responsible for damages to the machines. Detectives at once invaded their hall and searched closets and desks for firearms. If the same degree of officiousness had been displayed in searching strikebreakers, Peter Roach would not have been murdered.

There is, of course, much opposition displayed towards the strikers on the part of the press. Some of New York's wise economists have prophecied that if the strikers win their fight the express companies will immediately raise the rates and pass the weight of the increase along to the pocketbooks of the public. Perhaps so, but it convicts the companies of being mighty poor business men. It would be strange indeed if there were loose change in the pockets of the "poor, dear public" that the express corporations *wait* for a strike as a pretext to extract! Why wait till the day after the strike? Why not increase the rates the day before, to finance the fight against it?

But why should they oppose a strike under such circumstances? Rather would they say "Go ahead, boys. The public will foot the bill."

Surely one cannot explain away their aggressive attitude by assuming that they do not want the strikers "to get the habit."

Mr. Samuel Gompers appeared on the scene for a few days and in co-operation with Tobin and others used his good offices to settle. "I still hope for a settlement so that a general strike may be escaped," he said on November 8.

Mr. Tobin, before leaving for St. Louis, anxiously solicited the appointment of an "honest and impartial board"—this after the Philadelphia arbitrator, decided in favor of the street-car men who had not left the company's employ during the trouble, viz., the gallant battle of last February.

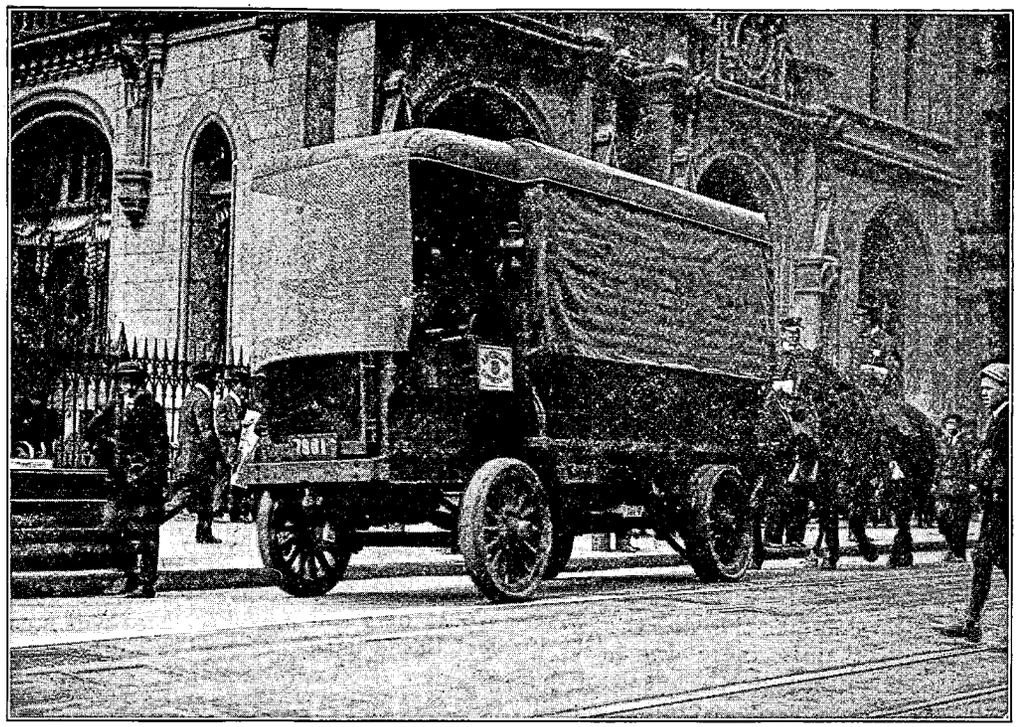
Wm. Ashton, who is now in complete control, announces this morning (November 10) that the Executive Committee's decision on the matter of a general tie-up is to be postponed another forty-eight hours, at the request of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration. This postponement from day to day has continued now for over a week. The general strike will not occur if the leaders can avoid it. After the gage of battle has been thrown in their teeth by the companies these "brotherly love" unionists solicit further conferences—will do anything but fight.

Meanwhile the men have been joined by the Fifth avenue stage drivers, by the coal drivers and by the ice-cream drivers. They continue to clamor for a general strike and as Mayor Gaynor has issued orders to impound all wagons without licenses, the men are in an excellent strategic position to win.

Here's success to these brave fighters, the *men* who, misled and bewildered, still demand concerted action. May they gain their shorter hours, high wages and ultimately their freedom from labor leaders and wage-slavery!

LATER: Word has just been received that the expressmen's strike was "officially" ended November 12. The Jersey City strikers voted to accept the agreement of the companies, which was accepted by the New York strikers on Thursday night and which the Jersey City strikers rejected on the 11th.

Conditions had reached a point in Greater New York and the surrounding places when a general strike could have



PLENTY OF POLICE PROTECTION—FOR SCABS.

been called at the drop of the hat. The workers could have completely paralyzed the industry of that part of the country, but William Ashton, General Organizer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, leader of the strike and a Tammany Hall politician, checked the tendency for a general strike. He got the men to agree to a postponement of the strike for one week. This broke the back of the strike. On November 11 a proposal submitted to the men and cooked up by Mayor Gaynor, President Towne, of the Merchants' Association, and Ashton offered a "provisional agreement" and was finally run through.

The strike "leaders" were all on the side of the express companies and most flagrantly sold out the men. They divided them; distracted them; rushed them, and the whole strike fizzled out because the men trusted to "leaders" to carry on the battle. The men who had refused to sign the agreement were between the Devil and the Deep Sea—the leaders, the men who had signed and Mayor Gaynor who threatened to put two policemen on each wagon. There was nothing for them to do but to yield.

Comrade Louis Duchez says: "It seems to me that it was a good thing for the cause of industrial unionism and class action. The men cannot lie down because the same pressure is behind and they will know better than to trust "labor leaders" the next time. They know they cannot trust to city ordinances requiring scabs to hold licenses. They know that policemen will be used to take their places. They will become revolutionary. They will learn to trust only in themselves.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX.

BY

MARY E. MARCY

NO. II. THE VALUE OF A COMMODITY.

IN the last number of the REVIEW we learned that the wageworker's relation to the boss is that of a SELLER of a commodity. Whether you work in a mine, a mill or a factory, whenever you get a job you are SELLING your STRENGTH to work—or your LABOR-POWER to the boss.

We know that LABOR-POWER is a commodity like shoes or hats or stoves.

Now ALL commodities are the product of labor, that is, there was never a commodity that was not the result of the strength and brains of workingmen or women. Workers make shoes; bakers of bread are workingmen or women; houses, street cars, trains, palaces, bridges, stoves —all are the product of the laboring man. ALL commodities are the product of labor.

There is one common thing which all commodities contain. This is LABOR. A commodity only has value (exchange value) because it contains human LABOR.

Horses are commodities; cows are commodities; gold is a commodity. HUMAN LABOR has been spent in producing all these. Labor-power is also a commodity, the result of human labor in the past.

Workingmen and women spent LABOR producing you and me. Somebody made bread, sewed shoes, built houses and made clothes FOR US. All the things we ate and drank and wore and used were made by the labor of workingmen and women. Their labor was NECESSARY labor. Without it we should never have grown old enough or strong enough to have LABOR-POWER to sell. Labor was spent in RAISING us to the point where we would be able to work.

The value of a commodity is determined by the social labor-time necessary to produce it. On page 61 of the Kerr edition of Value, Price & Profit, Marx says:

"It might seem that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor bestowed upon its production, the lazier a man, or clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labor required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I used the word SOCIAL labor, and many points are involved in this qualification.

"In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor worked up or crystalized in it, we mean the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity, and average skill of the labor employed."

If you spend three months cutting up a log with a pen-knife into a kitchen chair, it will be no more valuable in the end than the kitchen chair made in the big factories where many men working at large machines produce hundreds of chairs in a single day.

Of course, we know that every new improvement in machinery lessens the labor-time needed in making certain commodities. Oil is less valuable than it was ten years ago because it takes less labor-power to produce it. Steel has fallen in value, because owing to the new and improved machinery used in making steel it requires LESS human labor-power for its production.

Suppose every shoe factory in the country were working full time in order to supply the demand for shoes. The factories using the very old fashioned machinery would require more labor to the shoe than the factories using newer machines, while the great, up-to-date factories using the most modern machines would need comparatively little HUMAN labor-power in producing shoes.

The value of shoes would be determined by the AVERAGE (or social) labor-time necessary to make them, or the socially necessary labor contained in all the shoes.

The value of gold or silver is determined in the same way. The necessary social labor needed to produce gold gives it its value. The value of gold rises or falls just as the value of other commodities rise or fall. Today gold is much lower in value than it was twenty years ago, because new methods of production have reduced the social labor needed in gold mining about one-half. If you have twenty dollars in gold it is only of half the value of twenty dollars twenty years ago. It contains only half the labor.

In the same way we may determine the value of laboring-power. "Like every other commodity its value is determined by the quantity (or time) of labor necessary to produce it.

"The laboring-power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for his own maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers. * * * It will be seen that the value of laboring-power is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain and perpetuate the laboring-power." (Value, Price & Profit, pp. 75-76.)

The value of a man's labor-power is determined by the social labor necessary to produce it, Marx says. This means food, clothing, shelter (the necessities of life) and it means a little more than this. It means something additional to rear a boy or girl to take your place in the shop or factory when you grow too old to keep up the fierce pace set by the boss.

Enough to live on and to raise workers to take our places—this is the value of our labor-power, if we are wage-workers.

QUESTIONS.

What is a commodity? What does the wage-worker sell to his employer?

What determines the value of a commodity?

What do we mean by SOCIAL labor-power?

Are matches less valuable now than they were ten years ago? Why?

Have commodities in general decreased in value in the last ten years of improved machine production? Why?

Name commodities that have decreased in value. Has rubber increased in value? Why?

Does it take less labor-power to weave cloth, to make cement, to slaughter hogs than it did twenty years ago? Why?

Remember that SCARCITY may cause a commodity to exchange (sell) above or below its value, but it does not make value. Marx says that Value is human labor (in the abstract).

(Note.) We shall expect those taking up the Beginners' Course now running in the REVIEW to read Value, Price and Profit, by Marx, in connection with these lessons. Mrs. Marcy will be glad to reply to brief questions from REVIEW subscribers who are taking up this Course. This applies only to questions pertaining to the lessons.

Every class should have at least one set of Marx's Capital for reference in connection with these lessons. The Table of Contents in these three volumes is a splendid guide to students. Price, $2.00 a volume. For $6.00 sent us for six NEW REVIEW subscriptions, we will send the three volumes as premiums, prepaying expressage.

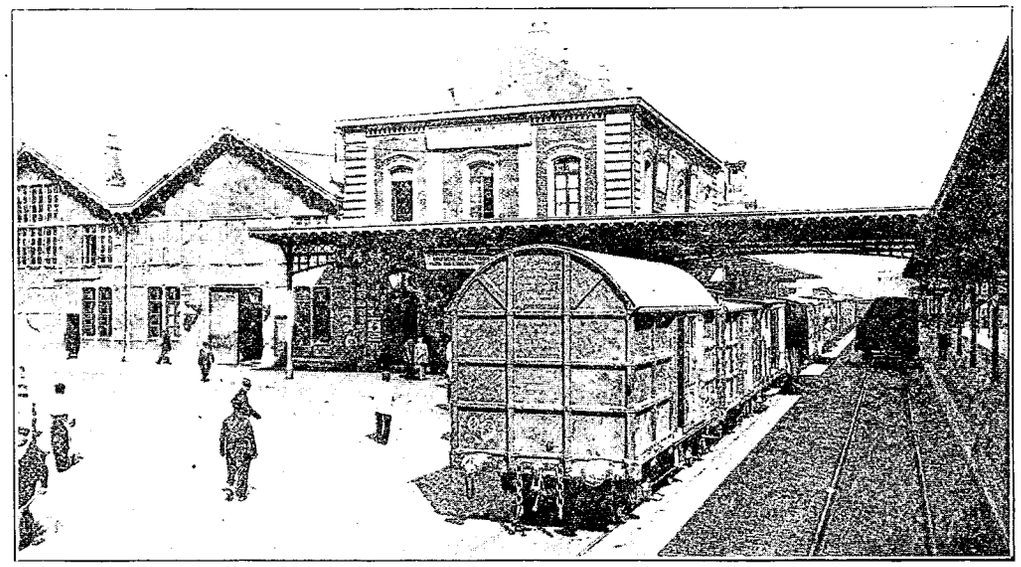
NEWS FROM EUROPE

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE GREAT FRENCH RAILWAY STRIKE

THE LEAVEN OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND



NO CARS MOVING.

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the strike on the French railways is the Republican revolution in Portugal. The city of Lisbon has been bombarded, many hundreds of people have been killed. Houses and churches have been ransacked and pillaged. A monarchy has been toppled over, a king and his pet dog driven into exile. Holy fathers and fathers whose children are recorded have been imprisoned and persecuted. A bourgeois republic has been born and the world has scarce felt the labor pains.

But when 200,000 workers reserve their labor power for a day, the exploiters throw up their white, smooth hands in horror and dismay, the warped and prostituted brains of the scribblers conjure fantasms of the "French Peril," "The Red Spectre in France." The same papers that condone murder and rapine by their class in Portugal condemn the workers of France who are asking for the miserable pittance of 5 francs a day—petty things are distorted and magnified into heinous crime. The French government is called upon to end the strike without delay; no matter what the cost, the strikers must be whipped into submission.

Not because any violence had been committed. There had been no violence, no rough hands have been laid on the company or state railway property. The rough hands had been withdrawn. The machinery



SUBURBANITES OBLIGED TO WALK.

on which civilization so much depends has stopped. White hands were useless, unfit for work that is worth while. The rough hands were idle.

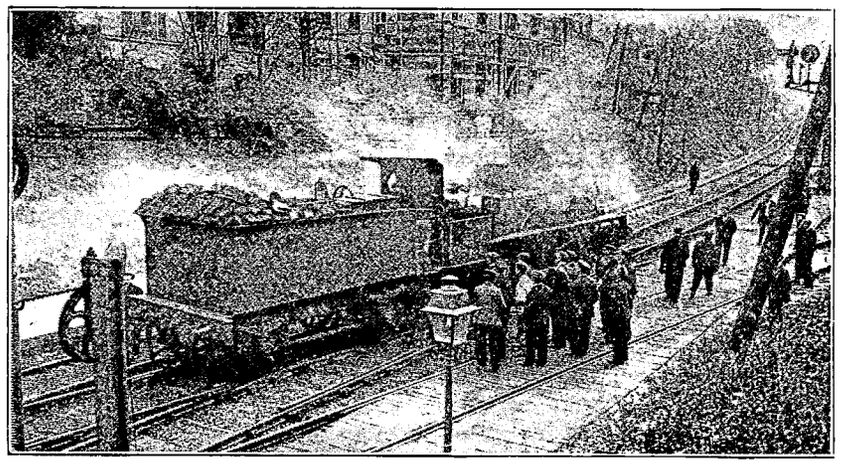
The capitalist class shudder and cringe in fear when they contemplate the effect of a general strike. In France they well know that the strike is the weapon of the Confédération Générale du Travail and that when the time comes the government as it now exists, the state itself, will be swept away, and in its stead an Industrial Democracy established.

The question is asked, is this the beginning of the end? Then comes the mobilization order, the railroaders are reservists, the strike will be broken. But it is also announced that all demands of the strikers have been granted.

It is impossible to follow the present strike without rapidly glancing at the industrial movement as it is in France today. In France the labor movement is revolutionary, based on the class struggle, the general strike a basis of operation. This is the great difference between France and other countries; here they have lost much of the prevailing ideas in England for example—the hope of amelioration by legislation.

Millerand and Briand have dispelled their illusions of friends in court.

The Frenchman strongly objects to build-



ENGINE STALLED AT INTERSECTION TO BLOCK TRAFFIC.

ing up huge reserve funds, while the bankbook is a source of great pride to British trades unionists, especially the leaders, who devote their time principally to boosting themselves for parliament, preventing strikes and protecting their money bags.

The industrialists of France have no contracts with their employers, so when, as in the present strike, they get tired of the procrastinating policy of the corporation, transportation stops and Paris goes to bed in the dark.

Boulogne, France.

INDUSTRIAL unionism is the question of the hour in Great Britain. It is creating more interest in workingclass circles than all other matters combined. Everywhere I speak there are questions on Industrial Unionism, the informal aftermeetings have been devoted to this subject, which is now approached with some understanding and a manifest desire on the part of all for something that means solidarity.

The general condition of the work people of this country is mean and miserable in the extreme, and the extent of unemployment and pauperism is a glaring disgrace. This is a state that America is rapidly declining toward. The misery here continues to grow worse, in face of the fact that the trade unions of Great Britain are twice as strong in numbers as in the United States and they have only one-half the population to deal with.

But here is the significant thing. The employers are organized industrially and politically, while the workers are divided into as many sections as the semblance of a trade or craft will permit. The utter foolishness of craft distinction among workers who are absolutely dependent upon each other is now being realized, as is evidenced by the action of the recent Trades Union Congress held at Sheffield, when the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 1,175,000 for, and 256,000 against:

"That in the opinion of this Congress the present system of sectional trade unionism is unable to successfully combat the encroachments of modern capitalism and, while, recognizing the usefulness of sectional trades unionism in the past and present, the congress realizes that much greater achievements are possible and the redemption of the working class would be hastened if all the existing unions were amalgamated by industries, one central executive elected by the combined unions, and, with power to act unitedly whenever there is a strike or lockout in any industry, thus making a grievance of one the concern of all. The congress therefore instructs its Parliamentary Committee to put themselves in communication with all the Trade Unions in the country to ascertain their views on the above question, also to promote a general scheme of amalgamation and make a recommendation on the matter to the next Congress."

This resolution shows that even the British leaders of labor, who usually wake up last, are now aroused to the ineffectiveness of trade unions against the encroachments of capitalism.

It is a long call from the Erfurt Congress of June, 1872, where the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

In consideration of the fact, that the capitalist power *equally oppresses and exploits all workingmen,* no matter whether they are conservative, progressive, liberal or Social Democrats, this congress declares it to be the sacred *duty* of the working men to *lay aside all party strife,* in order to create the conditions for a vigorous and successful resistance *on the neutral ground* of a united *trades union organization,* to secure their threatened existence and to conquer for themselves an improvement in their class condition."

It is rather remarkable that the aims and sentiments of the Erfurt program are now expressed in the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain. Still more remarkable would it be to trace the development during the lapse of years it has required, "Made in Germany" has never been a recommendation for anything in this country. So the Erfurt program is accepted only when it is hoary with age, having traveled along the halls of time, percolating on its way through the brains of the workers of America and Australia. The Knights of Labor recognized "that the capitalist power equally oppresses and exploits all workingmen" and met "on the neutral ground of a united trades union organization."

Out of the loins of the K. of L. came the Western Federation of Miners, its members one and all feeling and breathing the

class struggle. The spirit of the K. of L. was incarnated in the Western Labor Union. Then came the American Labor Union to create a still more "vigorous and successful resistance" against "capitalist power."

Accepting the words of Bebel that, "membership in a labor union is a necessity of life for every workingman." To render it possible for all workers to become members of a labor organization and avail themselves of a "necessity of life," the most progressive and militant labor organizations of the United States in July, 1905, merged into the Industrial Workers of the World. The manifesto of this organization carried conviction, as it conveyed the truth of the class struggle and a hope to all oppressed and exploited. It reached across the waters of the Pacific to Australia, was adopted in the antipodes, and now Tom Mann brings it to England. Who is he? An industrialist—that is enough. If you would know more, here it is:

"He was born in Foleshill, a mining district of Warwickshire, in 1856. At the age of nine years, he was put to work on a farm. Two years later, he was sent to work down the mine and on the pithead. At 14 years, he was apprenticed to engineering in Birmingham. In 1877, he settled in London. In 1881 he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and has been closely identified with the trade union movement ever since. In 1885, becoming a Socialist, he joined the Battersea branch of the S. D. F., and, in that year, assisted John Burns in his Parliamentary candidature for West Nottingham, an occasion on which the redoubtable John polled 598 votes out of an aggregate of 11,064.

"Mann took an active part along with John Burns and Ben Tillett in the memorable Dock Strike of 1889, and became president of the Dockers' Union. He was appointed, subsequently, as a member of the Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of labor.

"His advocacy of Socialism resulted in his arrest in Hamburg in 1896, and his expulsion from Paris in May, 1897. He became, in later years, a prime favorite at miners' annual demonstrations, and addressed the Fife miners at a gala day celebration fifteen years ago. In 1900 he left for Australia. In that colony he continued to pursue his advocacy of Socialism and was so successful that at Broken Hill, N. S. W., he was arrested, about a year ago, charged with having fomented a strike and caused a riot amongst the miners. Knowing that no Broken Hill jury would ever convict Tom Mann, the authorities had the trial fixed at the town of Albury, 1,000 miles away, a place populated and owned by rich sheep farmers. He was acquitted, however. He returned to England in the spring of the present year. He immediately joined the Social Democratic party, and is pursuing a vigorous campaign and is drawing huge audiences. A feature of his work is his advocacy of the consolidation of Trade Union forces, urging the unorganized to organize, appealing to the organized to federate and to display a spirit of solidarity, taking for his motto 'Each for all and all for each.'"

He speaks for himself, and here are his views on industrial unionism:

"It is in the ascendancy, and it is well that all reformers and revolutionaries should therefore be alive to what it means, and if it ought to be killed, to take action to kill it, but if it should be helped, to act accordingly.

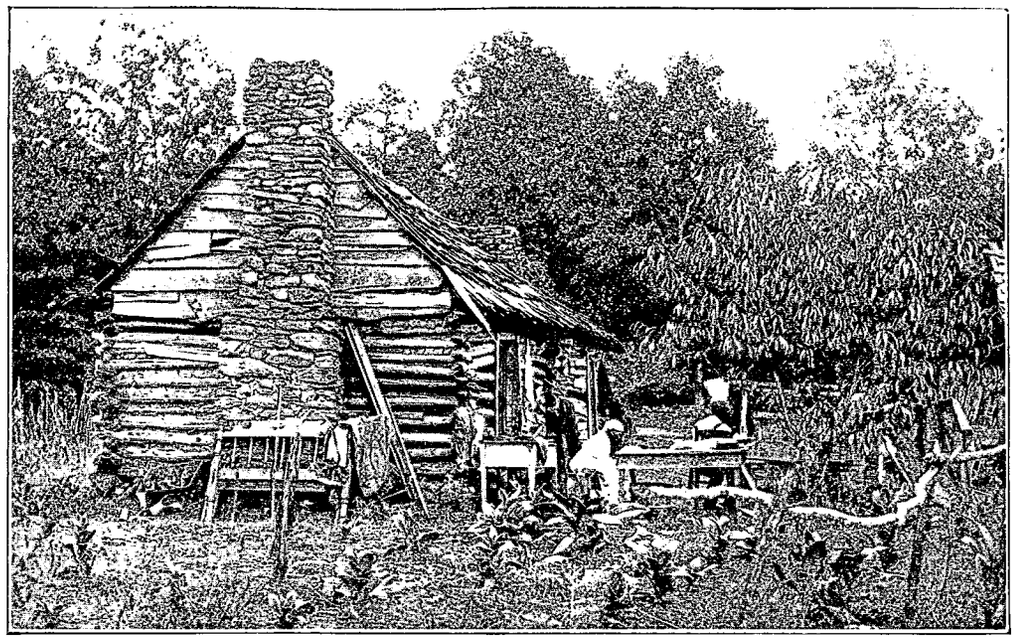
"My industrial and political faith is as follows: 1st. Industrial solidarity is the real power to effect economic changes. By this I mean that even though resort be had to Parliament, it is only effective when the demand is made as the result of intelligent and courageous industrial organization. It was thus that the factory acts were obtained and all other legislation that in any degree is economically advantageous to the workers. 2d. The chief economic change must be the reduction of working hours. All through our indutsrial history nothing stands out more clearly than this, that the reducing of working hours is a genuine method of raising the standard, economically and ethically correct. 3rd. By a drastic reduction of working hours, we can absorb the unemployed. The cure for unemployment is the chief concern of Revolutionaries and Reformers, and the most natural, most simple and most effective of all methods is, by absorbing them into the ranks of the employed so apportioning the work to be done over the total number to do it. 4th. By removing competition for work we gain the power to get higher

wages. 5th. It is necessary for every worker to belong to a union and for every union to unite with every other union in the same industry. 6th. Unite to fight, fight to achieve your economic emancipation. 7th. Under existing circumstances it is not desirable that membership of an industrial organization should pledge one to specific political action. 8th. Parliamentary action is secondary in importance to industrial action; it is industrial action alone that makes political action effective, but with or without Parliamentary action, industrial solidarity will ensure economic freedom, and therefore the abolition of capitalism and all its accompanying poverty and misery. 9th. To ensure industrial solidarity it is necessary that the finances of the unions should be so kept that the Friendly Society benefits should be kept entirely separate from the industrial; so that every union on its industrial side may amalgamate with every other union in the same industry."

The National Union of Ship's Stewards, Cooks, Butchers & Bakers, have held a meeting and decided to take part in a Congress to be held in London, November 10, to amalgamate all now affiliated Transport Workers, a total membership of 262,450.

November 26 a conference will be held in Manchester for the purpose of hearing and giving opinions on Industrial Unionism. In the meantime the subject is being discussed in newspapers, from the platform, with a general distribution of pamphlets. If this good work is augmented and vigorously continued, these chaps may yet sing "Britons never, never, shall be slaves."

Let me say to you, my fellow workers, that the hour has struck for a great change in the world of organized labor. Long enough have we suffered ourselves to blindly and stupidly follow a leadership that has misled and deceived and betrayed. Long enough have we been clubbed by the police, and it may be pertinent to observe that when the club of a policeman descends upon the head of a workingman he hears the echo of the vote he cast at the preceding election.—Debs.



COTTON PICKER'S HOME.

IN OLE ALABAM

BY

ELLEN WETHERELL

"RATHBONE?" The woman's voice was an unusually sweet and soft one, and Rathbone turned lazily on his stomach that he might hear the better.

"Dey's kick'n up pow'ful in ole Alabam." As she spoke she tucked a refractory "corn row" back under her pink sunbonnet. "And I reck'ns deys gittn ready fo' dat day of jedgement."

"Who tole yo'?" asked the man pushing his bare black toes deep into the warm gray soil.

"Who tole me?" exclaimed the woman loftily. "Dat's my business, Rathbone. I tole yo' de fac', deys kick'n up pow'ful in ole Alabam, an' I reck'ns dat day ob jedgement aint fur off."

"Who tole yo'?" repeated the man peremptorily, withdrawing his dusky toes from the hot sand only to push them the deeper into the moist heat.

The woman knew Rathbone's temper and yielded. "Dat's Tilly's Sam's news," said she, "come straight. Sam he saw de mos' ob it and heard mo', and Sam he reck'ns wid me de day ob jedgement am on its way toe ole Alabam."

"Curse Sam and de day ob jedgement, why doan de papers gib it toe us heah?"

The man pulled an arm thick with purple whipcords from beneath his head and rolled onto his back. "De papers lie an' lie."

Again the woman shook back the beligerent "cornrow" into the depths of her pink sunbonnet and tossed the remnants of the dinner to the watchful birds. "Rath-



TILLY'S SAM.

bone," said she, "yo' know why de colored folks doan hab de news in de papers, yo' knows dey doan mean us toe know de truff ob dese things—an' so deys work'n fo' dat day ob jedgement. But Ize heard heaps from Tilly's Sam. Sam's riz toe de 'casion an' tole all he knows. Sam he am gwine back, but he am gwine back toe work for his people."

The woman stood up, tall, straight and handsome, her face, with its smooth yellow skin, aglow with intelligence.

"Yas, Sam, he am a gwine back toe work fo' his people," she repeated.

Rathbone turned his somber black eyes up to his wife's clear, hopeful ones; he noticed her straight, lithe form, and he recognized her strength; then his glance dropped to his own rude limbs, he laid his hand on the swelling bunch of purple whipcords of his right arm and drawled: "Dars muscle 'nuff, Nelly; am it muscle Tilly's Sam gwine toe use fo' his people?"

"It certainly am, Rathbone," replied she. "Muscle an' de grace de Lord gibs both fo' de work." She tied the strings of her pink sunbonnet into a hard knot.

"But how 'bout brains, Nelly?" testily asked her husband.

"It's toime wes at de pick'n, Rathbone, but I reck'ns dat brains go 'long wid de grace."

Rathbone shook himself angrily, every whipcord in his dusky arm purpling.

"Dar's brains at Tallahassee, doe yo' 'low dar's grace dar. Dar's brains in ole Alabam, whar black men's am tied toe trees an' burned toe death; doe yo' 'low dar's grace dar? Dar's brains, heaps of dem, in Washin'ton; doe yo' 'low dar's grace dar? Dar's brains way norf in Boston (here Rathbone laughed, a bitter, caustic laugh), "way norf in Boston, whar brains am born; doe yo' 'low dars grace dar?"

"Rathbone," said Nelly solemnly, "Boston am out of de question; nebber could dar be a bur'n dar, nor lynch'ns, nor cutt'ns up loike what am a gwine on in ole Alabam.'

Again Rathbone shook himself angrily, his slumbrous eyes kindling. "No, Nelly," he cried, "no lynch'ns, no bur'ns black mens alive way norf in Boston!" He slowly rose to his feet, stretched his bare, black arms into the radiant air. "But what am Boston a doin' fo' de black mens; am dey habben a chance in de Boston schools as teachers, am dey habben a chance in de Boston stoe's as clerks? Am de black mens habben a chance toe sit in de white men's parlors as dar frens? Am de black mens habben a chance in de white men's church wid de white Christian? Am de black mens habben a chance in de gubbenment ob Boston, ob which dey am a part? No, no, let Tilly's Sam doe all he can fo' his people, but dar it stans. Slabery did it, Nelly, an' de curse am still at work."

Rathbone and Nelly were now way down in the field. Nelly's pink sunbonnet nodding close to her husband's head, her lithe, yellow fingers darting in and out among the bursting cotton bolles.

"Rathbone?" she drawled sweetly, "what am a gwine toe mak de change?"

"I nebber reck'n dar's gwine toe be any change," said he, "long's de color ob de skin an' de kink in de har am a separatin' line 'tween peoples."

Nelly shook her head at her husband from over her basket. "I reck'ns dat line can be rub out."

"Rub out," cried he. "Yas, yas, rub



IN THE COTTON FIELDS.

out wid blood, de black man's blood an' de white man's blood toe mak de peoples free."

"No, Rathbone," said she. "Not wid blood; no rub out dat line wid blood. 'Tis de Lord's work, 'tis de Lord's hand dat will rub out dat line."

"Dat separatin' line am drawn mighty sharp way norf in Boston," said Rathbone sententiously.

There was a long pause in their colloquy when Nelly broke the silence with, "Rathbone, am yo' a gwine toe work fo' your people?"

Rathbone's basket was swung high at his side, bursting white with the snowy white cotton.

"Ize gwine toe work fo' nobuddy," said he doggedly.

Rathbone's voice, musical as it was, grated harshly on Nelly's ear.

"Yo's needed," said she. "Yo's has a pow'ful speech an' what wid de grace I reck'ns yo's beats Tilly's Sam."

Rathbone swung his basket to his shoulder, replying: "Ize gwine toe work fo' nobuddy."

"Yo's only needs de grace, Rathbone," pleaded Nelly. "Tilly's Sam has de grace."

"Who tole yo'," said Rathbone. "Sam?"

Of Rathbone's irony Nelly took no heed. "Sam he tole nothin'," said she. "But dem stories ob bur'n colored folks alive, all facts said Tilly's Sam, an' Sam he reck'ns wid me dat de day ob jedgement am a comin' fas' toe ole Alabam."

"What's Sam gwine toe doe 'bout it?" drawled Rathbone lazily.

"Tilly's Sam he doan say what he am gwine toe doe, but I reck'n he knows, an' he's gwine toe doe it mighty quick."

"Did Sam tell yo' de whole ob dat las' affair," asked Rathbone carelessly.

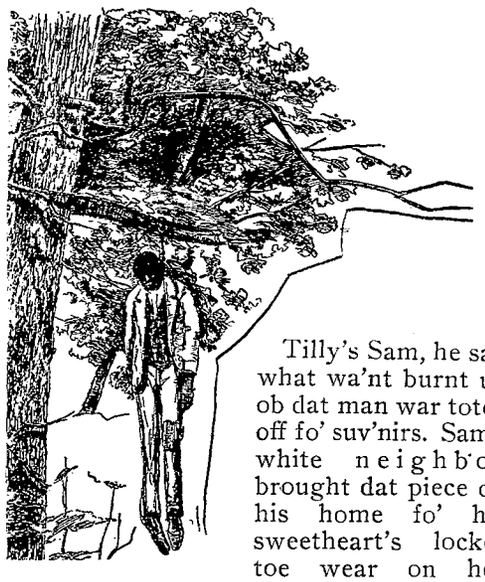
Nelly threw up her smooth, yellow arms in a deprecatory manner.

"All ob it an' mo'."

"What mo'?" asked he.

"'Bout dat Texas burn'," she replied. "Tilly's Sam he say dat war 'Merica's greatest shame yet. Sam, he say de white min'sters ob de gospel look on at dat, an' de railroads run 'scursion trains toe de scene, cheap fares fo' ebbery body. An' Sam, he say dat one ob his neighbors, a 'spectable white man, cut off a piece ob dat black man while he war a ag'nizin'. Sam he saw dat piece, an' he say dat 'twar all he could doe toe hole onto hisself while dat neighbor war a talkin' 'bout it, *how de right t'ing had been done toe dat nigger.*"

It was a blue flame that leaped from Rathbone's eyes, while for a moment a smile infernal contorted his heavy features. "And what nex'?" said he.



Tilly's Sam, he say what wa'nt burnt up ob dat man war toted off fo' suv'nirs. Sam's white neighbor brought dat piece ob his home fo' his sweetheart's locket toe wear on her bosom."

"God! God! God!"

It was a wild, passionate cry, wrung from Rathbone's heart.

"God! God! God!"

There was a long silence between Rathbone and Nelly after this, then he broke out with:

"Look a heah, Nelly, I reck'ns Sam wants toe be lynched."

The woman lifted her luminous eyes to her husband's inquiringly.

"Am yo' afeared, Rathbone?" said she.

Rathbone thrust a bunch of foamy cotton into his basket and quickly replied:

"Afeared ob nothin,' afeared ob nobuddy, an' fo' nobuddy, but I reck'ns Tilly's Sam'll be lynched."

"Tilly's Sam hab de grace fo' all things," said Nelly piously.

Again there was a long silence on Rathbone's side of the row. From her side Nelly kept up an inarticulate running melody of sound, every period rythmically ending with, "An de day ob jedgement am a comin' toe ole Alabam."

The brilliant tropical sun was slowly wheeling into the west. High against the deepening sky the brown-winged buzzard was dipping its wings to the evening breeze. The moist, hot air pulsated and shimmered. Upon the clump of pines, away ocross the fields, a portentous shadow rested. Rathbone saw it and drawled, "Mos' six."

Nelly was far down in the row, but she was coming on fast, her nimble fingers darting like humming birds in and out among the white exuberant blooms. When she was within hearing distance Rathbone spoke.

"Yo' reck'ns Tilly's Sam equal toe it?"

Nelly's eyes, undimmed by toil or fear, were raised to Rathbone's.

"De Lord am back ob Tilly's Sam," said she.

Rathbone nodded and drawled, "But if Washington doan heah de voice ob de Lord, Nelly?"

"It hab got toe heah," said she. "Washington hab got toe heah de voice ob de Lord speaking fo' Tilly's Sam; Washington hab got toe heah de voice ob de Lord telling ob de wrongs ob His peoples; an'," she continued, dat day of jedgement am a comin' toe ole Alabam."

At Nelly's words Rathbone arose to his full height, his somber eyes lighted with hope, a smile of happy expectancy played over his features; his whole being quivered with life; the prophetic spirit of his race was upon him, and by a divine impulse he was moved to speech.

"Yas! Yas! Washington hab got toe heah. Yas! Yas! Boston hab got toe heah. De whole world hab got toe heah, fo' it am de Lord Jehovah speakin' froo' His peoples. It am de voice ob Justice a cryin' out. Tilly's Sam am gwine toe be heard, an' every black man am a gwine toe be heard when Love an' Justice speaks froo' him. The black womens am a gwine toe be heard; dey am a risin' in dar might, dey am a risin' in dar love ob justice, dey am a risin' in de glory ob de Lord! All mens must be free an' equal, all womens must be free an' equal: dis am de gold'n rule ob gov'ment; let ebery black man and woman know it, let ebery white man an' woman believe it, fo' it am God's word. Free an' equal sing de hills. Free an' equal shout de seas. Free an' equal thunders roll. Free an' equal ebery soul." Triumphantly Rathbone's voice rang out on the radiant air.

"Glory! Glory!" cried Nelly, ecstaticly.

The summer night was close at hand. The long day's work for Rathbone and Nelly was over, and, happy in hope, they passed from the field to their home.

STORIES ABOUT PRINTERS

BY

J. H. FRASER

IT was one of those cold, soggy-wet autumn nights when the fire felt good and when one was inclined to spend the evening indoors, that several of us drifted into the newly established Quad Club. We hadn't much of a library at that time and our pool and billiard tables were not in the best condition. The club was formed entirely of men employed in the printing industry, and of course that meant a large majority of Socialists.

The conversation turned naturally to Socialism and to Socialist party tactics. White and Wilson, two old-timers, were having quite an animated discussion over the best method of reaching the working class and I strolled over to hear the argument.

"Did you ever read the works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Lafargue or Bebel, or any of the others?" asked Wilson.

"No," said White. "I have been too busy attending ward meetings and soapboxing and talking Socialism to find any spare time for reading. I suppose those things are all right, but then you know they are so dry that when I try to read them I fall asleep. I——"

But Wilson could restrain himself no longer and with more force than politeness he told White the amount of harm he had probably done the Socialist movement by claiming all kinds of impossible things for Socialism, and concluded with these words:

"You are busy talking Socialism, are you? Well, if you have never read any books on the Socialist philosophy, how do you know whether you are talking Socialism or not? If you have not read and studied up on economics, how do you know that the measures which you advocate are for the benefit of the working class or not? You are busy soap-boxing, are you? Well, it's small wonder that every once in a while we see colmuns of valuable space taken up with articles trying to explain what is the matter with the party. I'll tell you what's the matter with the party, there are not enough Socialists in it."

There were a few minutes of silence and then some one proposed that Wilson should tell how and where he became a Socialist. He objected at first, but the audience demanded to hear the story, and so, after selecting a comfortable chair, he told us the following:

Dan Bane had been known for fifteen or twenty years as one of the most farsighted and progressive members of the union. Socialism had never been discussed in union meetings, nor had Dan ever chanced to work with a Socialist. He knew that the working class had to fight constantly in order to live at all, and as he had seen the working class repeatedly betrayed by 'friends of labor,' he came to the conclusion that labor had nothing to gain by electing politicians on whatever ticket they might choose to run. He was quite positive in his own mind that it didn't make much difference to a politician what colored flag he sailed under so long as it landed him in a job.

"But Dan was an intelligent man and quite a student. He had read works of Thomas Paine and other radical literature, but he was sure that the best thing a working man could do, at the time we first met, was to vote for Bryan.

"I was almost as ignorant of the principles of Socialism as Dan, although I had read one or two of the papers occasionally.

"One night we started for union meeting, and as we crossed Wilson square we saw a crowd gathered about a stand or box, where a banner was displayed announcing a Socialist meeting. I suggested that we stop and listen. Dan agreed, rather reluctantly, I thought. He was such a redhot union man that he always wanted to be on time.

"The chairman of the meeting mounted the platform and made several announcements about Socialist excursions and dances and entertainments of various kinds, offering tickets for sale for all of them. He then announced that the speaker of the evening, 'a prominent and well known Socialist,' would talk to us about things of great importance to labor.

"A young and fairly intelligent looking man took his place. He didn't seem to be embarrassed or at all confused. After looking his audience over coolly and with great deliberation, he began to speak. First he told of how the Socialist party had been endorsed by various 'eminent divines,' naming them all. He next told of the great authors, and authors not quite so great, who had spoken favorably of Socialism. All this wearied Dan and me, but we were determined to investigate this question, so we stuck.

"The speaker launched into a criticism of the men in power and closed with the following words:

"'Who is responsible for the rottenness in the government of this city? Who is? I ask. Dare you answer that? No, you dare not. It is you working men. It is you who elect dishonest officials. There is only one way to get honest men in power, and that is by electing members of the Socialist party to office.'

"'Come, let's beat it,' said Dan. And I was quite willing to go.

"We walked along in silence for a time and suddenly Dan turned on me almost fiercely and said:

"'Jim, you and I have worked all over this country, and also in Canada. We have worked in towns which were pocket editions of heaven as far as graft was concerned. I worked three years in Greenville, Ont., and in that time the only graft that could be discovered was the time the sheriff collected eleven cents for mileage when he had walked the distance. Then I worked in Elmville, N. Y., and there some graft was discovered in the city government. And here there is a lot of it. But somehow I don't seem to have any more money while working in one place than in another. How have you found it?'

"I had the same experiences and had reached about the same conclusions, and told him so.

"I learned my trade in a small city where living was cheap and wages were low. Graft was unknown there, but the working class wasn't any better fed nor housed nor clothed than they were in the most graft-ridden city I have ever been in. By the time we had reached our destination we had come to the conclusion that graft in politics has very little to do with the condition of the working class.

"By the time we arrived at the hall we found the meeting in progress. The report of the scale committee was under discussion.

"The union's demands were not very modest, I'll admit, but we were working for low wages, and worse still, far too many hours. Where workmen in an industry work too hard or too many hours per day the periods of unemployment are invariably longer and more frequent than in lines where by shortening their work time the men cause a scarcity of help.

"The proposition for consideration called for an immediate reduction in hours and an immediate increase in wages. The radicals applauded vigorously several times during the reading of the report. In fact, it was easy to see that the sentiment was overwhelmingly for an immediate adoption of the report. Some wanted a few changes, and the few "capitalists" at the meeting opposed its adoption. By capitalists I mean those working men who always take the employer's side in every argument.

"The spokesman of this contingent argued that it would not be right to demand a raise on such short notice; that it would show that we had no respect for the rights of others, also that we were immoral and unchristian, and that the employers, having been saving and thrifty, had built up their various establishments and were entitled to some consideration because of this fact; they had been so kind as to give employment to a large number of men, and further, they were entitled to compensation for risks and for the exertion necessary to superintendence.

"The speech lasted about a half hour

and had a great effect upon the audience. Of course it wouldn't be tolerated now, but in those days very few working men had developed the faculty of thinking for themselves. His closing sentence seemed to have more effect than any other part of his speech, when he said:

"'Now, men, I say it would be unjust and very wrong of us to take advantage of these employers after they have been so fair to us. Remember, God in his infinite goodness, gave the wealth of the world into the hands of those best fitted to administer it. Remember, also, the saying of St. Paul: "The powers that be are ordained of God."'

"When one of the radicals asked permission to speak he was told to be brief and to the point. This speaker was a master of the English language and knew how to say the right thing at the right time.

"He called attention to the fact that, while wages had advanced, the prices of other commodities had risen much more rapidly, and that though our money wages might be higher, our real wages, that is, what we could purchase with what we received, had decrease at least a third. He spoke also of the laws which had been made in the interest of the capitalists and how, if we would elect our own men to fill the political offices, we could do likewise; but at this point the chairman stopped him with: 'You can't talk Socialism here; this is no political meeting,' and refused to permit him to say anything more. Cries of 'Go on! More! More of that!' were heard from all over the hall, but the chairman refused to reverse his decision.

"Before I knew what I was doing I was out on the floor demanding permission to speak. I first demanded to know if the last speaker had been talking Socialism, and he replied 'Yes,' quick as a flash. Then I said that, in my opinion, the working class and the employing class had nothing in common, that whatever was to our interest was opposed to theirs, and that if the ensuing struggle was the basis of the Socialist philosophy, a union man could hardly be anything else but a Socialist. Cries of 'Right you are!' and 'Hear, hear!' rang through the hall, but down came the chairman's gavel and I was ruled off the floor.

"Then Dan went into action. The chairman feared him. As I said before, he was a revolutionist and had the good will of the large majority of the membership. He started in by saying that if what he had heard about Socialism were true, he was heartily in favor of it, but it was far different from the brand talked on some street corners or in the leaflets which had been left at the boarding house by so-called Socialists.

"'But,' he said, 'I agree with the chairman, we should not discuss politics here today. We have something of more immediate importance. Whatever benefits have come to the working class have come through unions. We have mixed in politics all our lives and always with the same result. Some of us have mixed with the churches. In both cases we have supported loafers who had no legitimate excuse for being on earth. I am perfectly willing to let the political argument rest where it is, but inasmuch as the first speaker dragged religion and morality into his argument, I believe it to be my duty to answer him.

"'He says it is not right for us to make these demands. To my mind, the employers have shown where they stand in regard to right and wrong. This is not a question of right or wrong. It is a question of power. If our masters had the power to make us, we would work for about four dollars per week and longer hours than we do now. It is only because we are powerful that we are in position to demand more.

"'He quotes St. Paul to prove that I shouldn't have a raise in wages. This appears to me far fetched. St. Paul is not a member of this organization and should have no voice in its conduct.

"'This brings us back to the subject of the day. The price of living has advanced more rapidly than our wages, while the very reverse should be the case. Our employers are constantly increasing the size of their establishments and are constantly installing new labor-saving machinery, paid for with the profits from our labor. We should have the benefits of it. Let it be real labor-saving. Let us work less hours per week and also get that raise.'

"As Dan sat down the storm of applause that broke loose shook the building, and cries of 'Question,' 'Question,' rang from a thousand throats. Of course you all know what happened. The employers couldn't stand a strike and so gave us everything we asked.

"I started out to tell you how I became a Socialist. After that meeting the Socialist who had spoken hunted me out and handed me a small pamphlet which showed much signs of wear. He told me that it told about what the Socialist movement stood for and requested that I read it. I opened it carelessly and there on the first page and in the very first line, I read:

"'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.' I didn't understand the book very well as a whole but sentences all through it struck me forcibly and I read it and re-read it time and again and I found that it very nearly expressed my view of the existing system. After that Dan and I read about everything printed in the English language on the subject of Socialism. But the one paragraph which astonished us both when we first read it was the following." Here Wilson pulled a well-worn copy of the Communist Manifesto from his pocket and proceeded to read:

"'When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled by the force of circumstances to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.' This seems to be the view of the founders of the Socialist movement in regard to politics. A political party can be a great weapon in the final struggle. The need of the party today is education, as well as politics.

There is no escape for you from wage-slavery by yourself, but while you cannot alone break your fetters, if you will unite with all other workers who are in the same position that you are; that is, if—instead of being bound up in a little union of a score, or a hundred, or thousand, that is almost as helpless to do anything for you as you are to do anything by yourself—if you will join the organization that represents your whole class, your can develop the power that will achieve your freedom and the equal freedom of all.—Debs.



PLANTATION WORKERS.

CAPITAL IN GUATEMALA

BY

JACK MORTON

ALL "good Socialists" know that in the United States our capitalist employers must necessarily give workingmen and women wages enough to buy food, clothing and shelter, because all these things are necessary to the life of the workingmen. And capitalists must have wage-workers.

It is a notorious fact that all they do give us is enough to live on. It matters not where you go, whether you are mining for the Guggenheim interests in Alaska, where "wages are way up," or feeding coal into the new blast furnaces in the Celestial empire among our yellow skinned brothers of the East, where wages are "way down," you always find that you get just about enough in your pay envelope to enable you to live and appear to hold down the job the next day.

And this explains why capitalists are investing money in industries in Guatemala, Central America. There men, women and children do not need much to keep them in working condition. Delicious tropical fruits grow and flourish everywhere. The climate is mild. Reed or rush huts cost almost nothing and neither steam heat nor coal fires are necessary to the welfare of the proletarians. Besides the natives are not at all particular about the make or cut of their clothes. Loose, home-spun shirts and trousers or skirts constitute a costume that equals the best one's neighbors can muster.

Now if Capital can gobble up the lands in a country like Guatemala, so that the lives of the propertyless natives depend upon their getting work, there is not much left to be desired—from the Capitalists' point of view.

And so they are flocking to Guatemala. The United Fruit Co. of Boston owns the largest banana plantation in the country. It covers 5,000 acres of land and exports annually 300,000 bunches of bananas, the total exports from all sections of Guatemala being 1,500,000 bunches.

Concepcion is perhaps one of the most interesting of the many large plantations. It covers 155,000 acres, near the Pacific coast, and produces ten thousand tons of sugar and 20,000 bags of coffee a year.

The big plantations have miles of private railroad and small cars to bear the coffee and sugar cane from the fields to the factory or shipping point.

The Pacayal estate produces the very finest grade of coffee. Here 8,000 acres are growing the coffee berry. In bloom the fields are a delight to the eye and flaunt myriads of fragrant blossoms.

Here the native Indians count three bushels of berries a good day's work. Their pay is sometimes as high as seven cents a twelve-hour day and a bamboo hut thrown



COFFEE BERRIES.

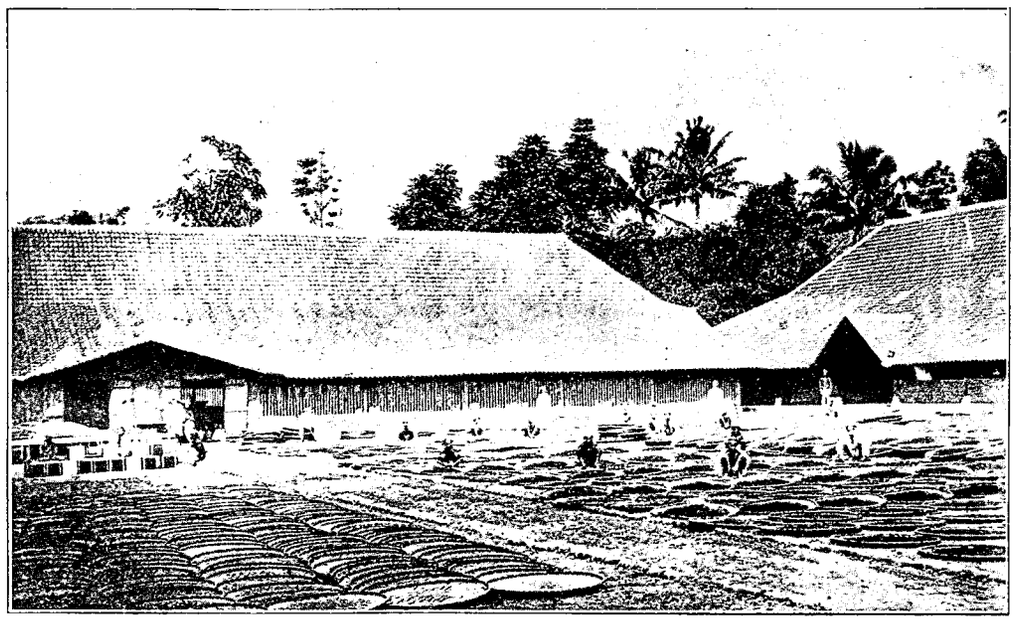
in. The coffee berries are promptly pulped and shot into fermenting tanks where the gummy coat on the hull is removed. Three bushels of coffee berries, for which the employers pay 5, 6 or 7 cents, produce 30 pounds of the very finest grade of coffee bean.

A recent traveler in Guatemala reported a most astonishing sight at Cantel, where she found a cotton factory of the most modern type run almost entirely by Indian women and children, who exhibited a marvelous dexterity.

As I talked with our visitor who related her experiences in Central America and who was loud in her praise of the American thrift and industry that was invading the lands, I thought much about the aims of Socialism.

We have been talking about excluding our comrades from Asia and India who come to America to find work; we have fancied that they would take our jobs from us. We have dreamed foolish dreams wherein we saw visions of our brothers from the East excluded from our shores; and we have seen the American workers securing higher wages and shorter hours as a result of this exclusion. And then a new problem confronts us. For we find that Capital has crossed the border line between the United States and Mexico and gone beyond into Central America. There she has built factories and stretched plantations. She has gone yet further; she has carried our jobs TO THE CHINESE and the Hindu. She has reared steel mills and cotton mills in the Far East.

And so we find that our dreams were mistaken visions only. If we prevent our brothers from across the border lands from coming to us, Capitalism and Modern Industry will go to them. There is for us no



DRYING COFFEE.

escape. In spite of our own errors, Capitalism throws us back again into the ranks of the revolution. We see at last that we can not save ourselves alone any more than our English or Italian or German comrades can work out the salvation of the English, Italian or German workers.

Our escape from wage-slavery lies only through the freeing of all the workers of the world. Struggle as we may, Modern Industry is reducing us all to the same low level. By it caste is being borne down in India; skilled workers are reduced to the ranks of unskilled workers as the machine displaces them; proletarians from all over the world flock to the high priced labor market; capitalists all over the world build factories in a low priced labor market.

And so we have ceased to boast. Pride is no longer a part of us. We are thinking only of how best to reach our brothers and sisters of every color, creed or nationality with the great hope that lies in the Revolution. We have fought and failed as individuals, but we have learned at last that the struggle is an international one. To the proletarians of all the world, we say:

For your own sake; for our sake; workers of the world, let us unite. We have nothing to lose but our chains!

"GET HIP"

BY

TOM J. LEWIS

IT IS STRANGE that the workers can be hypnotized for such a long period of time with such dope as better wages, shorter hours, three-cent care fare, reduction of taxes and the doing away with graft. Just as if their conditions could be bettered by these things, should any of such schemes be put into effect, including cheaper rents with modern appliances, such as bath tubs, so the workers could keep clean (providing, of course, they would be strong enough to bathe after a week's arduous toil). Better things, a step at a time, the dear evolutionist springs on us, also the "practical" opportunist who is chasing after votes and seeking a soft berth at the expense of the poor slaves. In the meantime he tells the workers of beautiful plans, and what can be achieved if they only listen to him.

That's exactly what the paid officials and business agents of the trade unions are doing with the rank and file, while their own material interests are advanced. Somewhat secured, like the parliamentarians, they forget the suffering of their class. The only way for labor to secure itself is to organize on an industrial basis, and to recognize the necessity of political as well as industrial action. Further, when a member is put into office in the union or elected politically by the workers, he must at all times be subject as a SERVANT to the organization—to do its will and bidding.

No official to be given power to settle any grievance, but all power must be in the organization, no industrial evolution or "practical" socialism to be talked, but revolution to be taught, and class-consciousness. For evolution in the large industries has done its work. Look them over and see for yourself, Mr. Working-chump; just think and then have another think, then we won't be so patient in hearing some "professor" tell us how many grunts an ordinary pig has, or listening to a sky-pilot orate about the "sweet bye-and-bye," while our internals are calling for something in the "sweet now and now." Immediate demands with the continuation of private ownership in the means of life, are so ridiculous as offering any amelioration to the workers as a CLASS, that no revolutionist can give them any consideration.

But apologists of capitalism who have some security, or ambitious office-seekers, see from a different angle. For it is not class-interest, but self-interest, that dominates them. You workers must beware of all that element if you ever intend to come into your own. Look at the recent international congress; wasn't it great? What

do you know about it? According to reports, it was a grand admiration affair of middle-class notions and respectability, with a few things said of the dear working-class. But it would require a powerful glass to discover anything outside of "our growth" to interest the toilers, and that we could learn at greatly reduced expenses.

Oh, we are learning, but how costly this is to the membership. The workers will conduct their own conventions some day. Let's be on our guard, or some one will control the Socialist Party for the capitalist-class as the A. F. of L. is at present, through the civic federation. No relief for the workers in higher wages, better houses, no booze, clean streets, cheap carfares to skyville, low rents, more parks, free water, reduced taxes, free land. No relief while the jobs are the property of the masters, to dispose of as they see fit, and the power of the government at their command to enforce their will.

What do we gain though we be cleaner, healthier, also stronger? We only do better work for the masters. That is not what we are seeking, but rather to be better men and women for OURSELVES. Our only hope is revolution, so let us keep manfully to our duties; avoid bunko-peddlers, saviors, hero-worshippers, and leaders. Be our own guides and continually agitate, educate and organize on class, and not on craft, lines.

Always keep in mind that we are going to emancipate OURSELVES from wage-slavery, not in 1950 or the year 2,000, but just as soon as we can and no later than 1916, if we can help it.

W. D. HAYWOOD IN LONDON

BY

A COMRADE

UP and down England our comrade Haywood has been addressing huge audiences of workers, and electrifying them with his graphic story of how capitalists carry on the Class War in America.

It was therefore with tense expectation that a London audience crowded into the Memorial Hall, Farrington street, on the evening of Monday, October 24, and besides filling every seat on floor and gallery, many stood during the whole meeting, which lasted over two hours. Comrade Ben Tillett of the Dockers' Union, who presided, spoke warm words of welcome to our hero comrade from over the seas, and this welcome was further emphasized by Comrade James Macdonald of the London Trades Council, speaking for organized labor, and Comrade Dora Montefiore, of the S. D. P. Then the audience rose and stood cheering and clapping Haywood for five minutes, and as the last thunder of applause died away the big miner's voice told in simple, cadenced sentences, the never-to-be-forgotten story of the industrial struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the mine owners and capitalists of Colorado.

Both the story and the manner of the telling gripped the audience, and they listened in tense, almost painfully strained silence as the conspiracy on the part of the mine-owners, the long imprisonment, the arousing of the workers, the trial and acquittal, were unrolled before them in vivid earnest language. Then, when Haywood after a scathing indictment of Roosevelt, told how it was to the working class he owed his life, and but for them he would be sleeping in a bed of quicklime, the pent-up passion and excitement of the audience overleaped all bounds, and as the speaker sat down ringing cheers once more greeted him, while handkerchiefs were waved from the galleries, and the "Red Flag" and "International" were sung by all standing.

Outside the hall a party of workers hoisted Comrade Haywood on to their shoulders, and carried him to Fleet street. The English as a nation may be hard to arouse, but they give full meed of recognition to a real man and a comrade when they come across him.



ALBERTA HNETYNKA. ANNA KRAL.

THE CHICAGO GARMENT WORKERS

BY

R. DVORAK

PERSONS who look upon the present Garment Workers' strike in Chicago as a pure and simple labor battles are securing only an outward glimpse of the situation.

The strike itself, truly enough, was brought on by a revolt of the poor underpaid girls and boys, men and women. It was a simultaneons upheaval of over 41,000 garment workers brought on by sixteen girls against petty persecution, low wages, abuse and long hours, an upheaval, unorganized at the start, which later took on the form of a fight for recognition of the union.

Behind the scenes, however, shut off from the public view, there is a mortal combat of big and small interests going on. A combat that is likely to settle, once for all, a battle of many years' standing.

Like every other trustified industry, the production of clothing was at first limited to a number of independent manufacturers. These concerns unhampered by much competition grew to giant proportions.

Chicago, however, grew as rapidly as did the concerns. The city was soon divided into neighborhoods of various nationalities. Among these nationalities there were many venturesome persons who went into the tailoring business and made it a point to appeal to people of their own tongue.

Thus it was that gradually the business of the big concerns began to de-

crease. The more the city grew in population the more small tailor shops sprang up until they were growing, it seemed, over night, like mushrooms.

The big tailors tried various ways of curbing the slump in their business. They increased their volume of advertising. They hired agents. They tried every method known to the business world, but they failed to stop the growth of the cockroach tailors.

Then it was that the consolidation plan was resorted to. The big tailors held a meeting. After several meetings a new concern—one which was expected to curb the growth of the small fellows—or at least render them harmless—was born. This concern was the Chicago Wholesale Clothiers' Association.

All of the big tailoring concerns joined the association but one. This one was the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Company, the largest of the tailoring concerns in Chicago and probably in the United States. This concern refused absolutely to have anything to do with the association, claiming that it would not have its policies dictated by any one but its own stockholders.

Backed by millions of dollars, the association began a campaign of elimination. Agencies were established in different parts of the city and outfitted with salesmen of the nationality prevalent in the particular location. In this way the little struggling merchant tailor gradually began to be pressed against the wall until from sheer dispair he was forced to accept work from the association. In this way the small tailors became contractors.

Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the renegade firm being fought by the entire association, plunged into the fray with all of its marvelous resources. It also established agencies, but instead of limiting itself to the city the firm spread itself all over the country. Almost every town has today a store known as the home of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx clothes.

The fight of the association against Hart, Schaffner & Marx was a hopeless one. Everywhere the renegade firm scored a victory until the combined powers gradually weakened in their fight and settled down to a campaign of tactics and strategy.

As an initial move, the association resorted to paying the contractors a higher price for work done and gloated over the expected victorious move. For a time it looked as though the association had scored a point, but all of a sudden Hart, Schaffner & Marx sprang a surprise that came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.

Forty-eight shops were opened by the renegade firm. All of the work was taken



HART, SHAFFNER & MARX BUILDING, HEADQUARTERS FOR SCAB CLOTHING.

away from the contractors. Over 8,000 tailors were hired and placed in the shops. And again the association ground its teeth with disappointment and rage. Once again the lonely renegade had scored on the combined interests and brains.

Finding itself defeated, the association began to vent its rage on the poor scapegoat of a contractor. It cut the prices and raved over even the best work done. The contractor in turn cut the wages of his tailors and charged them for even insignificant errors. Thus little by little the germs of rebellion were being installed in the shops, waiting only for a proper moment to grow into threatening proportions.

Hart, Schaffner & Marx, finding itself independent and thoroughly entrenched, decided to reap a harvest while the sun shone. It began by cutting the wages of its employes at every opportunity. The foremen picked out the speediest workers in the shop and made pacemakers out of them by boosting the piece work rates until the highest figure possible was reached.

The foremen and superintendents were given bonuses every time they increased the productive capacity of the shop without increasing the payroll. Whenever a foreman happened to increase the number of garments produced in his shop and also decreased the expense of the firm he received an even higher bonus. This made the foremen money crazy and established a system in the shop that brought suffering and may yet be the means of damaging the firm itself.

Driven crazy with the bonus plan, the foremen resorted to the vilest methods ever installed in a shop. They gave orders to the floormen to shut off the water before and after dinner so that the employes, the majority of whom in many shops were girls, would have no occasion to leave their work.

A pass system was established in most of the other shops, where the employes objected strenuously to having the water shut off, and every worker had to first secure a pass in order to get a drink. Girls who were looked upon as leaders of the other workers in the shop were given positions as foreladies, with instructions to get out as much work as possible.

Bonuses were held in front of the foreladies also and they in turn generally did their best to grind the employes in order to win a bonus.

Gradually the employes in the shops began to gain courage and dissatisfaction began to walk rampant in the establishments. Then in order to smooth the ruffled feathers of the workers the piecework system was resorted to. The speediest and most experienced workers were placed on a piece-work basis. Their rates were increased from week to week until the high water mark was reached.

As soon as the foremen saw that the pace-maker was doing as much work as he or she was capable of, the rate was gradually lowered, but the same amount of work was required. The dissatisfaction, which had been quieted temporarily with the increased rate, began to grow once more.

There were complaints from married men and married women about the low wages. Person after person pleaded for a higher salary, complaining that the money earned was far from sufficient for a livelihood.

Girls and women who were earning but three to six dollars a week were told to take some of the work home with them in the evening. Many did this and worked until late into the night in an attempt to earn sufficient money to live on during the week.

Many of the girls working with needles sewing on buttons or other work, bought hundreds of needles at one time and threaded these at home so as to be able to work faster in the shops and thus make more money.

As soon as the girls made what the firm regarded as too much money, they forced the button sewers to draw the needle through the button six times instead of three, as had been the custom. This increased the work on the button without increasing the pay. The girls objected, but were dismissed for their pains and blacklisted in many instances so that they could not secure work in any of the other Hart, Schaffner & Marx shops.

The rate and wage cutting system was becoming so general that secret meetings of the tailors were not uncommon. The indignities showered upon the employes

were reviewed and discussed at these meetings and the rebellion gained a new impetus.

Not satisfied with cutting the rates and wages of the tailors, the firm instituted a system whereby the employes were charged from five to fifteen dollars for the least damage done to a garment. Lost spools, bobbins and other implements were charged up to the workers and taken out of their wages.

During the slack months, the piece-workers were forced to report for work. They sat around in the shops, work or no work, earning no money, but stifling in the close, dust laden atmosphere of the fabric smelling shops.

When the pre-season months, those that constitute the busy time in the clothing industry, arrived, things changed as if by magic. Every employe was driven at top speed. Girls who had worked late into the night at home, threading needles or doing other work in order to make more money and sidestep the ten-hour law, came down to work next morning almost ill. None, however, were ever allowed to go home when sick.

Girls who asked permission to go home when sick were given some powders—good for every ailment from an earache to a sick stomach. If these powders failed to cure and the girl fainted, as happened several times each day, a doctor was summoned. But never, under any circumstances, was a girl or boy given permission to go home when sick, at least not until more substantial evidence than a sickly appearance or a mere statement was given.

The fine, or charge system, instituted in the shops was the most abominable possible and was the basis of most of the grievances since listed by the strikers. Every employe was forced to punch the time clock three times a day. Failure to punch the clock cost the employe 25 cents.

Work in the shops began at seven-thirty. The clocks had to be punched five minutes before the starting time and the punchers be upstairs at their respective places ready to work. If any of the employes punched the clock one minute late, he or she was "docked" fifteen minutes' time.

In order to avoid being "docked" the employes had to be down at the shops at least fifteen minutes before starting time. Some came even earlier. This was just what the company wanted. As long as the workers came down earlier there was no need of putting in extra elevators and clocks.

The cutters suffered as many indignities as did the tailors. Fifty cents was being paid the cutters for the cutting of one suit. They were not supposed to cut more, but the foreman piled up the goods four and five layers high and made the price rate read, 50 cents for one cut. In this way the cutters made five garments ready for the tailors for the price of one.

Less goods was given the cutters to cut from. The inch of goods given extra, above the size required for a suit, was taken off and the cutters forced to spend more time matching the goods in color and stripe.

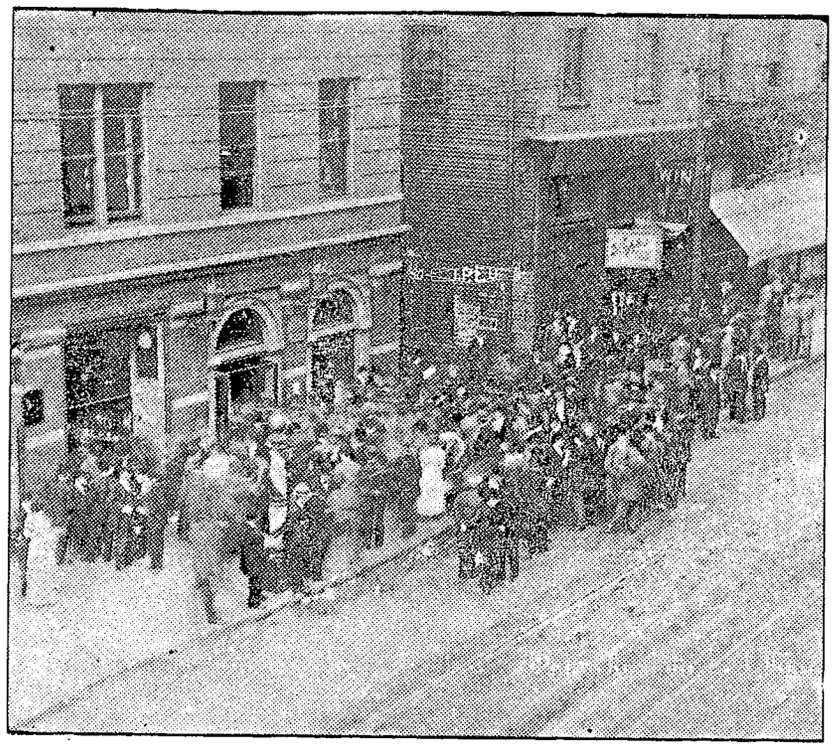
If a presser even slightly clouded the garment with his iron he was charged the full price of it. When the cutter even slightly cut into the garment line of the goods he was charged the full price of the coat or pants.

In one instance where a poor tailor, receiving fourteen dollars a week, slightly damaged three pair of pants, the company charged him $12. He had a family and could not afford to lose almost a whole week's pay. The employes took up a collection and later raffled the trousers off among themselves. There was no harm done them and the winner is wearing them in public every day.

It was such petty persecution by the foremen and cutting in pay that finally brought the great revolt. It came when a foreman attempted to make a forelady from one of the speediest girls in his shop.

The girl had no objection to being a forelady, but she did refuse to accede to the bonus system offered her by her boss. She would not listen to a cutting of the piece work rate of the girls in the shop and absolutely refused to ask them to work at home. She rebelled and finally threw the job at the feet of the boss. This girl was persecuted from that time on.

One day sixteen of the girls in the shop felt ready to "do or die." The leaders, Clara Massalloti, Bessie Abramovitch,



DAILY STRIKE MEETING HOD CARRIERS' HALL.

Rosie Shapiro, had the girls well in hand. Clara Massallotti, only 17 years old, came to the boss and told him that she had enough of the persecution. He laughed at her and told her to go back to work. They argued back and forth until the girl pulled out a little whistle. Before the boss could stop her she had blown it.

Sixteen hands dropped their work. Sixteen aprons went off as one and sixteen girls put on their wraps and left the shop. The boss raved, argued, threatened and entreated. His voice fell on deaf ears. The girls walked out of the building determined to enter it never again until better conditions had been established.

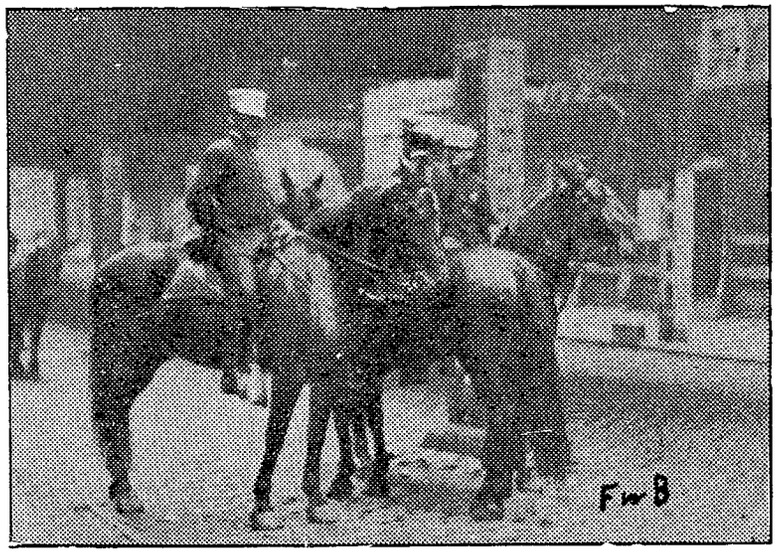
With tears in their eyes the girls walked into the office of Robert Noren, president of district council No. 6 of the United Garment Workers, 275 La Salle street. To him they told their story. He listened patiently and saw that there was a good chance of striking for a union. He telegraphed his opinion to New York.

The sixteen girls did not remain idle. They went to the other shops and told their story. The result was that the next day almost a thousand girls were on strike in the various shops. They told other girls and before the week was over 2,000 girls were walking the streets of Chicago, blowing whistles and calling others to their aid.

Then came a telegram from New York, and with it word from T. A. Rickert, International President, authorizing a strike of the garment workers. President Noren took immediate action and the thousands of tailors who had been waiting impatiently for such an order, walked out. Before the strike had lasted three weeks 41,000 garment workers had left the shop.

Meanwhile the manufacturers had not been idle. A call was sent into the police headquarters. The police, as has been their habit for years, responded willingly. Foot and mounted policemen were assigned to strike duty and persons who dared to stop near any of the strike bound shops did so at the risk of broken heads or ribs.

Not satisfied, the strike bound concerns hired private sluggers from the McGuire and White and the Mooney and Boland



OUR OWN CHICAGO COSSACKS.

detective agencies. For this additional "protection" the companies paid $8 a day per slugger.

The result of the wholesale hiring of "protection" was a riot in every part of the city each day. Strikers heads, and even those of people not interested in the struggle, were broken on a wholesale basis each day with clubs and revolver butts, As many as 40 persons were arrested at one time, on their way home from a mass meeting.

At least three girls were brutally clubbed in the streets for daring to reprimand policemen for their brutality. One girl, Stazie Kunes, received a smash from one policeman, number 2453 from the Hinman station, which crushed her lower jaw and broke her teeth.

Hundreds of cases of brutality could be listed in the seven weeks of the strike. Over 275 persons were arrested. Nearly 50 were beaten so bad that they had to receive medical treatment. At least ten of the strikers have been in bed ever since the first week of the strike.

The brutality of the police and sluggers hired by the strike-bound concerns aided the strikers in one respect. It secured them the sympathy of the public and many influential persons. Now the strikers have determined to never go back to work until the firms agree to recognize the union.

As soon as the little contractors realized that a strike was in earnest, they saw a chance of doing business while the big firms were idle. They held mass meetings in their various localities and voted to stick with the strikers. They unionized their shops by signing up with the union and began to manufacture clothing as fast as the shop forces would allow.

Many of the small tailors even went so far as to secure financial aid for the striking garment workers and urged the various business men in their neighborhoods to do the same. They did this with the hope that Hart, Schaffner and Marx would be defeated and would be forced to unionize its shops.

The union, from the very first week of the strike, realized that all of its energy had to be directed against Hart, Schaffner and Marx. It realized that the big concern was the leader. If it was unionized the others would soon follow. Therefore, all forces at the present time and throughout the strike have been looking to Hart, Schaffner and Marx and its forty-eight shops. The other 100 or more strike-bound concerns are practically ignored. They are the fringe hanging unto the main garment—Hart, Schaffner and Marx.

While the little fellow is lining up with the strikers in the fight, the Clothiers' Association is forced to line up with the Hart, Schaffner and Marx concern, but it is lining up shrewdly, realizing that sooner or later the renegade will have to enter the association, secretly, however, hoping that it will be wiped out of the field of competition.



EVERYBODY ENTHUSIASTIC OVER ELECTION

FROM almost every part of the country state secretaries have written us of immense gains in the party vote on Nov. 8th. The West advanced all along the line—a natural result of the class war being waged against labor by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. Wisconsin has conquered new fields and Ohio gave a splendid illustration of how class struggles clear the issue and the line of battle. The industrial centers responded nobly. There the workers seemed to arise in their might and they made a big dent upon the vote of the entire country.

California astonished everybody and will surely give General Otis and his colleagues something to think over.

Secretary Floaten of Colorado writes: In several small towns we had more votes than either of the old parties. Returns are coming in slowly. More later.

Comrade Jacobsen, state secretary of Iowa, reports gains all along the line and every report bringing in an increase in the total vote.

Secretary Hibner says: "Gas City, Kan., carried; coroner and surveyor elected in Montgomery county. Coroner elected in Labette county. Crawford county (the home of *The Appeal*) polled the largest vote in its history. From all returns think the vote has increased wonderfully."

Secretary Killingbeck reports a splendid increase all over New Jersey. Estimates the total vote at 15,000—50 per cent increase over presidential year.

Comrade Jud Harris, state secretary of Nevada, reports unofficial vote at 4,000.

New York leaped forward and shows gains all along the line. Russell polled 60,000 votes against 33,990 two years ago. Schenectady, Buffalo, Syracuse and Rochester doubled and trebled their showings. In many small industrial and rural centers the gains were often 300 per cent.

Comrade Dooley of Oklahoma, thinks his state will double its last vote and show 26,000 for the working class.

Secretary Storck of Ohio, estimates Ohio's vote at 70,000 or 75,000. Columbus almost elected the entire county ticket. J. L. Bachman, candidate for congress from the twelfth congressional district, polled 10,927 votes; Democrat, 13,860. Evidently the strike at Columbus opened the eyes of the workers there. Next time the socialists propose to elect several candidates. Two precincts carried in East Liverpool. Findlay vote five times as big as two years ago. Coshocton carried the entire ticket.



ITS FIRST STEPS. *From The Syracuse Herald.*

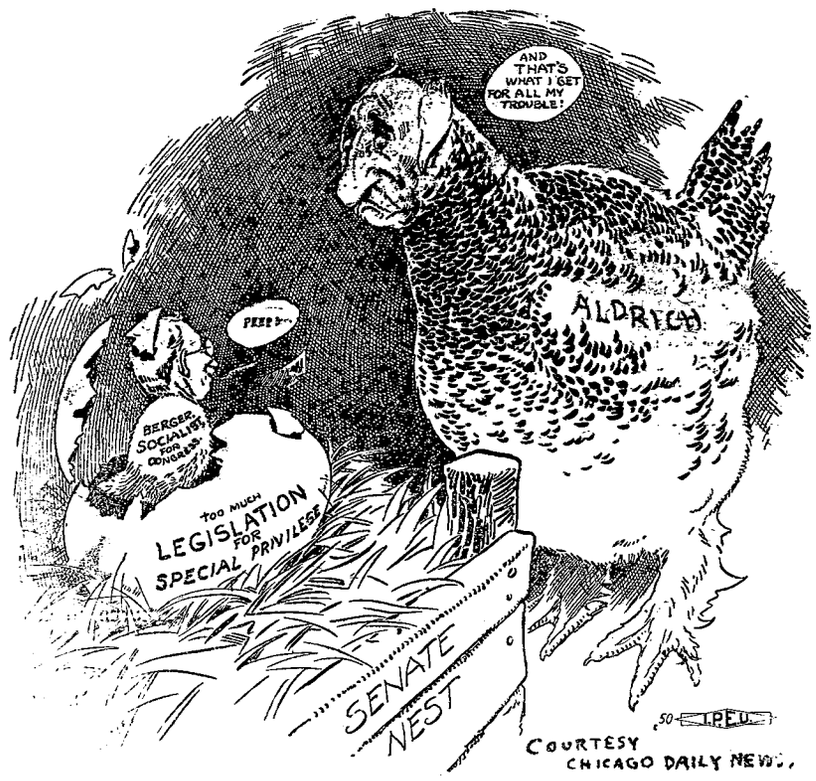


CHARLES H. MORRILL.

Secretary Barzee, of Oregon, reports big gains all over the state from the cities and villages heard from.

Secretary Ringler, of Pennsylvania, advises us that Comrade Slayton, candidate for governor, ran ahead of the Democratic candidate; big gains from Philadelphia and the industrial centers and James H. Maurer, a splendid revolutionist, elected to the legislature. Comrade Maurer writes: "During the past six months our flying squadron distributed 20,000 pamphlets every Sunday morning and during October 40,000 were distributed weekly. We are so completely organized that we are able to cover our city in one hour. The rock of scientific socialism is my platform. I understand the needs and aims of the working class and every act of mine shall be guided by consideration of the best interests of my class. My comrades of Local Berks and the nation will be my advisers.

Secretary Bostrom, of Washington, advises returns incomplete but comrades



HATCHED.

hope to show a 20 per cent gain over 1908.

Secretary Smith, of Utah, reports great interest in Socialism at last election. Gains everywhere, but official count not yet out.

Comrade Secretary Houston reports the Socialist candidate in Randolph county, West Virginia, was only beaten by the son of Henry C. Davis by 100 votes. This is the Senator S. B. Elkins stronghold. Wheeling doubled her vote and the whole state promises a gain of 200 per cent.

Massachusetts proudly returns Chas. Morrill to the state legislature. And Minnesota elected Nils S. Hillman a locomotive engineer, the state legislature from the fifty-first district.

North Dakota elects Comrade Wesley Fassett to the state legislature and starts 1912 campaign.

Wisconsin will send Victor Berger to Washington—the first Congressman the Socialist party has ever elected. The Milwaukee Social Democrats also elected their county ticket from top to bottom and thirteen members to the state legislature, one senator and twelve assemblymen from Milwaukee county.



VICTOR L. BERGER, FIRST SOCIALIST ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

Secretary Paul Paulsen, of Wyoming, reports that returns are not yet official in his state but he predicts a 25 per cent increase over 1908.

Hunter polled 10,000 votes in Connecticut where the old parties were warring to a finish. Indiana also showed a splendid increase in spite of the feud between old party candidates. Such situations clear up the issues and keep the vote truly revolutionary.

Illinois threatens to double her vote for 1908, while Chicago polled over 30,000.

Merry Christmas, everybody! We have started showing them! And the very best feature of socialist victories is the fact that each new recruit studies Socialism in order to fit him, or herself, to teach and talk socialism to more working-men and women. Agitate, educate, organize!

The winter campaign has just begun. Get busy now, everybody, and educate the new party members and next time they will add two or three hundred thousand to the revolutionary army!

ESTIMATED VOTE BY STATES, COMPARED WITH DEBS' VOTE OF 1908.

State	1908	1910	State	1908	1910
Alabama	1,399	2,000	Nevada	2,029	3,000
Arizona	.....	3,000	New Hampshire	1,299	1,500
Arkansas	5,842	9,220	New Jersey	10,249	11,500
California	28,659	55,000	New Mexico	.....	2,000
Colorado	7,974	10,000	New York	38,451	65,000
Connecticut	5,113	11,000	North Carolina	345	700
Delaware	240	500	North Dakota	2,405	6,000
Florida	3,747	7,000	Ohio	33,795	70,000
Georgia	584	1,000	Oklahoma	21,752	26,000
Idaho	6,305	8,500	Oregon	7,430	14,000
Illinois	39,711	60,000	Pennsylvania	39,913	55,000
Indiana	13,476	25,000	Rhode Island	1,365	1,500
Iowa	8,287	13,000	South Carolina	101	300
Kansas	12,420	17,000	South Dakota	2,846	5,000
Kentucky	4,060	7,000	Tennessee	1,878	2,000
Louisiana	2,538	4,000	Texas	8,524	14,000
Maine	1,758	1,568	Utah	4,895	6,000
Maryland	2,500	4,000	Vermont	820	1,055
Massachusetts	10,778	13,000	Virginia	225	500
Michigan	11,527	15,000	Washington	14,177	17,000
Minnesota	14,469	20,000	West Virginia	3,676	9,000
Mississippi	1,408	1,500	Wisconsin	28,146	55,000
Missouri	15,398	24,000	Wyoming	1,396	2,500
Montana	5,855	9,000			
Nebraska	3,524	7,000		433,289	696,843



EDITORIAL

Immense Socialist Gains. The congressional elections of 1910 show that the Socialist Party has made wonderful gains in two years and is far stronger than ever before. On another page the REVIEW gives as close an estimate of the vote as can be obtained up to the time of going to press. The result of the election as a whole is full of inspiration to the Socialist workers. New industrial developments are breaking down old party lines. Discontent is everywhere. Prices still rise, and wages do not rise in proportion. The wage-workers find themselves constantly crushed down closer to a level where they can obtain only the barest necessities. The Democrats claim that the protective tariff enriches a few manufacturers at the expense of "the people." The Republicans retort with good reason that a tariff reduction that would reduce prices would also reduce wages. But there are plenty of "insurgent" Republicans who talk like Democrats and conservative Democrats who act like Republicans. No legislation of any importance is likely to be passed by the newly elected Congress. The big capitalists need none and they control enough politicians in both parties to keep the little capitalists from getting the laws that might save them from destruction for a few years more. And as for the wage-workers, they are fast coming to see that reforms will not help them, that their only hope is in the party of REVOLUTION, the Socialist party. Now is our opportunity. Not less than two million men and women, including those who are disfranchised by capitalist laws, are on our side in the United States today. Of these only about 60,000 are now party members and only a fraction of the 60,000 have as yet fitted themselves to explain the principles of Socialism to their neighbors and shopmates. Capitalist parties are breaking up, the workers are ready for our message. Sow the seed of education now, and the harvest will be quick, sure and plentiful. One man or woman with a clear understanding of Socialism may easily carry the message to a thousand others. Capitalism can last only while we, the workers, are ignorant and divided. Educate, unite, and the world is ours.

Feeding the School Children. European Socialists discovered years ago that hungry children can not be taught so well as those who are well nourished. In the cities where they are strong enough they have started the system of supplying one good meal to the children either free or at a nominal charge. And now we learn through the capitalist press that the notorious Busse Republican administration in Chicago has begun to install the system here. It is a good system, and we Socialists need lose no sleep over this theft of our "thunder." The "penny lunches" may help the children of wage-workers to develop into stronger rebels, both in body and mind, than they would otherwise become. And the concession of this reform by the ruling class of Chicago may prevent the Chicago Socialists from wasting time over a side issue.

Mexico, Our Capitalists' Slave Colony. Few Americans, even American Socialists, realize the horrible conditions under which the working class is suffering in Mexico. And fewer still realize that the real slave-holders, for whose profit men, women and children are being bought and sold, starved and tortured just over our southern boundary line, are not Mexicans, but American capitalists. What is more, these capitalists are using the United States government, their government, to keep Porfirio Diaz in power, and it is Diaz that enables the slave-holders to keep their slaves in submission. But for Diaz, and his soldiers, the slaves would free themselves, and without the active help of the United States Government, Diaz would soon be overthrown. Read the facts reported by John Kenneth Turner in this month's REVIEW and you will have one more reason for fighting capitalism. For slavery can not continue and grow in Mexico without dragging down the wage-workers of America.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY

WILLIAM BOHN

FRANCE. Class Against Class. Again the Gallic cock has crowed. Again the working class of the world has taken new courage. Again international capitalism has suffered a spasm of terror.

The great strike of the French railway workers has proved the most successful failure on record. It was called on October 12th. On the 18th it was officially brought to an end. It involved the great majority of the railway workers of France, the electricians, the taxicab drivers and subway employes of Paris, besides the workers in many other trades. On the morning of the 12th, 200,000 workingmen of Paris failed to report for their daily toil. In extent it was one of the greatest strikes on record. In duration it was one of the shortest.

When it was over Aristide Briand, Premier of France, and premier labor-crusher of Europe, was left in absolute control of the situation. There was opposition in his cabinet; the cabinet was dismissed and he was commissioned to form one after his own heart. He succeeded in doing this. He was given a vote of confidence by the Chamber of Deputies. His policies and his personality were supreme. The strike was crushed.

Yet this strike was one of the most successful on record.

In order to appreciate this fact it is necessary to look somewhat more closely at the origin of the strike and the results which have followed it. The general strike was called in support of the employes of the Northern railway line. The workers on this line had been striking for a raise in wages from sixty cents to a dollar a day. They were in a fair way to lose. Finally their president, Comrade Toffin, was discharged. At this the central committee of the national union of railway workers called for a general strike. The call was almost immediately complied with by the employes of the following lines: the Western, the State, the Eastern, and Paris, Lyon and Mediterranean. Sympathetic strikes were almost immediately called by workers in other trades.

The government of France answered with two weapons. First it arrested the strike leaders. It did not do this because two of the lines involved happen to be state lines. It made no distinctions. All strikers were regarded as enemies of the government. Immediately official announcement was made that twenty officials of the railway unions would be placed under arrest. The twenty men involved let it be known that they would assemble in the editorial room of *l'Humanite,* the Socialist daily, and there await the officers of the law. On the wall of that room hangs a drawing representing a company of soldiers beating down a crowd of proletarians, men, women, and children. Under this drawing is an excerpt from an address delivered by Aristide Briand in 1899: "Fellow workers, take up scythes, clubs, pikes! On to the fight against your enemies, the exploiters of the people! In the midst of the conflict I will be with you." When the minions of the law came to execute the commands of this Briand they took one of the representatives of the working-class from the very chair in which Briand himself, as editorial writer on *l'Humanite,* had toiled for working-class supremacy. On the table lay the very pen with which he had written his impassioned appeals. The arrests did not end with the taking of twenty officials. In all several hundred strikers were imprisoned. Most of them were eventually sentenced to short terms in prison.

The other measure of the government was even more violent. All of the strikers subject to duty as military reservists were summoned into service. They had two weeks' grace allowed them under the law. But if at the end of that time they had not reported they could be treated as deserters.

This second weapon proved effective.

Thousands of the strikers flocked to the standard. In the end this fact had much to do with the breaking of the strike.

On October 15th the directors of the railways involved announced to Minister of Public Works Millerand that they were willing to grant a wage of one dollar a day for every day actually spent at work. This did not meet the demand originally made by the men on the Northern line. But it was concession. And it soon had its effect. Here and there strikers began to return to their places.

On October 17th the strike, though still expanding in some places, was noticeably decreasing in others. During the night between the 17th and 18th the general strike committee, to the surprise of every one, declared the conflict at an end. There was some opposition among the men. Some did not hesitate to say the workers had been betrayed. On the 18th, nevertheless, the great majority of the strikers went back to work, and the great conflict was practically over.

In its manifesto the strike committee explains that it preferred to bring the strike definitely to an end in good order. This leaves the union of railway workers with full treasury and organization intact for the great struggle which evidently lies before it.

This tremendous strike, which was technically, outwardly, a failure, has been a success in three different ways. In the first place it has won substantial advances in wages for the employes on whose behalf it was first called; in the second, it has served as a gigantic demonstration of the power of French labor; in the third, it has sharpened the class conflict in France, it has made a final life-or-death struggle imminent.

It is in this last result that the historic importance of the strike is to be found. The opposition in the cabinet of M. Briand was due to the fact that two other renegades, Millerand and Viviani, were unwilling to consent to the full measure of his brutality. Perhaps these two were embarrassed by the discovery somewhere in their make-ups of a shred or two of their former humanitarian impulses. At any rate they opposed the head of the cabinet. Since their dismissal the French have at the head of their government a cabinet made up exclusively of labor-haters. They have been chosen for the express purpose of fighting the **Confederation General du Travail.** They are expected to begin their campaign by securing modifications of the law of association. It is expected that they will secure a clause forbidding the formation of unions among employes of state enterprises. Such a clause may mean civil war.

At any rate the **Confederation General** goes from one conflict to another. As on many another previous occasion, the working-class of the world must keep its eyes on France. There the class oppositions are sharpest and there a bitter, violent class warfare may break out at any moment.

ITALY. Socialist Party Congress. The eleventh congress of the Socialist Party of Italy met at Milan October 21-25. **Critica Sociale,** the Socialist review published at Milan, welcomed the members of the congress in an editorial which went on to say that the history of the Socialist movement in Italy is about to enter upon its third period. The first period, according to the editor's view, extended from 1890 to 1900 and was a period of desperate struggle for the right to existence. The second period, we are told, extended from 1900 to the present time, and this has been a period of inner clarification and unification. The third period, beginning with the present year, is to be a time of positive action, of definite achievement.

If one is to judge by the conclusions reached in the Congress of Milan the second period is not yet concluded. Thus far there is lacking in Italy the strong feeling of unity, the clear recognition of purpose, which is making an irresistible force of the Socialist movements in Germany and France. The union movement in Italy is gaining strength. There are unmistakable signs of discontent in the working-class. But the Socialist movement is not sure of itself and is making little headway.

Lack of success is mirrored in the report of the executive committee submitted at Milan. In 1908 the party numbered 43,788 members; in 1909, 28,835; in 1910, 32,108. On all sides there is heard

the lament that there is a lack of young bloom in the movement, that the party does not attract the rising generation of the working-class.

This state of affairs is differently interpreted by the members of the two opposing Socialist groups. The Reformers claim that it is due to lack of positive program, to failure to recognize the immediate needs of the working-class. The Revolutionists maintain, on the contrary, that it results from lack of an inspiring social ideal.

In the congress held last year at Florence, it will be remembered, the Reformers were triumphant. They were left in control of the party executive committee and of l'Avanti, the party's official organ. In addition they have been in the majority in the Socialist parliamentary group. So they have had things all their own way during the past year.

At the opening session of the Congress of Milan resolutions were introduced giving expression to the views of the Reformers, the Revolutionists, and a group made up of a combination of the two opposing factions. The Revolutionists advocated the acceptance of a resolution introduced by Comrade Lazzari. This resolution insisted on certain reforms, the same as those championed by the Reformers, but denounced coalitions with capitalist parties both in political campaigns and in parliamentary activity. Moreover, it emphasized the fact that reforms are only useful in so far as they tend toward the total transformation of capitalist society. Comrade Lazzari defended his resolution in a masterly address. He criticised the parliamentary group and the editor of l'Avanti for supporting capitalist reforms and giving but feeble expression to real proletarian demands. In particular, he took them to task for not opposing military expenditures, for failure to protest against the massacre of strikers by national troops, and for refraining from opposition to the official reception given the Czar on the occasion of his visit to Italy. Lack of growth in the party he held to be due to fact that party no longer represents the working-class.

Reply was made by Bissolati, editor of l'Avanti. He asserted that without the liberty to support a reform ministry a Socialist group is practically powerless in parliament, that by judiciously giving or withholding support the present parliamentary group aided the Sonino ministry in removing the censorship of the press and forced upon the present Luzatti ministry an anticlerical policy. He declared it to be the intention of the Socialist representatives to support Luzatti in his effort to reduce the educational qualification which now limits the Italian suffrage. Such reforms as these, he insisted, are at present the necessary condition to the progress of the proletariat. In the south of Italy the great majority of the people are totally illiterate. They cannot become politically effective, cannot act on their own behalf, until reform measures have effected a change in their condition.

Comrade Morgari opposed the leaders of both Reform and Revolutionary wings. The Reformers, he said, had forgotten the great purpose of the Socialist movement, had lost their identity among Republicans and Radicals. The Revolutionists, on the other hand, had forgotten the immediate needs of the working-class. What was needed was a combination of revolutionary idealism and reformist sense for ways and means.

When it came to the vote the Reformers carried the day. Their resolution received the support of 12,991 members. The Revolutionists mustered 6,058. The middle-of-the-road group, the one represented by Comrade Morgari, numbered 4,574 votes. The Revolutionists drew comfort from the fact that they have gained 700 votes since the Congress of Florence, while both of the other groups have lost.

Here we have a true representation of the state of the Socialist movement in Italy. This condition is no doubt largely the result of economic conditions for which the party is not responsible and over which it can exercise no control. Northern Italy is industrially well developed; southern Italy is still medieval. The Socialist Party is made up partly of middle-class co-operators and partly of revolutionary syndicalists. Under these conditions the movement is inevitably torn with opposing views on theory and tactics. Economic development on the outside and deeper insight into the nature

of the class-struggle on the inside must bring unity of opinion and purpose in time. But of such unity there is little indication at present.

South African Elections. The elections for the first union parliament of South Africa have been held and industrial capitalism has won. Inasmuch as this victory indicates a step forward in the line of social evolution, it is a necessary preparation for the day of socialized industry. Industrially South Africa, like Australia and New Zealand, is emerging from the pioneer stage. Agriculture and mining are still the foremost industries and the industrial problems which grow from factory life and crowded cities are less pressing than the question of ownership of land and mines.

Further, all the variations of the race trouble are of supreme importance. Tom Mann's article on South Africa in the July number of the REVIEW gives a vivid description of the industrial exploitation of the Kaffir. But Capital in South Africa, as in Australia, is not content with reaping profits from the native black. It has turned too to the cheap labor of the Orient and is importing Hindoos. Small wonder that race antagonism is bitter and that the "colored franchise" and importation of alien laborers are two seemingly vital issues.

Politically, South Africa is far behind Australia and New Zealand. It is hardly a nation—even a subject nation. It is a group of colonies developed by different nationalities and controlled now by the nation whose citizens hold the economic superiority. Therefore, the "conservatives" are the party of the old Dutch landowners, the party of local patriotism, of landed interests, the Nationalists. The "liberals" are those who welcome the industrial expansion through foreign (largely English) capital, the party of imperialism, of cheap labor, of British dominance, the Unionists.

In a country so undeveloped industrially and politically it is surprising to find a strong labor party. It is said that in South Africa as large a proportion of the population votes the labor ticket as in Great Britain. The Labor Party has representatives in the local governments and has won a few seats in the new parliament. Its platform declares for nationalization of the land and a minimum wage law. Many of the Labor Party call themselves Socialists.

The three parties are united in regard to the extension of the franchise to the colored people and the Socialists by their defense of the colored workingman frankly accepted a tremendous handicap of unpopularity.

The triumph of the Unionists seems to mean the dominance of the landowner is giving way to the dominance of the owner of industries and especially to the dominance of the wine-owner. The failure of the Labor Party shows that capitalism is not yet fully enough developed to make the class struggle sharp.

It was chiefly because the Labor Party lacked class-consciousness that the revolutionary Socialists felt compelled to fight them and to raise the red flag in the campaign. And how bravely, just for the cause, with no hope of securing office, the little socialist group in South Africa has kept the flag flying. They contested four seats in the new union parliament. In Johannesburg Comrade Crawford, the tireless and uncompromising editor of the *Voice of Labor,* distributed 50,000 pieces of literature and got 8 votes. Another Scotchman in another Transvaal district got 25 votes. In these districts there were no party members, so the work was all fresh propaganda. Comrade Noon in a district of Capetown, which has about 2,000 workers received 296 votes.

But votes are not a test of success in so young a movement. A better sign of the vitality of the movement is its ability to support a party paper. "The Voice of Labor," published at Johannesburg, is two years old, though the whole South African movement is not over eight years old.

The South African comrades, opposing not only expanding capitalism, but an established labor party, undoubtedly have serious tactical problems to meet, but they seem to have courage and energy for the fight.

PORTUGAL. Bourgeois Idealism. In order to understand the American Revolution, the French Revolution, or any other revolution of the great period, all one has to do is to take a look at contemporary Portugal. There we have every element of a bourgeois revolutionary movement appearing promptly according to schedule.

The revolution which took place between the 3d and 6th of October was much desired by the business interests of the land. The monarchy was wasteful and inefficient. The convents and monasteries were, in certain fields, very undesirable industrial rivals. But, so far as one can see now, the business men of Portugal took very little part in the military action which led to the abolition of monarchy and the humiliation of the church. The revolution was directly carried on by a group of enthusiasts, backed up by the masses of the people. The early press reports were absolutely at fault when they represented the populace as indifferent. Thousands of workingmen, armed with weapons supplied by rebellious soldiers, joined in the attack on the palace at Libson. Even in the provinces, we are told, the people generally hailed the proclamation of the republic with joy. The people furnished the real power which made the revolution possible.

Furthermore, the Republican leaders, men like Premier Braga, Minister of Foreign Affairs Machado, and Minister of Justice Costa, are persons inspired by high and fine ideals. So far as can be seen at the present moment, they really desire to make Portugal a democratic country. They have begun by separating church and state. As soon as possible they purpose to call a constitutional convention, elected by universal, proportional suffrage. They intend to lay before this body the outline of a constitution. This outline is to include provisions for popular education, abolition of the death sentence, and other democratic measures. The provisional cabinet favors what would seem in this country very radical social regulations. They announce their intention, for example, of procuring, as soon as possible, the passage of a national ten-hour law and a law providing for one day's rest in seven.

So far as they go these are really working-class measures. They remind one strongly of the early days of the French Revolution, the days of "liberty, equality, fraternity." We in this country have few illusions about bourgeois republicanism. We know very well how a great revolutionary uprising can be turned to advantage by the powers of capitalism. We know how the revolutionary ideals are twisted and turned into their opposites once capitalism has got fully under way. The time is bound to come when the working-class of Portugal will have to fight for the very things it seems now to possess. The idealists who now head the government will soon have monuments erected to them, but their ideals will be buried as deep as capitalist misrepresentation can bury them.

All this is to come. But for the moment the common people of Portugal have the advantage of revolutionary enthusiasm. Let us hope that they will get their ten-hour law and some smattering of education. Every help they can wring from their present environment will be so much gained for the coming struggle.

Death Sentence in Japan.

As we go to press word comes to us that Dr. Kotoku and his wife and their friends have been brought before the courts of Japan and judged guilty of plotting against the imperial family. The sentence of death has been pronounced on them. Denjiro Kotoku is a man of high education who has devoted himself to popularizing Western scientific and socialist ideas in Japan. He has translated the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy and Peter Kropotkin, also of Bakunin into Japanese. Comrades write that the charge is wholly false and we may well believe this to be true as Dr. Kotoku and his colleagues are scientific thinkers who realize that the present-day ills of the working class are due—not to individuals but to the capitalist system of exploitation.

Comrade Katayama has written much of late about the growing intolerance on the part of the government for liberal or even radical ideas and it is not surprising that the officials should desire to stamp out the growing movement for revolution. We hope to have more encouraging news about the Japanese situation in the next number of the REVIEW.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

LAST month's elections appear to be another case of out of the frying-pan into the fire so far as organized labor is concerned. It was the most remarkable demonstration of political confusion and chaos that this country has witnessed this side of 1860. The only bright and promising rift in the sky is the splendid forward movement of the Socialist party. Victor Berger's election to Congress, the winning of seats in the Legislatures of various states, the capture of scores of county and city offices, and the general increase in the popular vote are incidents that are causing the old party bosses and newspapers to comment in a nervous and uneasy strain and to admit as a whole that the working class seems to be awakening at last and that the S. P. is a factor that must be reckoned with in the future.

Let me repeat and let it sink deep into the minds of the working people that the triumphant onward march of the Socialist party is the only hopeful sign in the political firmament. It is the only menacing club that can be wielded against the politicians in power and force them to amend the Sherman anti-trust law and modify government by injunction so as to permit workingmen to strike and boycott without going to jail or being forced to pay damages to the open shop plutes.

And don't you think for a holy minute that the politicians won't interpret the danger of the "red spectre" and do the handsome thing in restoring to the workers the rights of which they have been robbed and place American labor upon the same plane as are the workers of other countries in the world where the Socialist movement threatens the piratical class with annihilation! The politicians will define the meaning of the Socialist vote much quicker than the laboring men still tied to the capitalistic old party juggernaut, I am sorry to say, and make concessions to head off a still larger Socialist vote the coming year. All of which proves the correctness of Socialist philosophy once more, viz., that it is not even necessary to win complete control to wrest concessions from the capitalist class, and that the higher the Socialist vote is piled up the more respect the plutes will have for those who toil.

Therefore, the thing to do now is to follow up the advantages gained and press the enemy harder than ever. Start the 1912 campaign at once. Hold meetings, organize the men and women who want industrial freedom, grind out literature by the ton and educate the workers in the old parties whose bonds are being loosened and who will be more easily attracted to our movement in proportion as the S. P. organization grows and inspires them with confidence and enthusiasm and the hope for a brighter and better day. This is a good age to live in; we are writing history, and all signs of the times indicate that we will have Socialism in our time. All depends upon our own efforts.

I would add in passing that no intelligent workingman ought to be misled by the shrewd and temporary switching that was done by the dominating capitalists and their agents from the factionalized Republican party to the hypocritical and discredited Democracy. It was a fine play for position, that is true. But watch out! Harmon, the military governor of Ohio, will likely be the Democratic nominee for President in 1912. He had the solid support of all the trust and open-shop interests of his state. Second choice is Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic governor-elect of New Jersey, who also stands second only to Prof. Eliot in his bitter hatred for organized workers. Foss, of Massachusetts, and Dix, of New York, are in the same boat. Both are notorious labor-crushers and are at war with the unions.

It is almost certain that Taft will be renominated by the Republicans, as "Teddy" has been thoroughly repudiated for his demagoguery and cannot prove a factor unless he splits his party and forms an alliance with Bryan, who is also a has-been.



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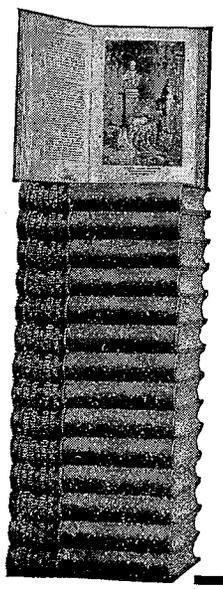
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J. C. MILLS, Manager of the Review History Club, 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago: Without any expense or obligation to me I will examine the Library of Universal History if sent to my home all charges prepaid. This is positively not an order but a request for an absolutely free examination. If I am not pleased I will return the books at your expense. If I keep them I am to get Webster's Unabridged Dictionary FREE.

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As between Taft and Harmon or Wilson the plutes can once more say: "Heads I win, tails you lose!"

THE Illinois State Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of starting a Labor party, and the affiiliated organizations are to be polled upon the proposition in the near future. It is rather strange that, after the overwhelming defeat of a labor party scheme submitted to a referendum of the Chicago local unions by the Federation of Labor in that city, another effort should be made to launch a political movement that the workingmen evidently do not want, and stranger still that the resolution in the State Federation of Labor convention should be fathered by a man who calls himself a Socialist, John Walker, president of the Illinois Mine Workers, who certainly cannot complain that he hasn't been pretty loyally supported in all his undertakings by uncompromising Socialists who understand something about discipline and the necessity of majority rule being recognized in an organization.

Possibly there was a psychological moment in this country when the formation of a labor party would have struck a popular chord among thousands of workers identified with the old parties, who favored some forward step being taken and who were not yet prepared to join the Socialist movement, but that time has gone by. When the United Hatters were mulcted of $225,000 and costs for boycotting Loewe's scab hats, and again later when Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were sentenced to prison for defying an injunction in the Buck's stove boycott a labor party could have been formed which probably would have duplicated the success that was had by the British Labor party that sprang out of the famous Taff-Vale railway decision. But Gompers and Mitchell seem to be so thoroughly enervated by Civic Federation dope that they permitted a brilliant opportunity to pass that comes to but few men, and they sat still in a paralysis of helplessness and cowardice that was enough to make the angels weep.

It may be taken for granted that Ralph Easley, the chief engineer of the Civic Federation, who boasts of having killed the Populist movement by steering the thoughts and agitation of the Kansas farmers from their financial heresies to the prohibition question that produced the "wet" and "dry" craze, tickled the ribs of Belmont and Carnegie and Frick and his other masters by his wonderful stroke of diplomacy that kept the working class hitched to the two old parties and the juggernaut of capitalism. "Oh, if Gompers had only had had the courage to go to prison and issue a proclamation to the working people in the Buck's crisis," said the president of one of the largest international unions to me a few days ago, "what splendid history would have been written by the American labor movement! But the mountain has labored and brought forth the mouse of 'punish our enemies and reward our friends.' And I have stood for office along with others, but nevermore. I learned who are our friends and who are our enemies, and while 'our friends' may be our friends on one issue they are our enemies on others. Hereafter the years of life alloted to me will be spent in furthering the cause of Socialism."

There are other union officials who agree that whatever chances there may have been to establish a representative labor party have passed, and that the only real political labor movement is now the Socialist party, to which the rank and file are rallying in increasing numbers. Probably after all Gompers may deserve to be thanked by the Socialists in sticking to his conservative principles and avoiding the possibility of creating confusion in working class politics. Nor do I wish to suspicion Mitchell of playing into the hands of Easley and the Civic Federation by urging his friend John Walker to spring the labor party resolution in the I. F. of L. Walker may have depended upon his own initiative and had a mistaken idea of what is needed to arouse the working class. But he is wrong-headed in this instance and the miners and other unionists of Illinois ought to bury the labor party scheme so deep that it will never be heard of again. The Socialist party is THE labor party of this country, as in all others.

MOTHER JONES has been busying herself during the past few weeks in trying to bring cheer and comfort to the poor miners in the Irwin-Greensburg soft coal district of Pennsylvania, and assisting

those unfortunate victims of one of the most heartless lockouts in American industrial history (as has been shown in THE REVIEW) to gain a semblance of humane working and living conditions. Mother is never so happy as when helping "the boys" in the mining fields, and, as every officer and member of the U. M. W. knows, she has gone into districts in Colorado, Alabama, West Virginia and other places where many of the bravest of men have feared to tread. She has faced injunction judges, served time in jail, lived on bread and water and has undergone a thousand hardships where others have hesitated or flunked, and never a word of complaint as to her own sufferings escape her lips. In fact she is as jolly and happy-go-lucky as a girl of sixteen and always refers to her direful experiences as humorous escapades.

Mother Jones only grows sorrowful and indignant when she discusses the fool factionalism among the miners and the sufferings endured by "the boys" and their wives and children, whom she knows and loves and for whom she has done organizing work in past campaigns. She has little patience with the penny-ante politics of this or that alleged leader who aspires for place or power, and when in a reminiscent mood she can relate some wonderful stories.

Anyhow, when Mother Jones gets through in the soft coal region she intends to invade the anthracite region again, the scenes of earlier triumphs, and endeavor to bring order out of chaos. From all reports, the hard coal miners are in a deplorable condition from the union standpoint. Back in 1902, when the big strike took place that Roosevelt "settled," the U M. W. was in splendid shape. The men were all out and the industry was so thoroughly paralyzed, despite all that the mine barons could do with their courts and strike-breakers, that Baer, Oliphant, Truesdale & Co. were on the verge of capitulating, when who should butt in but "the workingman's friend," Roosevelt. By flattery the Big Noise turned the head of Mitchell and secured his consent to appoint the celebrated "strike commission," with Judge Gary as chairman.

After much unwinding of red tape and capitalistic investigation, recommendation, etc., a report was adopted under which practically all the active workers and offi-

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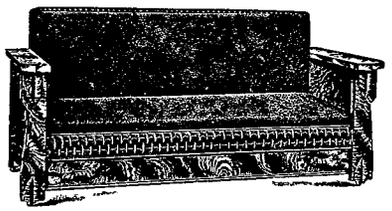


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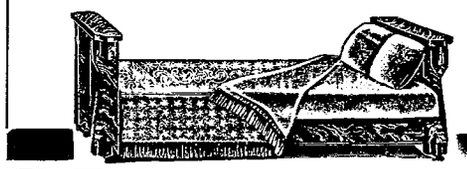
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cers have been blacklisted or driven from the fields or are coerced and cowed into submission. Today not more than 30 per cent of the men in the Hazleton district are organized and less than 15 per cent in the Schuylkill and Wyoming districts. When Roosevelt visited the Scranton neighborhood several months ago the miners thought that he had come to help them out of the mire. But he only made campaign thunder and had his picture taken with the Pennsylvania Cossacks. Mother Jones will have no pictures taken with the scabs. She is going in there to work.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS, PORTLAND, OREGON.

Headquarters, Local Portland, Oregon.—Home of 468 revolutionary socialists who pay 50 cents dues per month and are on the agitation job to win a world wide home for the working class.

During October 63 propaganda meetings were held, 96 new members joined the bunch. $377.80 was the amount of literature sales and collections, which is going some for a working class organization with no millionaire members on its books nor long haired saviors to lead the multitude.

Go to it! Local Portland and your 500 December REVIEWS will soon be on the way west with "our best" to one and all.

From Canada.—I am delighted with the November REVIEW. It is truly a fighter. It instructs and enthuses in a manner that carries with it both power and courage to jump into the thick of the industrial and political camp of our enemies.—Abbott.

From Mexico.—I congratulate you heartily on your never ceasing improvement of the REVIEW and your steadfast, strict Marxian policy. You are leading it safely through thick and thin.—Ring.

Mass.—Everybody to whom I have sold copies of the October REVIEW are asking for the November number. This shows how folks like the REVIEW.—N. Dozenberg.

From Pennsylvania.—There is no difficulty in selling the REVIEW since it combines the very best features of the revolutionary movement; is splendidly edited and I believe it should be in the hands of every Socialist who wants to keep in touch with the movement. It is eminently thorough; free from rant and yet the REVIEW always speaks the truth. —Thomas E. Peoples.

New York.—I am coming to the opinion that the REVIEW is the most useful Socialist publication in the country.—Lloyd.

Alaska.—The REVIEW is getting better right along. You are certainly doing good work for the cause.—Deadwood.

Philadelphia.—I had to hunt for customers at first but now they are coming to me. The November number made a hit.—C. R.

Louisiana.—I think that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the real goods for the working man.—H. N.

New York.—Thanks for sending the REVIEWS so promptly. I have sold all you sent and could have sold twice as many. I never saw a crowd so eager to buy. I can easily work up the circulation to three hundred every month.—D. T.

Illinois.—Enclosed find $2.00 for 40 copies of the November issue of the best magazine ever published. Our local got 20 copies of the October number and they went like "hot-cakes."—Kewanee.

U. S. Army.—Hereafter I will send $5.00 each each month for the REVIEW. It is doing splendid work. Four-fifths of the soldiers here voted the Socialist ticket.—Comrade.

Here It Is

Here is just what you want, just what you need. You have been looking for it and here it is. Send us word, saying you want to try it and it will be sent by mail, without a penny. It is Bodi-Tone, the real remedy for the sick, that is curing sick-folks by thousands, the medicine your neighbors are talking about. The Bodi-Tone Company invented Bodi-Tone over a year ago, and immediately offered it on trial to all the sick, a fair and honest way, so everyone could try it and judge its curative value before paying a penny for it. The Bodi-Tone Company has sent out over one hundred thousand $1.00 boxes during the past year in this way, to people in all parts of the country, without a penny in advance, and thousands have seen, felt and known its great curative benefits. Now the Bodi-Tone Company wants *you* to try a *full-sized one dollar* box of Bodi-Tone at its risk and expense, so that *you*, too, will get to know the great curative and restorative forces in this splendid medicinal combination, which is rapidly proving its great superiority.

Bodi-Tone

does just what its name means—*cures disease by toning all the body*, and we want you to try it and see what it will do for *your* body. Bodi-Tone is a small, round tablet, that is taken three times every day. Each $1.00 box contains seventy-five tablets, enough for twenty-five days continuous use, and we send you the full box without a penny in advance, so you can try it and learn what it is, so you can learn how it works in the body, how it *cures stubborn diseases* by helping nature to tone every organ of the body. The composition of Bodi-Tone is not secret. Each ingredient is named and fully described in the Bodi-Tone book, sent free to every Bodi-Tone user. You know just what you are using and know it is good and safe. Among the ingredients which compose Bodi-Tone are Iron to give life and energy to the Blood, Sarsaparilla, to purify it, Phosphate to nourish the Nerves, Lithia for the Kidneys, Gentian for the Stomach, Chinese Rhubarb and Oregon Grape Root for the Liver, Cascara, which restores tone to the Bowels and Intestines, and Peruvian Bark for the General System. All these ingredients pull together to *restore health in the body*, each serves to build upon the others work, each one helps. Many are prescribed regularly by the doctors for diseases in which we recommend Bodi-Tone, most of them have been successfully used separately or in combination with other drugs for the treatment of innumerable diseases, but the *exact combination* found in Bodi-Tone is peculiar to Bodi-Tone alone and gives Bodi-Tone a curative and restorative power peculiar to itself, that has already brought health to thousands. That is why we want to send a box on trial to you, for we know that you will find it different and superior. Bodi-Tone is a pure remedy that all the family can use. It contains no narcotic drugs. It does not depend on drugging the body, but tones the body and cures its disorders with remedies nature intended to tone and cure the body when that power was given them. Bodi-Tone offers its service to you right now, if you are sick, if your bodily organs are not acting as they should, if your body is not in right, natural and normal tone. This is what Bodi-Tone is for—*to help nature restore tone to the body*, to restore normal health, energy, vigor, vitality and strength. If there is anything wrong with your Kidneys, Bodi-Tone helps to restore tone to the Kidneys, helps to set them right. If there is anything wrong with your Stomach, Bodi-Tone helps to tone the Stomach, helps to set the wrong right. If there is anything wrong with your Nerves, your Blood, your Liver, your Bowels or your General System, the ingredients in Bodi-Tone, which are endowed by nature with a special action in these parts, go right to work and keep on working day after day, exerting always a well-understood, definite action that produces curative results of the kind sufferers appreciate. If you have Rheumatism, Bodi-Tone, a splendid eliminant, helps to eliminate the Uric Acid from the system while it restores tone to the Kidneys, Stomach and Blood, thereby exerting a continual anti-rheumatic effect which makes it hard for Rheumatism to obtain or retain a foothold in the system. Bodi-Tone should be used by all women suffering from any of the various Female Ailments, for its toning properties are of special value in such ailments. Bodi-Tone is especially urged for all chronic sufferers who have tried honest, reputable physicians without benefit, for these are the people who need it the most.

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COTESFIELD, NEBR.-I have had Stomach trouble for eleven years and very bad for the past four years. Before taking Bodi-Tone, I had to throw up my supper every night. I would have such pain and such a heavy weight at my stomach and would nearly smother with gas. I would almost die and had to throw up what I had eaten to keep from smothering to death. It was so bad for four years that I was almost a walking skeleton. Now I am much stouter and don't look like the same person. My stomach digests what I eat and that trouble is all gone. I was so nervous and had such pain in the top of my head, which Bodi-Tone has remedied.



MRS. WM. BECK.

DORSET, VT.-I had Rheumatism very bad and was lame and sore all over. My Kidneys bothered me; Bodi-Tone has freed me from all of these troubles. MACK FISHER.

CULVER, IND.—I am telling all of my neighbors and friends about Bodi-Tone, and how it reached my case and did me more good than any other medicine I ever took, which is enough for me. My troubles were lame back and continual tired feeling, due, as I believe, to weak kidneys. My back was so bad that when I stooped over I could hardly raise up again and I suffered much pain with it. I took most everything recommended, but found no relief until I used Bodi-Tone. I used only two boxes, and have not since been bothered with my back, and I feel like working all the time.



OTIS E. MARSH.

GASTONIA, N. C.—When I began Bodi-Tone I was in a very weak condition, and had tried so many medicines that I became discouraged. I had been in very poor health for five years, suffering from different diseases and with a debilitated, run-down system. I was full of Malaria. I had two physicians waiting on me and they gave me only temporary relief, and told me I would have to have an operation, which I refused. I scarcely had strength enough to dress and had to stay in bed, not able to do my household duties. I began the use of Bodi-Tone three months ago and my improvement was so rapid that in a few weeks I was attending to my household duties and rested better at night than in years. I now enjoy perfect health and have gained 10 pounds. MRS. R. M. CURRIE.



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LITERATURE

Burning Daylight. By Jack London, illustrated, 361 pages; published by The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y. Price, $1.50. We are very glad this book reaches us in time for a brief notice in the December issue of the REVIEW, for it is unquestionably the Christmas book of the year. Do not miss it for it is Jack London, the foremost writer of English literature in America, at his very best. The book is a powerful arraignment of the capitalist regime. No contemporary novelist has pictured so vividly the horrors of modern industrialism as London in his last novel. Thus does one character in the book describe existing society:

"Society, as organized, was a bunco game. There were many hereditary inefficients—men and women who were not weak enough to be confined in feeble-minded homes, but who were not strong enough to be aught else than hewers of wood and drawers of water. Then there were the fools who took the organized bunco game seriously, honoring and respecting it. They were easy game for the others, who saw clearly and knew the bunco game for what it was. Work, legitimate work, was the source of all wealth. That was to say, whether it was a sack of potatoes, a grand piano, or a seven-passenger touring car, it came into being only by the performance of work. Where the bunco came in was in the distribution of these things after labor had created them. He failed to see the horny-handed sons of toil enjoying grand pianos or riding in automobiles. How this came about was explained by the bunco. By tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands men sat up nights and schemed how they could get between the workers and the things the workers produced. These schemes were the business men. When they got between the worker and his prod··ct, they took a whack out of it for themselves. The size of the whack was determined by no rule of equity, but by their own strength and swinishness."

But the book is full of optimism, teeming with the splendid hope of free labor. Back to nature is the keynote of the work. "Those weary of the mad haste and rush of our insane life will find here a soothing idyl. Above all, London is a wonderful painter of nature; his description of Alaska and California is of surpassing strength and beauty. And what a portrayer of the new woman! In Dede he has immortalized her.

Burning Daylight, the Thirty Dollar Millionaire of the North, is as striking a character as Jack London ever created. Into his makeup the author has thrown all the force of his own masterful nature. He is a man fashioned out of the golden, frozen North, and endowed with a personality in which the powerful and the gentle are strangely blended. If you care for good literature, if you enjoy strong stories, do not miss London's last novel —Burning Daylight.

War—What for? by George R. Kirkpatrick; published by the author at West La Fayette, Ohio; illustrated; price per copy, postpaid, $1.20. This book is a denunciation, an exposition, a revelation and a terrible indictment on War! The author takes up the argument for militarism from every angle and leaves the patriot, and the militarist not a single peg on which to hang their brutal justification. Here we have war discussed from every point of view with a wealth of data that will overwhelm any logical man or woman who opposes universal peace among nations.

"What is determined when two nations go to war?" asks the author.

"Simply this: WHICH CAN MAKE THE BETTER FIGHT.

"That is all . . ."

"War is the ignoble trick of slitting open the blood vessels of the excited working class to 'satisfy' the 'honor' and save the pride and business of crowned and uncrowned cowards of the ruling class. There never is a war and never can be a war till the WORKING men are willing to do the marching, the trench digging, and the actual fighting, bleeding and dying.

"Friend, don't curse the militiamen and the soldiers. No, no. They are our brothers. Explain—with tireless patience explain—to them that the capitalists seek to make tools and bullet-stoppers of them. Explain it like a brother, inside and outside the ranks till our working class brothers everywhere—inside and outside the ranks—are aroused to a clear consciousness of the meaning of a Gatling gun with a working-class 'man behind the gun' and a working class man in front of the gun.

"Brother, stamp this into your brain and EXPLAIN IT into the brain of our brothers: The working class must themselves protect the working class."—Pages 24 and 25.

These are only two pointed paragraphs from among several hundred which the book contains, every one of which is an indictment against War that can only be quashed by the abolition of a class society.



Say There! Wake Up! Cheer Up!

There is HOPE

"COP"—A public employe who earns his salary by rapping his employer over the head during the strike.—From HOPE'S Modern Dictionary.

HOPE is the only magazine in the American Socialist movement exclusively devoted to Cartoons and Humor. It has 20 large pages with many pictures in colors.

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"Co-Operation and Socialism The Hope of the World"

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Robert Blatchford, The Sketch of a Personality, by A. Neil Lyons, published by John Lane Company, The Bodley Head, New York, N. Y.; illustrated; price 85 cents, postpaid. There is not one among us that is too weak, too old, or too young to work for socialism. Therein lies the ever-growing strength of our movement. Always each and every new recruit becomes a teacher, a tireless worker for the Revolution. And the story of the life, hopes and work of Robert Blatchford is full of inspiration to us all. Proletarians are always handicapped in the great Class War, but Comrade Blatchford was doubly hampered. Poverty as well as ill-health had always to be fought. In spite of this, Comrade Blatchford has conquered and grown a stronger soldier for the working class good with all the passing years. Possibly every reader has read and distributed copies of the little propaganda pamphlet, Merrie England, which Blatchford wrote several years ago and more copies of which have been distributed than any other socialist publication. Mr. Lyons says:

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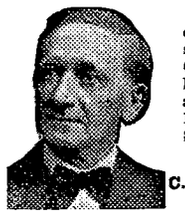
"In Russia the students of the universities, the poets, the literary men, and the artists are on the side of human progress and opposed to despotism. In Spain it is the same. It is the intelligent classes, the well-informed, who are opposed to those spiritual influences, mainly the Catholic church in Spain, which hold back civilization. Now it is the dread which this spiritual power has of this intellectual power, small as it is, which rouses passions and makes these things possible. Ferrer was a martyr to the principle of education."

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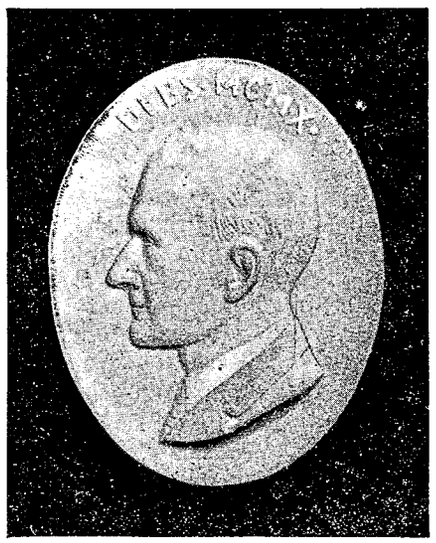


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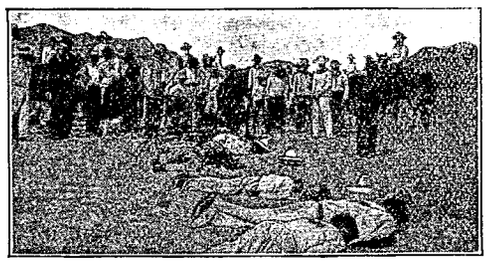
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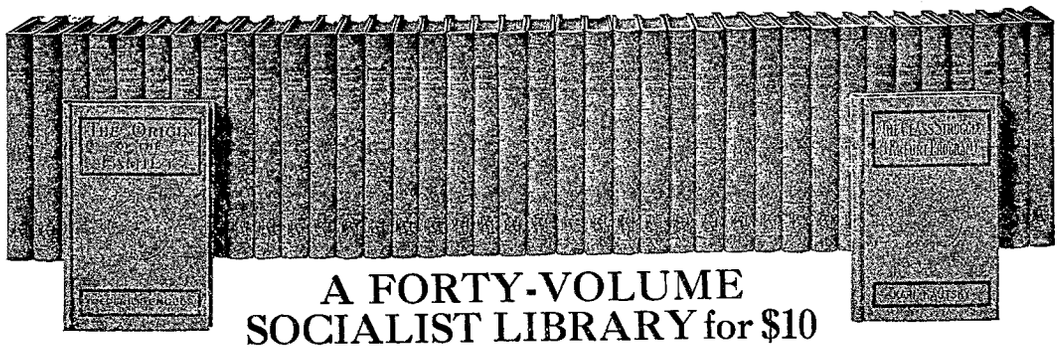
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE FIGHTING GARMENT WORKERS

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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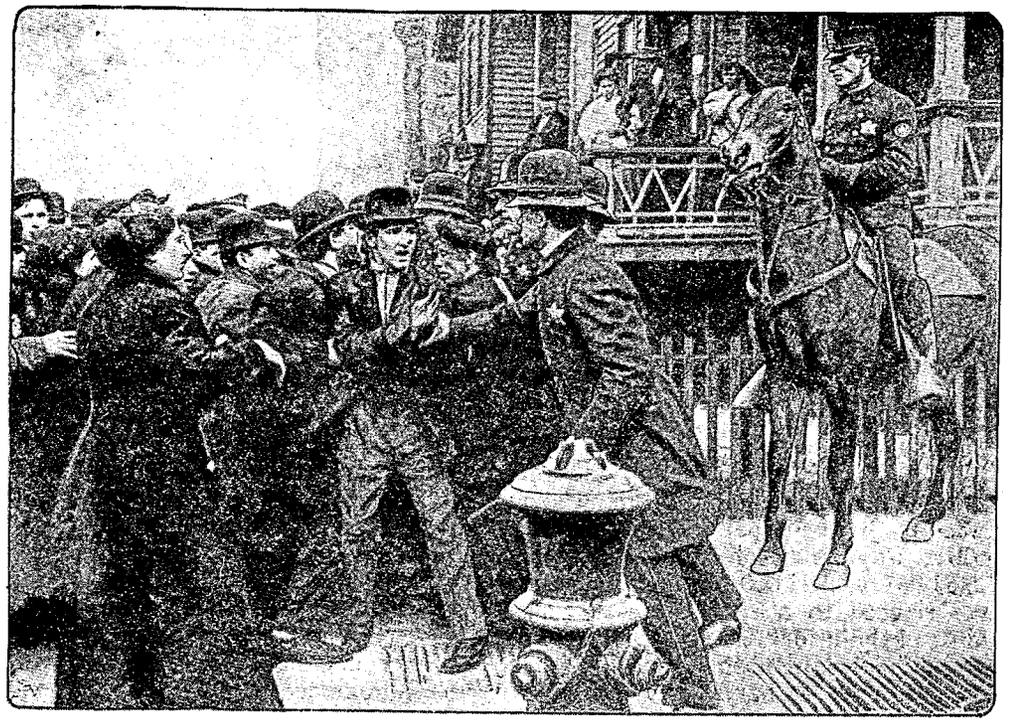
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WHO DO THE POLICE WORK FOR?

THE FIGHTING GARMENT WORKERS

BY

ROBERT DVORAK

MAULED by city police, assaulted and beaten by armed, hired sluggers, shot by strike breakers and now being faced with a winter full of the horrors of cold and starvation, the striking garment workers of Chicago still remain undaunted.

Not even the best efforts of the mayor, the city council, the Chicago Federation of Labor and very influential persons, such as Raymond Robins and other "Good Samaritans" can force the "ignorant strikers" to accept meaningless but well worded terms of peace from the hard pressed renegades, Hart, Schaffner and Marx.



ONE OF "OUR INFANT INDUSTRIES."

For the first time in history the autocratic Chicago Federation of Labor, headed by John Fitzpatrick, ably assisted by Mrs. Raymond Robins, has been nonplused. Over 41,000 garment workers have refused to obey the pleasure and whims of the leaders and have refused to go back to work upon the order of a president who tried to hand them lemons labeled as agreements and victories.

When the strike began on September 30th the Chicago Federation of Labor looked upon it as a joke. No one looked upon it seriously except the strikers themselves and a few of the garment workers' leaders who were more intimately acquainted with the situation. There was a strike in existence, but few knew about it. The capitalist papers refused to write, and the Chicago Federation refused to act. A strike was on but no one knew its extent.

Then it was that the Chicago Daily Socialist, urged and entreated by the strikers, took action, and on October 7 published its first story of the strike and what brought it on. A week later the other daily papers took action, but not until after thousands of copies of the Daily Socialist had been distributed free of charge by the strikers in the city.

Before six weeks had passed by, a general strike of all the garment workers in the city, outside of those employed by union concerns, had been called. From an unorganized strike, composed of unorganized workers, sprang an organized movement for a recognition of the union, and the manufacturers, themselves harassed by internal fights over profits and business supremacy, grew uneasy.

Workingmen and women all over the United States, attracted by the brave and determined fight of the garment workers against the greatest odds, began to act. They refused to buy clothing without a label and warned local business men against buying clothing from the strike-bound Chicago concerns, and the uneasiness of the manufacturers grew from day to day.

After the calling of the general strike there began in Chicago the greatest and most unique strike ever known in the history of labor struggles. Started by sixteen girls, without the vestige of organization, the struggle spread to 41,000 persons and tied up almost 200 shops.



EARNING THEIR PAY.

Labor papers all over the country took up the astounding fight and unions began to send in cash donations. Farmers, the best customers listed on the books of the strike bound concerns, sent in letters and resolutions condemning the manufacturers and an entire fall and winter clothing trade was crippled or ruined.

Doctors agreed to treat patients free of charge. Barbers gave free shaves, theaters gave benefit performances. Private families housed and fed homeless strikers. Druggists gave free drugs or offered a certain percentage of their daily profits. Grocers and butchers gave free food supplies to the various free supply and relief stations. Clubs and societies gave benefit balls and entertainments. Song writers and artists offered their productions and gave the strikers the full profits and the hotel keepers refused to house the strike breakers.

Business and professional men, of whom the majority were members of the Socialist party, organized a strikers' aid committee and in two weeks' time collected over $3,000.

The strike was progressing admirably. Public sentiment was with the garment workers in every part of the country and money was just beginning to come in, when President T. A. Rickert, head of the national organization of the United Garment Workers, brought the strikers a peace offer from the Hart, Schaffner and Marx concern.

Rickert had signed the peace offer and tried to railroad it through the ranks. The offer guaranteed the workers nothing more than an assurance that every striker would be taken back irrespective of whether he belonged to a union or not, and a promise that many of the abominable persecutions would be abolished.

Hisses and angry cries greeted Rickert and his peace offer when he read it before the cutters at Federation hall, 275 La Salle street, Saturday afternoon, November 5. The same fate met the fatal agreement when it was presented to the strikers at Hod Carriers' Hall, and at all the other meetings.



MARCH OF THE FIFTY THOUSAND STRIKERS.

Dazed and dejected, Rickert abandoned all idea of settlement on the terms offered by Hart, Schaffner and Marx, and instructed his organizers to work as they had never worked before organizing and aiding the determined garment workers. For the first time in his life Rickert met determined workers who ignored the wishes and advice of their superiors and he submitted gracefully.

Later in the week, following his Waterloo, Rickert gave his one reason for endorsing the agreement. He stated that the demands for strike benefits had been so great and the income so small that he feared the possible suffering that was likely to follow inability to pay the men, women and girls. The starvation bogy had made its first appearance and was brushed away by the only people it could affect.

Their faith in Rickert and many of the other garment union officials shaken, the strikers with the aid of the Daily Socialist, of which over 10,000 extra copies had been sold one Sunday afternoon, following the rejection of the peace offer, appealed to the Chicago Federation of Labor for aid.

This time the federation, at its meeting, endorsed the strike of the garment workers and assessed its members 25 cents each. John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the Women's Trade Union league, took the strike in hand and began work by appointing working committees composed of women prominent in Chicago.

Four food supply stations were established in various parts of the city and the strikers asking for help were given cards good for the amount food punched in therein. The supply stations lessened the demand for actual cash and the strike once more was progressing in a most satisfactory manner.

The most admirable and contagious

kind of enthusiasm accompanied the strike meetings held in thirty-seven various halls in the city and money was pouring in from all parts of the country, with letters of encouragement and promise of further aid when another blow, again from union headquarters, once more nearly demoralized the strikers.

Alderman Charles E. Merriam, pressed by some outside influential persons, brought the strike question up at the council meeting Monday, Nov. 28, and asked that a committee be appointed by the city body for the purpose of trying to end the strike. Mayor Fred Busse, City Clerk Francis D. Connery, and Aldermen Chas. E. Merriam, William F. Ryan and Winfield P. Dunn were elected on the committee.

The Chicago Federation of Labor was represented by John Fitzpatrick, at the subsequent meetings, the garment strikers by Edward Anderson, the garment workers' union by Samuel Landers, national organizer, and the Women's Trade Union League by Mrs. Raymond Robins. Hart, Schaffner and Marx stockholders were represented by Levy Mayer and Harry Hart.

Four locked door meetings were held in the mayor's office and not a soul outside of the main strike committee knew what was going on. Then the silence was broken and another peace offer was flaunted before the eyes of the workers.

Great wordy speeches accompanied the reading of the agreement by the union officials, but no amount of flowery talk and beautiful visions of organization at a later day could cover the fact that the new peace offer was only a repetition with but one exception of the brand submitted by Rickert, more than a month previous, and another storm of dissent greeted Fitzpatrick and his assistants when they read it at the meetings.

Not even the fact that the agreement had been recommended for acceptance by the Chicago Federation of Labor delegates could alter the strikers' feeling, and Fitzpatrick, like Rickert, discovered that he was dealing with unorganized but well posted workers, who knew what they wanted and refused to be told what to do and when to do it.

The Fitzpatrick agreement again guaranteed the strikers a position within fifteen days without regard to whether they were strikers or not, and specified that an arbitration committee of five members, two of the union, two of the manufacturers and one to be chosen by the four, was to be appointed to settle all grievances. It further stated that no discrimination was to be practiced against either the union or non-union employes.

Seeing that no amount of cajoling, entreating or intimidation could get the strikers back to work, and fearing to submit the agreement point blank in person, Fitzpatrick and the strike board decided



FOR EIGHT HOURS.

to take a secret ballot vote after the bitterness had died down somewhat.

Mrs. Robins and the Women's Trade Union League adopted a new policy, however, and began the work by giving out horror-inspiring interviews to capitalist press reporters on the terrible suffering and extreme starvation among the strikers.

Columns of interviews bearing directly on suffering of the strikers were given out by Mrs. Robins, and the capitalist papers featured these with extra coloring and display. A picture taken early in the strike showing a group of Jewish and Italian strikers was printed and declared to be that of families evicted by landlords for non-payment of rent, said to be living in one room.

The strikers condemned the stories, and votes taken in the various halls failed to show one person who had suffered from starvation or even the slightest lack of food.

Mayor Busse and his aldermanic committee tried their best to secure a similar agreement to that signed by Hart, Schaffner and Marx from the Wholesale and National Clothiers' Association, but these worthy gentlemen laughed and told him that Hart, Schaffner and Marx brought the strike on and could fight it out itself. They refused to arbitrate through their representative, Martin J. Isaacs, and the city hall attempt to aid the great strike was a fizzle of the worst kind.

Following the sentiment expressed by the strikers for rejecting the last agreement of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx concerns, the Socialist party stepped in and determined to aid financially so determined a band of workers.

At its meeting, Sunday, December 11, the national executive committee of the Socialist party passed a motion instructing the secretary to insert an emphatic appeal in the coming issue of the National Bulletin, calling upon all Socialists to aid to their utmost the striking garment workers.

The Cook county central and delegate committee, at a meeting on the same date, instructed the secretary to issue subscription lists and to do his utmost to secure funds for the strikers. The delegates further instructed the editor of the Daily



KEEPING IN PRACTICE.

Socialist to insert a permanent appeal for funds in the columns of the paper.

While the negotiations for peace were going on, the strikers were suffering from the razors, knives, clubs and revolvers of the hired sluggers, special detectives and armed strike breakers who were furnished with weapons by the strike-bound concerns. No person daring so much as brush up against a strike breaker was sure of his life, for the beasts in human skin had an ever-handy revolver or other weapon ready to kill or maim.

The first weeks of the strike, the sluggers and "detectives" used only clubs with which they broke the heads of more than a score of strikers. Later they gained courage and displayed revolvers and steel knuckles. Not being interfered with by the police, they began to fire the revolvers and use the knuckles openly. Finally they began to take aim and a number of strikers, women and men, fell to the ground shot with bullets furnished by their employers.

Finding the hiring of special detectives and sluggers a little too expensive the owners of sweatshops armed their scabs

with firearms and a girl striker lost a finger as a result of this new and money-saving move.

She and a few of her companions had gathered near the home of a girl scab and tried by persuasion to bring her to their ranks. An automobile drove up while they were arguing with her. She jumped into it. A brother of the girl scab lifted a rifle to his shoulder, a shot echoed and Miss ..... had one finger less.

Every day strikers reported to headquarters with tales of how they had been shot at and attacked by armed strike breakers. Protests galore were made to Leroy T. Steward, chief of police, but he only shook his head sagely and said: "Wait until the strike is over."

Then all at once, while the peace conference in Mayor Busse's office was going on, Charles Lazinskas, a striking garment worker, was attacked while speaking to several scab girls in front of the Royal Tailors' establishment, and shot through the heart by Martin Yacullo, a tailor, who had been made a special detective by the strike-bound company.

The murder acted like a spark in a pan of gunpowder. Not one striker had committed any violence up to this point. Some had broken windows, true enough, but no person had been seriously, or otherwise, hurt by the strikers. The murder of their comrade, however, fanned the strikers into a fury and several detectives were beaten so badly the following day that they had to be taken to a hospital.

Even the police were stirred into activity and an order was issued to the policemen to arrest any person caught carrying concealed weapons of any kind. At an inquest held over the dead body of Lazinskas the coroner's jury held the murderer, Yacullo, to the grand jury.

There never was a funeral in Chicago such as was held in the case of the murdered garment striker. Thousands of men, women and girls followed the hearse that carried the body of their comrade.

They marched with their heads bowed. On their coat lapels and breasts each striker had a piece of crepe pinned down with the union button of the garment workers. Banners carried by the thousands proclaimed to other workers that



YOUNG AND OLD.

another person had fallen victim to the greed of the employers.

Every person who took part in the funeral march swore solemnly that he or she would never go back to work until the bosses gave them what they wanted or at least a big part of it. They condemned the pending agreement in the most bitter terms, but the Chicago Federation of Labor would not be warned, and various attempts were made to force the agreement upon the strikers at various meetings. Speakers were sent out to talk the people into the peace offer, but these were hissed and hooted out of the halls.

At Hod Carriers' hall, where the largest part of the strikers meet every day, John Fitzpatrick and Mrs. Raymond Robins tried to tell the people to go back to work, and read the peace offer. There was a storm of protest and neither one of the union officials could be heard. One Jewish worker got up on a chair while the storm was on and holding up his hands said:,

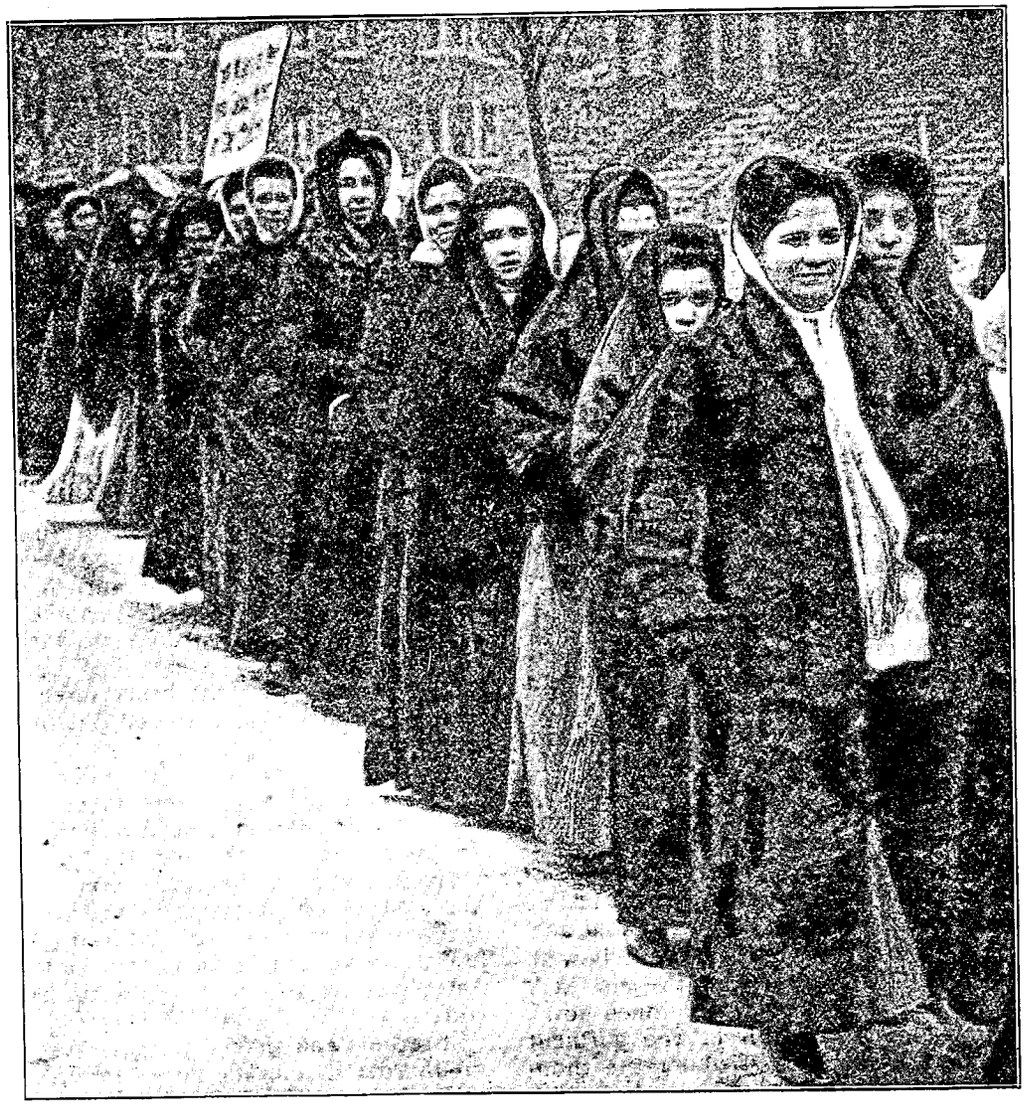
"Brothers and sisters, we have just put our murdered comrade into a grave. He was fighting with us against the murder-

ers who own the big tailor shops. He was killed by a man who was given a gun and bullets by the bosses. Now they want us to go back to work and offer us nothing.

"Just think, my brothers and sisters, of how we have been clubbed, shot at, stabbed and murdered. It was all because we wanted better conditions. Now they bring us an agreement that is nothing and tell us to go back. I say no, brothers, I say no—and I know that poor Lazinskas in his grave would say no too."

There was a storm of applause that could not be quieted when the speaker finished and the crowd began to surge threateningly against the platform where only a little over a month before Robert Noren had almost received a beating at the hands of the strikers when the Rickert agreement was proposed.

The funeral of Lazinskas was held on Monday, December 5, and was viewed by thousands of people. The Wednesday following 50,000 strikers left their homes early in the morning, and braving the cutting wind, marched for two hours through the streets of Chicago in a protest against police brutality, murderous sluggers and the conditions in the tailor shops.



FROM MANY NATIONS.

Following the parade, the police brutality stopped to a large extent and several strike breakers caught with concealed weapons were arrested for the first time since the beginning of the strike. Public sentiment at last won a slight victory.

As a sample of the police tactics used against the strikers and their extreme brutality it is only necessary to cite the case of Frank Kriz, living at Trumbull avenue and Twenty-fifth street:

Kriz was on his way to the home of a friend when he saw a great crowd of people on the corner of Homan avenue and Twenty-fourth street. He stopped to watch the sight of strikers being beaten by police while picketing the shop of a tailor known as Peklo, when a policeman, Sergeant Scully of the Lawndale street police station, dashed up and lifted his club.

Seeing that a broken head would be the only result of standing still, Kriz ran into a private home near where he was standing. Scully pursued him. They ran into a kitchen. From there into a parlor and finally into a bedroom. Here Scully caught Kriz and beat him mercilessly. Then pulled him out and arrested him. Kriz had his wrist almost broken, his ears were swollen, two bumps pained him on his head, and a welt rose on his neck.

Finishing with Kriz, Scully dashed into the corner saloon of Frank Merhaut and began to pull people away from the bar. Merhaut protested and was told to shut up or get a crack over the head. After cleaning out the saloon Scully, who had been drinking extensively in the scab shop of Peklo, grinned like a hyena and returned to the street, where he scored policemen who were not busy enough breaking the heads of working men.

The fiendish work of Scully has been repeated throughout the city time and time again, since the strike began, and it is such work as that which has won the strikers the sympathy of the public and has brought condemnation upon the police and the strike-bound firms.

In another case a number of policemen guarding the strike-bound shop of the Royal Tailors, saw a strike-breaker pull out a razor and slash with it at a strike picket who was standing on the corner. The police made no effort to interfere until after the poor fellow had been cut up so bad that it took sixteen stitches in the hospital to sew up his wound. The assailant escaped.

The most peculiar phase of the strike thus far has been the orderliness of the strikers. It has been a surprise to almost every one, even the police, that no outrages have been committed by the 40,000 persons of at least nine languages.

It would not surprise any one, though, if he attended the meetings of the strikers in their various halls and heard the instructions given them in various langauges to remain peaceable, and in case of fight only use the two arms given them for defense. The strikers have followed these instructions in spite of the fact that it has cost them many a broken head where a fight with equal weapons might have resulted disastrously for the assailants.

There are four main nationalities involved in the garment workers' strike, the Polish, Bohemian, Jewish and Italian. The Jewish workers are in the majority, as there are approximately 10,000 of them involved in the struggle. The Bohemians follow with about 6,000 strikers, the Polish with about 5,000, and the Italians with probably 3,500. The balance of the 40,000 strikers includes Slavs, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Germans and Bulgarians.

Very few people understand the present strike and the workers involved in it because of their peculiar tactics. They are a band of people trained to look with suspicion upon the actions of those placed in the position of leaders. They have faith only in themselves, and claim that as long as they stand together as workers, no power on earth can defeat them. They want a union of workers and not leaders.

SOCIALIST PARTY
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

HELP! HELP!! HELP!!!

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

It seems to me that I can hear this startling cry from the north this winter night as I read the evening papers and the harrowing stories they contain about the striking and starving slaves of the sweatshops in that capitalist bedlam at the foot of the lake. Women and children by thousands, who spend their wretched lives making clothes for others are themselves naked, without shoes, their wan features distorted by the fangs and pangs of starvation.

Is there any hell any savage ever conceived to be compared with this tragedy of horrors?

If the workingmen of Chicago were not inert as clods, white-livered excuses for men, they would rise like a whirlwind in defense of these shivering, starving children at their doors.

There are enough union men, so-called, in Chicago, to put an end to this strike in five minutes and snatch their suffering brothers and sisters from the cruel fangs of torture and death.

Why in the name of all that unionism stands for don't they act?

The steel trust has already wiped out the tin plate workers and marine firemen, the tobacco trust has all but destroyed the tobacco workers, and a score of other unions are hanging to life by a thread, and now the clothing trust is allowed to annihilate the garment workers.

When will these union men awaken? Or are they dead, except for the use of the city hall at election time?

Craft unionism stands utterly condemned in the presence of this ghastly strike of the garment workers.

The spectres of starved babies hover all over the battlefield; ghosts of mothers sweated to death, flit about and human hyenas gnaw at corpses, while beastly, bloated capitalists await the inevitable surrender.

With industrial unionism—the kind of unionism that every criminal corporation and every ward-heeling labor politician is fighting—that strike would be won and the heartless bosses brought to their senses within twenty-four hours.

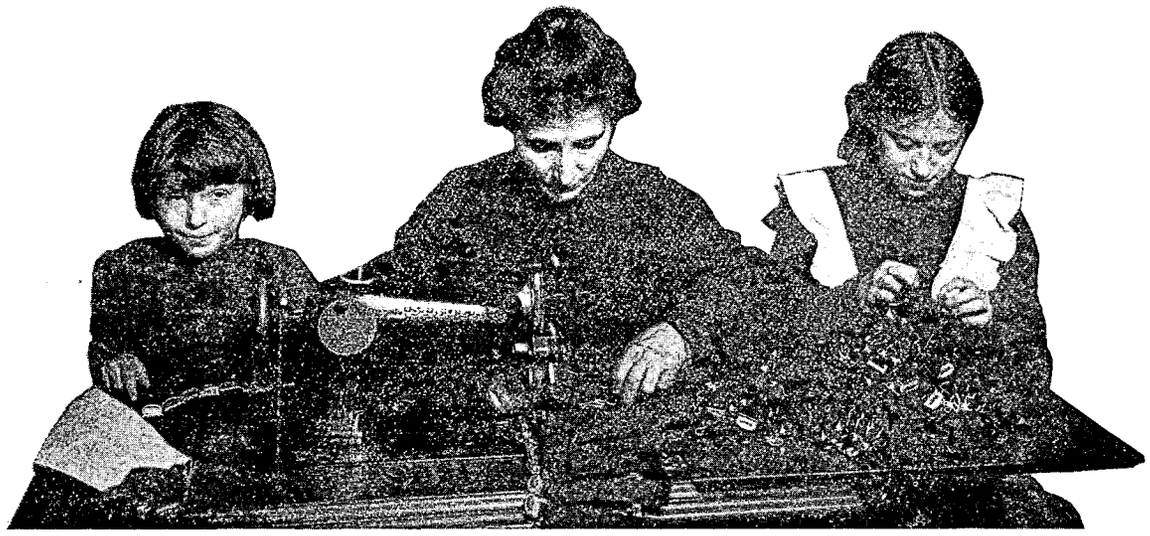
These sweatshop victims could hardly suffer more keenly if they were being slowly burnt at the stake. In the name of God and the dying little children, why does not organized labor act instead of seeing these babes go to their fate without putting forth a hand to rescue them?

After what happened day before yesterday when the bosses, merciless as jackals, spat full in the face of those pleading for the paltriest concessions to end the misery of the dying, Chicago, were it not dead as the consciences of the brutes who are murdering these babies, would seethe with revolt and the vaunted hundred thousand union men would give an exhibition of robust manhood that would make forever impossible a repetition of this monstrous crime.

Fine unionism this, that submits, except upon the part of the noble few whom I applaud with all my heart, to such shocking indignities and brutal outrages.

All over Chicago indignation meetings should be held, and the tide of revolt should rise and roar as it never has before in an American city.

The shriek for help can be distinctly heard by all who are not dead as stones. Will the workers respond a Hundred Thousand strong and save the day for the starving strikers, for unionism, and humanity?



HOME WORKERS IN NEW YORK

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

THE greatest disgrace of capitalist "civilization" is the economic slavery of women and children. Nothing is more pitiful than to see the mothers of the race and their little ones, mere babes with soft bones and tender muscles, crushed and brutalized by the weight of long hours of toil under degenerating conditions.

This slavery of women and children has perhaps nowhere reached such proportions in America as among the tenement workers of Greater New York. In the very heart of the most densely populated locality in this country more than 50,000 women and children all the year round, do factory work in their own "homes" for heartless millionaire exploiters. During the Christmas season between seventy-five and one hundred thousand, according to the best authorities, are engaged in turning out work in tenement houses.

At this time of the year they work night and day. Thousands of tenements are turned into busy workshops. Cooking and household duties are neglected and the poor women and children devour their cheap, unwholesome food like savages in order to rush at their work of stringing beads, "rolling" cigarettes, "sticking up" toys, making garters, suspenders, artificial flowers, gloves, clothing, Christmas wreaths, candy boxes, etc.

This enormous conversion of tenement houses into workshops is in strict accordance with the labor laws of New York state. The bosses have found it good; therefore, to interfere with it would be "unconstitutional." The only requirement of the law is that these tenements in which home factory work is to be done, shall be licensed.

Indeed, the license law proves to be a good thing for the bosses. It furnishes jobs for the political lackeys of the exploiters and at the same time puts the whole business under the mantle of "law and order" and "respectability."

Also, because of this law, the masters get work done which they would otherwise have to do themselves. Every month the bureau of factory inspection and of the state department of labor issues a bulletin to the manufacturers with lists of licensed tenements in the greater city. For the month of October the bulletin shows that there are nearly 13,000 tenements where goods may be legally taken for manufacturing purposes.

It goes without saying that those 13,000 buildings are located in the most congested centers of Greater New York. There are thousands of other tenements whose owners have applied for licenses but have been turned down. Unsanitary conditions were the reasons. Probably the houses were so filthy that it would be impossible to turn out marketable goods in them.

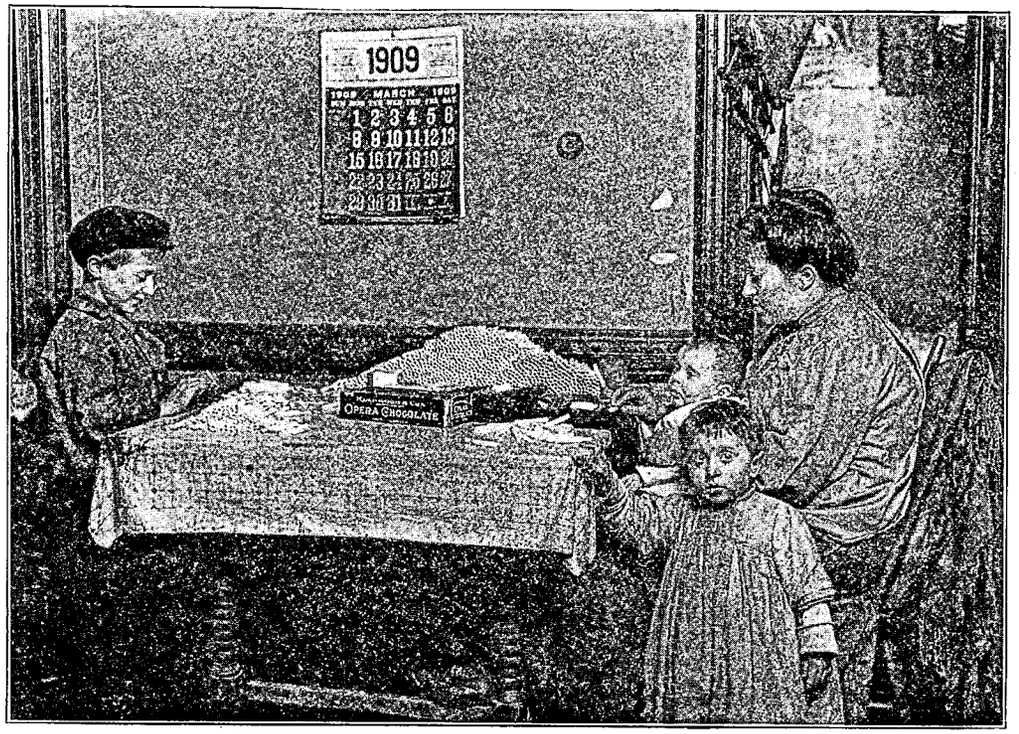
However, a sufficient number of tenements have been licensed to turn out about all the work the bosses have to offer, and there are hundreds of other tenements, not licensed, where factory work is being done "on the sly." This offers a special graft for politicians.

In each of these 13,000 licensed tenements there are from six to twenty families. In some of the families there are as many as ten people. Often these families are jammed in from two to four rooms. They sleep and eat and work and die in these same quarters. Babes of three years, to old grandmothers of seventy, may be seen squatted on hard, bare, filthy floors at work in a dim lamp-light. The black mammies of the South and their piccaninnies were a thousand times better off than these New York women and children are.

Almost the entire twenty-four hours of the day during the holiday season this brutal soul-rending slavery of women and babes goes desperately on. In much of the work the little ones are useful. Babes of three can string beads and they can help their mothers and grandmothers with work which their little hands are not skilled enough to do alone. At this time of the year it is not an uncommon thing to see the little ones, who should be enjoying the sunshine and fresh air and the games of childhood, fast asleep in the corner of a dark, ill-smelling tenement house with a partly formed wreath or a handful of beads scattered over the floor about them. They may be found from midnight to early morning in this condition. Their mothers are too busy doing similar work to bother with them. Children are often kept awake by bathing their faces with cold water in order that the last bit of work may be squeezed from



MAKING ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS.



ROLLING CIGARETTES.

their poor, frail, starved little bodies. Grandmothers, too, may be found nodding and dozing over a bunch of plumes or a wreath of holly until they fall in a heap upon the floor and remain there till daylight.

Miss Frances Perkins, secretary of the Consumers' League, said, a few days ago:

"Child labor is at its highest point now in New York. It always is just before Christmas. If you want to convince yourself take a stroll through some of these streets." And then she brought out a big ledger and gave me a peep inside. Hundreds of streets were listed.

Go where you will on the lower East and West side of New York and you will find this terrible slavery with which no age in the past is comparable.

Long after midnight the tiny lights may be seen through the windows and the slaves within toiling silently on. Piles of holly, wreaths, candy boxes, flowers, plumes and the hundred and one things which Santa Claus brings, may be seen on the tables.

Acting upon Miss Perkins' suggestion, I went to see for myself. Elizabeth street was the first I visited. It was about 10 o'clock when I called. I talked with the mother. Beside her at a table were two girls, her daughters, about twelve and fourteen years, respectively. Fast asleep on the floor were four other children, who, since they came from school, had toiled until they fell asleep on the floor and forgot the twigs of holly with which they had been working.

The father, the mother told me, was on the night shift at the docks. He had been out of work for more than two months and now during the holiday season he was given a chance for a few days employment before Christmas.

"Mrs. D., what do you and the children make at this work?" I asked. With a slight twitch of her shoulder and pushing aside a pile of wreaths which had been made by the children after school hours, she replied:

"Me and the girls, wit de odder chilen, before dey go to sleep, make $1.35 a day, when we work hard. Sometimes (and she shrugged her shoulders again), we must

work sixteen, sometimes twenty hours for dat."

I asked her how much she got a dozen for wreaths. "Four cents, no more," she said. "When not so many people do dis work at home, much more money. You don't work for dat, the boss says, 'all right, me give somebody else.'"

Mrs. D. is only one of the thousands of Italian, German, Jewish, Irish and American women who are doing this sort of work. During the holiday season they push aside much of the work which is done the year round in the tenements, such as plume making, cigarette rolling, button-holing, etc., to make toys, wreaths, and holiday decorations.

It would be impossible to accurately state the average daily wage made by the tenement workers. It is safe in saying, however, that the average wage of a mother with three to five children assisting her, is between a dollar and a dollar and a half for eighteen hours' work.

I visited another family on the upper West Side—a family of two, an old woman of sixty years and her little granddaughter. She is not an Italian, but an American, and a woman of much intelligence. She and her little girl of ten are alone in the world. They occupy one dark room in the rear of a tenement. From charities their rent is partly paid. For her food and clothing and that of her granddaughter, she works about eighteen hours a day.

Mrs. H. does crocheting. When a girl she learned this work and now in her old age she must depend upon it for an existence.

Before Christmas and New Year's there is a big demand for fancy worked slippers and Mrs. H. is rushed with orders. She gets 40 cents per dozen for all she can turn out during the holidays, and that's why she works almost night and day at this time of the year. By working eighteen hours a day she is able to turn out about nine pairs of slippers, making 30 cents for that amount of work.

How does she and her little granddaughter live? Look up the death rate among these tenement workers, find out how many die of starvation, and the amount of money doled out for charity and you may find the answer.

Some of the tenement workers make violets, pretty artificial things. But if you saw the poor human wrecks making those flowers you would lose your love for them. Thirty-six cents a gross is generally the price the bosses pay for them. It a woman works hard for about eighteen hours she may make 40 cents.

If you have not actually seen these conditions yourself, you will wonder what a child of five or six years is able to do at tenement factory work. Miss Perkins has plenty of evidence. She showed me a book of 500 pictures taken in the tenement house sweat-shops under the direction of the Consumers' League. These pictures show children not only five but three years of age, doing their share in the work of making the hundred and one things that fill the holiday store windows.

Pointing to one photo Miss Perkins said: "This child here is a girl, three years old. She is helping make the flowers by stringing petals together. There is nothing difficult to it. You just string the petals together on a piece of wire. The more complicated work of flower making is done by her older sister, and the most skilled part of all is done by the mother. The mother pastes the petals together and puts the finishing touches to the bouquet, or whatever it may be."

Finally Miss Perkins said: "The little ones are piecing together the wages which their father should have earned."

Go to the heads of the bureau of inspection of the department of labor in the state and you will be very gracefully received, but when you leave you will know little more about the tenement workers than you did before. They will give you a long argument in an attempt to show that the manufacturers are really doing humanitarian work in furnishing opportunities to the poor people in order that they may make both ends meet. It is among the poor slaves themselves and to the city and national child labor committees that you must go for the facts.

Here are the principal reasons for the enormous number of home sweatshops:

1. They enable the manufacturer to save large sums in rent by having a great many of their employes work at home.

2. They enable the bosses to employ child labor, for there is no law which can stop a child from working at home, after school hours.

3. By fostering home sweatshops, the manufacturer divides the workers and pays different prices to each. These working at home do not know what others are getting for the same work.

4. They keep the workers from being organized.

Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor committee, says: "We have been combatting the home sweat shops for years, because they are one of the worst features of present day industry. Home sweatshops cannot be inspected properly. Children can be worked in them more cruelly than in factories.

"All arguments to the effect that home industry is needed by thousands of families to make ends meet are pure fallacy. The home sweatshops increase the burden of poverty. The more the manufacturer can have his work done in the home by women and children, the less he pays to the man who works in his shop. What the women and children earn is sliced off his wages."

These "home factories" are fostered vigorously by the bosses. Rent, heat and light are saved thereby. The workers carry their goods to and from the bosses' place of business. He is free from sanitary responsibilities.

On the other hand, the women who take goods home to work in this way have to pay out of the miserable wages they receive for extra gas, and they even pay higher rent. On the whole these tenement workshops are the most crafty, though heartless, methods of exploitation.

According to legal listing, the following are the kinds of work done in the home sweatshops:

"Manufacturing, altering, repairing and finishing of coats, vests, knee pants, trousers, overalls, cloaks, hats, caps, suspenders, jerseys, blouses, dresses, waists, waistbands, underwear, neckwear, fur, fur trimmings, fur garments, skirts, shirts, aprons, purses, pocketbooks, slippers, paper boxes, paper bags, feathers,



WHERE YOUR GLOVES ARE MADE.



DAYLIGHT NEVER ENTERS THIS INNER COURT.

artificial flowers, cigarettes, cigars, umbrellas, articles of rubber, macaroni, spaghetti, ice cream, ices, candy, confectionery, nuts and preserves."

It is needless to say that the prices for manufacturing all these things have decreased since the "home factories" have reached to the power in Greater New York's industrial life that they hold today. This is commonly stated by all those engaged in social and investigating work for the various child labor organizations.

George A. Hall, who is secretary of the New York Child Labor committee, cited two instances. He said:

"A few years ago the price of making a dozen bunches of violets was 6 cents. Now it is 3 cents. Where 11 cents was paid for tying an inch of an ostrich feather a few years ago, only 5 cents is paid now for the same amount of work.

Mr. Hall is not an avowed Socialist, but he sees where the basis for the home sweatshops is. He said:

"The whole problem of home sweatshops goes back to the problem of the underpaid father. To do away with the home sweatshops, you must raise the wages of the men, but so long as the manufacturer can turn his work over to women and children in the home, he will not raise the wages of his employes."

Yes, Mr. Hall has stated the condition which exists in a nutshell. The thing to do is to raise the wages of the father, so that the wife and children will not have to work "in order to make both ends meet."

There is one way to do it and it is the only effective and permanent method. Here it is:

Teach the class struggle now raging more bitterly than ever in society. Carry on an intense industrial union propaganda. Craft unionism breeds scabs and acts as a club upon the militant element of the working class. Make the shorter workday the most important demand. Organize into one big union—a union that takes in men, women and children, regardless of color, creed, nationality or condition of life. According to the power of the workers through this form of organization to compel the bosses to give in, the hours of labor will be shortened and wages increased. By shortening the hours of labor competition is reduced among the workers for job, and thereby the ranks of the unemployed will be thinned out.

Fathers will not then break up their homes by turning them into workshops. They will not permit their wives and children to slave their lives out.

Industrial organization of the working class is the most important need of the working class today. Everywhere conditions are ripe for it. There may be factory inspectors galore and organizations protesting against child labor may spring up in every city of the country, but until the workers realize that they must organize industrially, as the capitalists are organized, industrially, the tenement sweatshops will increase. As long as the workers perpetuate craft division, we can expect very little relief.

New York today is divided by craft organizations as are the workers in no other city in the country. This, at the bottom is the cause for the merciless exploitation of women and children in the tenement sweatshops.

But there is an awakening coming. And it is not far away. The Social revolution is not as distant as many well-fed comrades think. And New York is going to play a tremendous part in that great social transformation.



MAKING SILK TASSELS.

HOW TO KICK

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

SO you can kick, Mr. American Workingman? Yes, you can; there is no doubt about it. If any one doubts, let him apply to the intrepid African Explorer, the Sage of Oyster Bay.

That you can kick rejoices my heart. I used to compare you unfavorably to the bucking broncho of the prairies. When it was ill-treated, it kicked. When you were ill-treated, you kissed the hand that smote you. Which is only another way of saying that when a Governor sent the troops to shoot you down when you were on strike, you hailed with eager joy the chance to vote for him for President; when a judge issued a blanket injunction to prevent you from speaking to the poor devils of scabs who had been fooled into acting as strike-breakers to take the bread from your children's mouths, you could not rest easy till the judge was sent to the Senate or the White House; when the leader of your trade union betrayed you and sold you out by settling your strike behind your back on terms dictated by Civic Federation millionaires who had utterly crushed the labor unions in the industries they themselves controlled, you were not happy till you had doubled his salary or sent him on a free trip to Europe.

I began to fear you could not kick. But I was wrong. You have proved that you belong in the broncho class. You *can* kick. But here comes the rub—*how* do you kick? Have you got beyond the broncho class? It never occurs to the broncho that he can get along without a rider or master. He kicks one master away, but when the next one comes along with the whip hidden under his coat and a lump of sugar in his hand, the poor stupid brute whinnies while the new tyrant climbs into the saddle. No, you have not yet gotten out of the broncho class; you even help the new rider to mount.

The Kick Political

But you *can* kick. You have done it. You have kicked the Republicans out of the saddle and kicked the Democrats into it. You have changed riders. Some day you will find out you need no rider.

But why did you kick the Republicans out? Because your wages would no longer feed and clothe you and your family. The prices of meat and flour and eggs and butter and coal and clothes had gone up and up, while your wages had either stood still or risen far more slowly, and your work was becoming more and more irregular. The mill was only running part-time. You blamed the party in power. You kicked them out. But will you be any better off?

The Tariff

The Democrats (with their whips under their coats and their spurs in their pockets) told you your troubles were caused by the high prices and that the high prices were caused by the trusts and the tariff, and that as the trusts were the children of the tariff, that if you could just get rid of the high tariff your troubles would disappear.

You believed them and tried the experiment. How is it going to work? Your memory is very short. If it were longer, so you could recall the Wilson Bill, the last tariff framed by the Democrats, you would have grave doubts as to whether the Democrats really will reduce the tariff on the necessaries of life at all. But suppose they do; how much better off will *you* be?

The Trusts.

Do you think a low tariff will kill the Oil Trust? Will it kill the Beef Trust? Will it kill the Tobacco Trust? Will it kill the Steel Trust? Does not every great trust in America sell its products abroad on the world market in competition with the products of all other lands?

No, lowering the tariff will not kill any trust that is strong enough to hurt you. It is true that *some* of the high prices you have to pay have been boosted up by the trusts, but a low tariff will not kill the trusts.

Lower Prices.

A lower tariff *may* reduce your living expenses by giving you cheaper woolen and cotton clothing. At present, as you know, you cannot afford to wear wool at all. A low tariff on wool and manufactured woolen goods would make really good woolen clothes cheap. Would that do you any good? It might and it might not. It would all depend on whether or not you had the price. and that will depend chiefly on whether or not you belong to a well organized, fighting labor union. For if prices *are* lowered, wages will fall too, *unless* your labor organizations are strong enough to prevent the wage drop. *This is the point for you.* This wage drop *cannot* be prevented by politics; it can only be prevented by you and your fellows in your labor unions. Politics can help you only when your labor organization is strong enough to *seize* and *hold* the advantage given you by a political change.

But in general, cheap prices will cause low wages. Shortly after Mills Hotel No. 1 was opened, a manufacturer in the neighborhood announced a reduction in wages. A committee of the employes protested, saying: "We cannot live on the proposed wages." "O yes, you can," was the reply. "Go live at the Mills Hotel!"

Cheap prices may be a good thing for you, but cheap prices alone will not put an end to your troubles.

The tariff and the trusts are not the only causes of the high cost of living. No doubt they had something to do with it, but they have not had nearly as much to do with it as have the increased production of gold and the reduction in the cost of production of gold. This reduction in the amount of labor necessary to produce the gold in a Five Dollar Gold Piece cannot be blamed on the Republicans; and the Democrats whom you have voted into power can not restore the old conditions.

Thus, you see, the Democrats can not do as much as you thought they could to reduce prices. What little they may do in this direction will lower your wages unless you have the right kind of a labor union to prevent it. The right kind of a labor union will help you in any case, whether prices be high or low.

When you learn to kick effectively through your labor unions you can well afford to neglect the kind of politics that at best only gives you a reform such as cheap prices.

The Hell of It.

The Hell of it is that as long as there are other men out of work ready and compelled by hunger to be willing to take your job, your wages are bound to be just about enough to keep body and soul together. That is why cheap food and clothes usually spell low wages. The most urgent thing for *you* is to reduce the number of the unemployed, until you are able to disband forever the army of the unemployed. For every unemployed

worker threatens your wife and your children with starvation. You need the kind of labor union that will reduce the number of the unemployed; you need the kind of politics that will help your union to reduce the number of the unemployed.

The Right Kind of Labor Union?

What is it? Well, it is not a union with high initiation fees and high dues that shut the majority of the workers out. It is not a union that gets the boss to collect its dues for it. It is not a union that pleads sacredness of contract to remain at work while another union in the same works is on strike. It is a union that never forgets the imperative need of reducing unemployment, and so constantly aims at the shortening of the working day; it cares more to cut ten minutes from the day's work than it does to add ten cents to the day's pay.

The Right Kind of Politics?

The kind of politics that will help you is the kind of politics that will unflinchingly back up your union in every effort it makes to reduce the army of the unemployed.

Republicans have never done that. Democrats have never done that. Neither Republicans nor Democrats ever will. Why not? Because every cent of the enormous sums spent in campaigns and elections by the Republicans and Democrats is contributed by your employers. "The ox knoweth his master's crib." The Republican and Democratic officeholders know who pays the freight. They dare not do anything effective towards reducing the army of the unemployed. For to reduce the number of the unemployed is to strengthen the right kind of labor unions, and thus to enable them to reduce working hours and raise wages. And that means to *lower profits*.

The Fatal Clash.

It matters not to you whether Republicans or Democrats are in power, for neither of them dare touch profits; and you can not be helped so long as profits remain sacred. There is the fatal clash, and until you get that fixed and clear in your minds you will never kick right either in your labor unions or in politics.

Wages versus Profits.

This is the fix you are in. You have to get food and clothes for your wife, your children and yourself. To get them you need money. To get money you have to sell something. What can you sell? Only one thing—your power. physical and intellectual, to do things. Suppose you sell that to a man who owns a gold mine and that you dig out Ten Dollars worth of gold a day. If he pays you Two Dollars, that leaves him Eight Dollars as profits. If your wages go up to Three, his profits drop to Seven. If his profits go up to Nine, your wages drop to One.

That is precisely the way the whole world of industry is organized today.

Get that clearly and indelibly in your mind and you will see that you have nothing to hope from a political party financed by the profit-takers; nothing to hope from a labor union whose leaders talk glibly of harmony between Capital and Labor at banquets paid for by the Kings of Profit.

The Way of Salvation.

You can only be helped by a Labor Union and a Political Party that do not worship at the shrine of Sacred Profits; that aim consciously and deliberately at wiping out forever the whole system of wages and profits, by making you and your fellows, every man jack of you, full and equal partners in all the business and industry of the country. That is nothing less than Social Revolution, and nothing less can save you. But that can and will save you and all men by abolishing poverty from the face of the earth and ushering in the era of glad Fellowship.

The Socialist Party.

No political party aiming openly at the destruction of the profit system will ever be financed by the Profit Takers. The only party in America not so financed is the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is run and supported by the working class. Its aim is to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution, and thus wipe out Wages and Profits. Its method from day to day is to aid the working class in every struggle for better conditions.

It is the only party for which you can vote without "throwing your vote away." By voting for any other party you vote for what you don't want, and get it. Usually you get more of it than you bargained for.

When once you have learned to vote the Socialist ticket, you will have passed politically out of the Broncho Class. You will be voting, not for a change of masters, but for NO MASTER.

The New Unionism.

But the ballot can not perform miracles. Socialist ballots by themselves can not destroy the wage-and-profit system, but neither will the wage-and-profit system ever be destroyed by a working class that has not the sense to vote right.

You are engaged in a death struggle. You can not free yourself from poverty and the fear of poverty save by doing away with private property in those things that are used to create wealth. Against you are the rich and mighty, all the beneficiaries of privilege and all the Powers of Darkness. The stronger your political power appears the more tenaciously and desperately will they cling to the real political power which they and they alone hold. Never will they surrender to you as long as you seem disposed to make ballots your sole weapons.

Few Americans who remember the election of 1876 doubt that Tilden was elected. Yet Hayes was seated in the White House because the property owners of the country willed it so. Think you that Bryan would have been seated after the election of 1896 had he had the votes to entitle him to the Presidency? If you do, you know not the temper of Wall Street, which did not mean to have mortgages made on a gold basis paid in silver.

You must have beside your good Socialist ballot another weapon. And that weapon is the New Unionism. The New Unionism aims at the destruction of the capitalist system root and branch. But because it looks to the future, it does not neglect the present. It expects to administer the industries of the world Tomorrow, and to get in practice comes just as near as ever it can to running them Today.

The Old Unionism had small hopes for Tomorrow and therefore dared make but small demands Today. It never dreamt of ending the wage system. It did not wish to interfere with "reasonable profits." It believed that the more profits the masters made the better it would be for the men.

It is true that most of the unions that have caught the modern spirit differ in hosts of ways; but the great fundamental difference is the difference of aim. The Old Unionism is without any great and noble hopes, it is pessimistic; the New Unionism is inspired by glorious hopes that are in very truth certainties; its noble optimism does not allow it for an instant to doubt that it is going to possess the earth and the fullness thereof, and that soon.

Other Differences.

The Old Unionism believed in high initiation fees, high dues, in strict limitation of the number of apprentices, in accumulating vast war funds, so that when the single craft or trade to which the union was almost invariably confined, struck, it could pay strike benefits for many months, while the struggle dragged on and on till the strikers lost heart and hope. While the one craft struck all the other crafts in the same industry continued to work and thus helped the bosses to beat their fellow workers.

The New Unionism aims, not to keep the workers out, but to draw them in. Its doors are wide open, low initiation fees, low dues, little or no limitation of apprentices. It realizes that the manual skill on which craft distinctions were based is vanishing before the advance of the Machine. It pays little or no heed to craft distinctions, but aims to embrace in one and the same union every man, woman and child in or about a given industry. It needs no big war funds, for it does not wish any long-drawn-out strikes to starve and discourage the workers.

The New Strike.

It believes in striking quick and hard with all its weapons at once. It believes in calling out every man and woman it can at once, and tying up mercilessly the whole industry. There is no need to prolong such a strike. It is usually either won or lost in the first three days. It seldom lasts more than ten.

Such strikes not only gain more and gain it quicker for the workers than the Old Unionism ever did or could, but they have political effects. They inspire with a most wholesome fear the political and journalistic lackeys of your masters. Just the other day such a strike forced the Prime Minister of France to re-organize his Cabinet.

The New Unionism has ever before its eyes the shortening of the working day as a means of reducing the number of the unemployed, as well as of giving the workers more leisure for study and thought and organization. It shrinks from no means. It believes heart and soul in the General Strike when it is practicable and the issue at stake is great enough. But it does not believe that the General Strike can work miracles any more than the Ballot can.

Above all else, the New Unionism has no romantic hopes of utopian revolution. It knows the workers must save themselves day by day; that nothing but revolution can save them, but that part of the revolution can be accomplished every day.

Politics and the New Unionism.

In France, where the New Unionism has reached its highest development, the political movement, the Socialist party, preceded it and prepared the ground for it, and was fortunately strong enough to give it much necessary protection in its early years.

Here in America the agitation of the Socialist Party and of the Industrial Workers of the World has prepared the ground for the New Unionism. But the Socialist Party unfortunately has not the power efficiently to protect the New Unionism.

Under these circumstances the two must develop side by side, and ought to do so in perfect harmony.

The political party is the best field for agitation and education of the general public. It can not be neglected.

But we must not forget that the fiercer the Class Struggle grows, the more will the brunt of the battle fall on the New Unionism. The nearer we approach the day of triumph the smaller will become the role of Socialist politics. But that day is still to come. Today no wage-slave who hopes to escape from slavery can afford to neglect Socialist politics. Smile all you will at the extravagant pipe dreams of the Socialist orator who talks about converting a majority and "voting in the Co-operative Commonwealth," but keep your Socialist Party dues paid up, attend the meetings of your Local, start discussions on the New Unionism every time you get a chance, vote the Socialist ticket, while you bide your time till the General Confederation of your Revolutionary Unions shall grow strong enough to become itself the framework of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Revolutionary Unionism.

But your chief reliance, both for the improvement of your conditions of work and life from day to day and for the realization of your goal, the abolition of wage-slavery, must be the New Revolutionary Unionism. To the development and strengthening of this your every energy should be unsparingly given; no sacrifice should be too great. For, unless you can develop a powerful revolutionary unionism in America, your lot is indeed hopeless.

Join any Union that can aid you to make a bearable living, but if the union be one of the old reactionary unions, work day and night to develop it into a revolutionary union. If to make a living you are forced to belong to a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, get all the help you can from it, and try to change it. But the day is fast coming when the Old Unionism will be powerless to aid you at all. Few men in America know the A. F. of L. so thoroughly as my comrade, Max Hayes, and in the September International Socialist Review he wrote of it: "It is more conservative or reactionary than it was fifteen years ago." He is an A. F. of L. man, and he ought to know. If he is right, as I fully believe he is, the sooner it is smashed the better it will be for you. In the meantime, if you can get anything out of it, by all means get it.

But if possible, join and do your best to upbuild and strengthen a real revolutionary union. Do your best to strengthen such unions as the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World.

But remember the *form* of the organization is not the true test of the New Unionism. The Industrial form of organization (which includes in one and the same union every worker in an industry) is far more efficient to help its members than the antiquated craft form of organization. But a union may be industrial in form and still retain the spirit and most of the vices of the Old Unionism. This has been true of the United Miners until very recently, but of late they have shown many signs of progress toward the New Unionism. Again a union may retain the craft form of organization and yet be thoroughly revolutionary in spirit and act in the perfect solidarity with the other unions in the same industry. For example, the recent Railroad Strike in France was one of the best and most effective strikes in industrial history and yet the Engineers and Firemen were organized in a union of their crafts separate and apart from the other railway workers whose organization was industrial. But in practice, the *two* unions *acted as one*.

Spirit More Than Form.

The form of organization is important; the spirit animating the organization is far more important.

You and your fellow workers must save yourselves from poverty and the fear of poverty. No one from without your class can save you. You yourselves must do the work. To do it you must learn to kick right. The way to kick right is to kick altogether as a class. To kick separately as individuals will do you more harm than good.

Two Kinds of Kicks.

You need two kinds of kicks—the Kick Political and the Kick Economic. For both you need organization. For the Kick Political you have the organization, the Socialist Party. You have only to learn to use it to make it effective. For the Kick Economic, the necessary organization is still for the most part lacking. You and you alone can create it.

WILL YOU DO IT?

Stupendously great is your opportunity.

Wiesbaden, Germany, November 15, 1910

CLASS WAR

BY

ED. MOORE

ALL governments are kept up to take care of property rights.

Before the landholders in the colonies overthrew the government of the British king, it took care of the property rights of the aristocracy, the class of which King George was the legal head.

All the agitation against the tax on tea and the stamp taxes were excuses to attack the legal right of the British aristocracy to take wealth from the property owners in the colonies.

Colonial property owners did not want to be compelled to legally share with the aristocratic class the wealth they took from hired and slave-laborers. They wanted it all for themselves, and to keep it they went to war and drove out the legally constituted of the British aristocracy.

After pulling down the government of the aristocrats, they established a government of their own and they took very good care to deny legal rights to hired and slave-laborers to own wealth produced by them while working for wages or as chattel slaves.

Business men would not stand for the "divine right of kings" to make them divide up the wealth they got by using the king's government and laws to take it

from "the laboring classes." It would be cheaper, the colonial business men saw, to get rid of the aristocrats and do the governmental work of robbing the wealth producers themselves. Boiled down and made plain, this is the high-sounding Jeffersonian doctrine of an "impartial government economically administered."

Handicraft workers, farmers and traders settled New England. Money-hunting aristocrats and their piratical and freebooting followers settled the South. In handicrafts, farming and trading, bosses and working people met on something like a level plane of equality. Lords, captains of pirates and chieftains of freebooters are raised above those they command. Therefore in the North there were friendly neighbors; in the South, vain and courteous "leaders of society" and meek servitors to arrogant masters.

Land owning and laws to compel laborers to produce crops on land is the ground on which aristocracy rests. Markets for the goods made by those they hire for wages are absolutely necessary for manufacturers, free farmers and their go-betweens—bankers and merchants.

Slave owners buy what they feed and clothe their slaves with in the markets where such goods are the cheapest. England bought cotton from the Southern slave owners, and she sold them goods much cheaper than the New England manufacturers and merchants could.

Fighting to get control of the government, the Northern manufacturers and merchants used humanity as a plea to get votes to take the whip hand over the slave owners. State and property rights were the slogans the slave owners used to get votes to help them to keep their hold on the national government.

These conflicting interests met in the clash of battle in the Civil war and the wage masters defeated the slave masters. But those whose labor makes all the wealth still remain legal slaves compelled to sell themselves for wages to the Captains of Industry and Kings of Finance.

While there is a class that can legally force another class to labor to support it, no government can represent all the people. A government carried on by kind-hearted men for those who live off of incomes may make it less disagreeable for the forced laborers, but it will not move in the direction of compelling the legally favored class to work to keep itself.

Anything that keeps slaves satisfied with their slavery is a good thing for their masters. It prolongs their rule. Therefore reforms in government cannot bring about a revolution which will end the legal power of the capitalist class to force the working class to keep it.

Government does not make any of the things that give comforts and luxuries to the rich and the necessities of life to the working class. Capitalists use the force of organized society—the government—to make the working class bear all the burden of feeding, clothing, housing, transporting and informing all the people. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance for the working class to take the power of organized society away from the capitalist class and put an end to the robbing of the productive workers.

Skill in lawyers' tricks, capitalistic lore, politicians' promises, theologians' plans for man's salvation, nor constructors of social paradises are not needed to push on the class war to take the government away from the capitalists. No tricks will bring forth material wealth. Every maker of things knows this without the benefit of the teachings of doctors of philosophy. Makers of things must break the chains of wage slavery. As they know how to make things, they will know how to legally take things without wasting time in endless discussions on the right of slave owners to be pensioned by the slaves who have freed themselves.

From the farms, workshops, forests, mines, trains and ships must come the people who will answer Marx's call, "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain," and use the government to abolish classes by compelling everyone to do productive work.

WHERE FURS COME FROM

BY

JACK MORTON



RACCOON.

FEW of us realize the amount of human labor spent in producing the furs from which muffs, stoles, caps and coats are made. All during the cold season thousands of men are busy in the woods of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, Missouri, Idaho and Montana, trapping fur bearing animals to send to market to be made into the fur garments many of us wear.

Great fur companies are now sending ship loads of traps, ammunition and food supplies into the far northern countries for the hardy men who spend the long days catching seal, tracking the sable, the fox, muskrat, raccoon, skunk, and many other valuable animals. In a little while they will return laden with furs which will some day keep out the cold for you and me. (If we have the price to pay for them.)

The coats of all fur bearing animals grow thicker and glossier and richer with the coming of snow. Of many the new coats come in snow-white, so that it is almost impossible to discover them against the spotless landscape. But the tracks of one and all may be easily distinguished by the keen eye of the hunter.

Armed with his gun and accompanied by his faithful dogs, with the first fall of snow, he is up and on the trail, setting traps at long intervals, which he baits with the flesh of the varmints he brings down on the journey. When he visits the traps again on the return trail, often he finds fox, lynx, or the white ermine, of the weasel family, the most valuable of all white fur bearing animals. From these he carefully strips the pelts, packing them away in his great sack.

The white ermine resembles greatly his deep brown brothers, the Northern and the Siberian sable. Both are of the same family of carnivori. Seldom is one found over 12 or 14 inches in length and the pelts of the Russian sables bring as high as $500 apiece.

Often a northern farmer will find his chicken house has been attacked and twenty or thirty chickens killed in a single night. The weasel seems to possess an insatiable blood hunger and attaches itself to the blood vessels of the fowl or



FOX.

animal attacked, drinking its life-blood very quickly and passing on to the next victim.

Seal-skins, of course, come from the far north, although mother seals are sometimes found as far south as the coast of California, where they swim from 150 to 200 miles in search of food. But the new government laws will prevent the killing of any but young bull seals hereafter, so that the breeding may continue and the supply remain as great as ever.



LYNX.

Seal peltry are very different from the finished products that we see in the shop windows in the form of seal-skin coats and caps. It takes over three months to prepare these pelts for the coat manufacturers. Every skin is carefully cleaned, softened and dyed before it appears on the market.

Fox, wolves, muskrats, mink, raccoon, skunk, squirrels, and oppossum are still found in long-settled regions. Otters, beaver and marten are found in more remote districts. But the farmers' boys of the middle and eastern states put in many odd hours during the winter trapping fur bearing animals.

Unfortunately there is no way for the trappers to co-operate and protect themselves in disposing of peltry and there are still many dishonest dealers who take advantage of them.

Steel traps are the common means of taking fur today. The trapper usually places his traps, well baited, at a distance of a half or one mile apart. Trappers have to be very wary in setting these traps as a suspicions animal will often avoid a trap and bait for many hours after they have been touched by the hand of man. Sometimes a hungry wolverine will follow the trail of a trapper and systematically rob him of valuable catches. Then the trapper becomes a hunter in earnest, for he will find no reward for all his past endeavors till his enemy has been killed.

Beaver traps are usually placed a few inches below the surface of some stream where the large animals will be caught in passing and quickly drown.

A marten is a predaceous little traveler, more of a climber than the mink, but a great hunter among thickets, logs and such things. Old trappers advise everybody to use a spring pole in catching marten, so that the animal may be thrown into the air when caught. This is the best method for skunk also, although not for the same reason. A suspended skunk

is more apt to be peaceable, and a suspended marten is less apt to have its twenty-dollar coat eaten by some other animal.

Way up in Canada lives an old man in a small house which he built for himself and his wife thirty years ago. His wife died in 1885 and since that time the old man has lived alone. Every winter he takes up the trail and plants his traps for several miles through a dense wood. Once every week he visits each trap and upon his next visit to the village store, he carries with him two or three pelts. For these the store-keeper trades with him and the old man receives flour, corn meal, bacon and other groceries. By and by the store-keeper finds he has accumulated sixty or seventy pelts that have been brought in by the farmers' boys, the old man and others and he makes a shipment to the nearest fur-buyer.

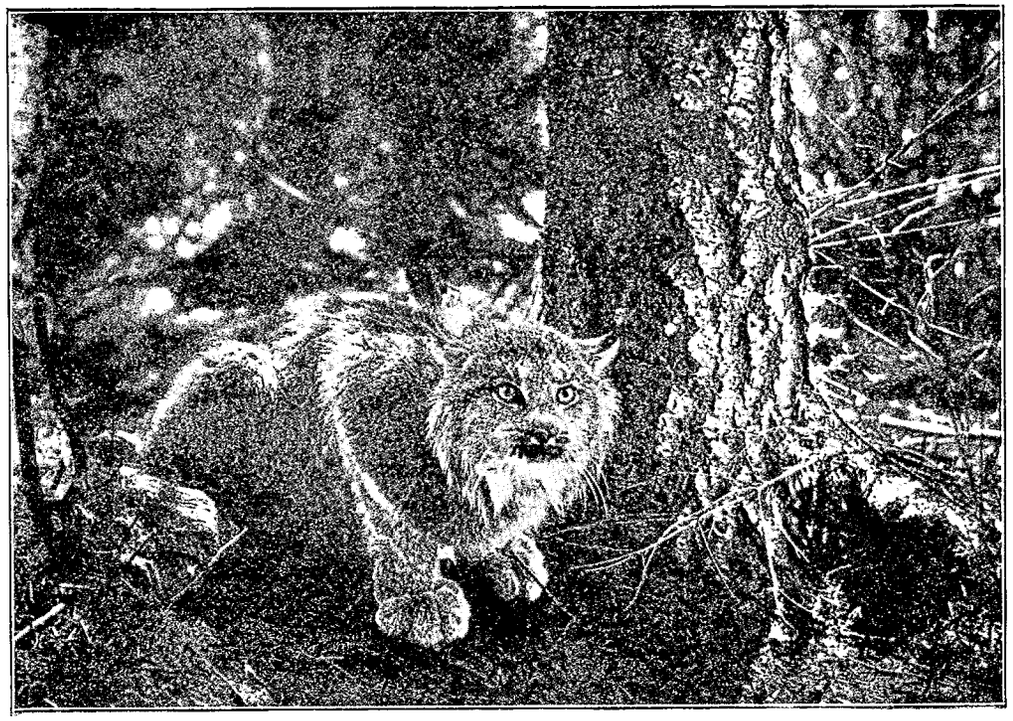
A good grader is an important man in any fur-buying house. It is the work of the grader to sort and grade furs sold to the manufacturers so that the work of the fur sewers may be greatly simplified.

Nearly all marten or sable garments are blended and are very much darker than any natural fur. The natural dark skins are worth much more than the lighter ones that have to be blended or dyed. Out of these dark skins the manufacturer will make up his fancy pieces—say a stole and muff composed of twelve skins, retailing at one thousand dollars. These prices are, of course, a very long way from what the trappers got.

The big houses usually work for a certain profit and the graders have to cooperate and make them one way or another. Sometimes when a trapper kicks about the price offered by the fur buyer, the buyer returns lighter and less valuable pelts to him and the trapper has no way to prove that he has been cheated.

Naturally trappers are isolated men. They do not learn of the changes in styles of furs, nor the demands for different furs in different seasons. A red fox skin used to bring about $5.00, but it was several years before the trappers discovered they could get $30 a pelt because of the new style and new demand.

The silver fox is the rarest and most prized animal for his beautiful fur. A



AT BAY--LYNX WATCHING THE DOGS.



ERMINE.

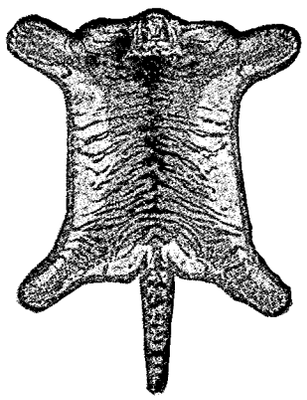
prominent member of the firm of Becker Bros. & Co., Chicago, recently told me he would be glad to get a silver fox pelt for the amazing sum of $5,000.

The art of trapping is a very old one. Success depends very largely upon a knowledge of the habits of the game pursued. Many books have been written about taking furs, but it requires long experience to learn to read the signs written all about a snow covered field or forest.

The old hunter knows them all. The small dainty prints of the fox, placed precisely one before the other; the tiny holes made by the snowy ermine, and the trail her lithe body leaves between leaps; the scratches of the lynx and mink and the caches the wolverine leaves on his way, where he buries, for future need, remains of the varmints he has stolen or caught.

Winter has come again. All over the north the earth is covered with the white mantle over which no animal can pass without leaving signs of his going for the trapper to read. And it is during these days that the old trappers take up the long trails.

A dozen men, perhaps, have worked trapping the mink or marten, sending it to the fur-dealer, grading it, dyeing it and making the many pelts up into the muffs or collars we see in the store windows.



DANGER AHEAD

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

THE large increase in the socialist vote in the late national and state elections is quite naturally hailed with elation and rejoicing by party members, but I feel prompted to remark, in the light of some personal observations during the campaign, that it is not entirely a matter for jubilation. I am not given to pessimism, or captious criticism, and yet I cannot but feel that some of the votes placed to our credit this year were obtained by methods not consistent with the principles of a revolutionary party, and in the long run will do more harm than good.

I yield to no one in my desire to see the party grow and the vote increase, but in my zeal I do not lose sight of the fact that healthy growth and a substantial vote depend upon efficient organization, the self-education and self-discipline of the membership, and that where these are lacking, an inflated vote secured by compromising methods, can only be hurtful to the movement.

The danger I see ahead is that the Socialist party at this stage, and under existing conditions, is apt to attract elements which it cannot assimilate, and that it may be either weighted down, or torn asunder with internal strife, or that it may become permeated and corrupted with the spirit of bourgeois reform to an extent that will practically destroy its virility and efficiency as a revolutionary organization.

To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the Socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expected triumph.

It is precisely this policy and the alluring promise it holds out to new members with more zeal than knowledge of working class economics that constitutes the danger we should guard against in preparing for the next campaign. The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us and do injustice to our party as well as to those who cast them.

These votes do not express socialism and in the next ensuing election are quite as apt to be turned against us, and it is better that they be not cast for the Socialist party, registering a degree of progress the party is not entitled to and indicating a political position the party is unable to sustain.

Socialism is a matter of growth, of evolution, which can be advanced by wise methods, but never by obtaining for it a fictitious vote. We should seek only to register the actual vote of socialism, no more and no less. In our propaganda we should state our principles clearly, speak the truth fearlessly, seeking neither to flatter nor to offend, but only to convince those who should be with us and win them to our cause through an intelligent understanding of its mission.

There is also a disposition on the part of some to join hands with reactionary trade-unionists in local emergencies and in certain temporary situations to effect some specific purpose, which may or may not be in harmony with our revolutionary program. No possible good can come

from any kind of a political alliance, express or implied, with trade-unions or the leaders of trade unions who are opposed to socialism and only turn to it for use in some extremity, the fruit of their own reactionary policy.

Of course we want the support of trade-unionists, but only of those who believe in socialism and are ready to vote and work with us for the overthrow of capitalism.

The American Federation of Labor, as an organization, with its Civic Federation to determine its attitude and control its course, is deadly hostile to the Socialist party and to any and every revolutionary movement of the working class. To kow-tow to this organization and to join hands with its leaders to secure political favors can only result in compromising our principles and bringing disaster to the party.

Not for all the vote of the American Federation of Labor and its labor-dividing and corruption-breeding craft-unions should we compromise one jot of our revolutionary principles; and if we do we shall be visited with the contempt we deserve by all real socialists, who will scorn to remain in a party professing to disreputable methods of ward-heeling be a revolutionary party of the working class while employing the crooked and politicians to attain their ends.

Of far greater importance than increasing the vote of the Socialist party is the economic organization of the working class. To the extent, and only to the extent, that the workers are organized and disciplined in their respective industries can the socialist movement advance and the Socialist party hold what is registered by the ballot. The election of legislative and administrative officers, here and there, where the party is still in a crude state and the members economically unprepared and politically unfit to assume the responsibilities thrust upon them as the result of popular discontent, will inevitably bring trouble and set the party back, instead of advancing it, and while this is to be expected and is to an extent unavoidable, we should court no more of that kind of experience than is necessary to avoid a repetition of it. The Socialist party has already achieved some victories of this kind which proved to be defeats, crushing and humiliating, and from which the party has not even now, after many years, entirely recovered.

We have just so much socialism that is stable and dependable, because securely grounded in economics, in discipline, and all else that expresses class-conscious solidarity, and this must be augmented steadily through economic and political organization, but no amount of mere votes can accomplish this in even the slightest degree.

Voting for socialism is not socialism any more than a menu is a meal.

Socialism must be organized, drilled, equipped and the place to begin is in the industries where the workers are employed. Their economic power has got to be developed through efficient organization, or their political power, even if it could be developed, would but react upon them, thwart their plans, blast their hopes, and all but destroy them.

Such organization to be effective must be expressed in terms of industrial unionism. Each industry must be organized in its entirety, embracing all the workers, and all working together in the interest of all, in the true spirit of solidarity, thus laying the foundation and developing the superstructure of the new system within the old, from which it is evolving, and systematically fitting the workers, step by step, to assume entire control of the productive forces when the hour strikes for the impending organic change.

Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial co-operative training, discipline and efficiency which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve will turn to ashes on their lips.

Now that the capitalist system is so palpably breaking down, and in consequence its political parties breaking up, the disintegrating elements with vague reform ideas and radical bourgeois tendencies will head in increasing numbers toward the Socialist party, especially since the greatly enlarged vote of this year has been announced and the party is looming up as a possible dispenser of the spoils of office. There is danger, I believe, that the party may be swamped by such an exodus and the best possible means, and in fact, the only effectual means of securing the party against such a fatality is the economic power of the industrially-organized workers.

The votes will come rapidly enough from now on without seeking them and we should make it clear that the Socialist party wants the votes only of those who want socialism, and that, above all, as a revolutionary party of the working class, it discountenances vote-seeking for the sake of votes and holds in contempt office-seeking for the sake of office. These belong entirely to capitalist parties with their bosses and their boodle and have no place in a party whose shobboleth is emancipation.

With the workers efficiently organized industrially, bound together by the common tie of their enlightened self-interest, they will just as naturally and inevitably express their economic solidarity in political terms and cast a united vote for the party of their class as the forces of nature express obedience to the laws of gravitation.

LOCKOUTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE lockout and blacklist, the old and blood stained weapons of the capitalist class, are certainly being used with a relentless hand by the employers of this tight little isle.

Cotton Workers' Lockout.

A short time ago 120,000 cotton operators were locked out for more than two weeks because of a trivial dispute arising over the discharge of one man. The workers in a small mill immediately went on strike, demanding the reinstatement of their fellow worker; then the mill owners united to break the strike and give the cotton slaves a summary lesson, by adopting the brutal and cowardly method of throwing 120,000 men and women, boys and girls into the street, depriving them of their meager wage and reducing them to the pauper line. The trouble was finally patched up, the discharged man securing a place in a near-by mill.

Peace now reigns in the textile industry and human life is again being spun and woven into cloth. In the dark and smoke-grimed streets of Lancashire towns, before daylight and after dark, one can hear the noisy click-clack of iron-shod wooden clogs as the patient fellow workers go to and from their toil.

Day after day the same monotonous life; there can be no change. They are working out the penal servitude of a five years' agreement fastened upon them with the connivance of their leisure-loving officials.

The real big things in this part of the labor world just now are the lockout of 46,000 boilermakers by the Ship Builders' Employees' Federation and the lockout and strike of 30,000 Welsh miners.

Locked Out Boilermakers.

If there is a law in England against conspiracy, it surely could be invoked against members of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation. In this instance there has been a coming together of minds, resulting in the misery and suffering of thousands of innocent human beings.

It seems that on March 9, 1909, a certain agreement was entered into between employers and employees, each agreeing to stated conditions to obtain for the period of five years.

The men claim the terms of the compact were not adhered to, many grievances arose, the adjustments were slow. In some instances the ships were away at sea while controversies over work done in the building of the vessels remained unsettled.

The burden of oppression kept growing until a small body of the men, unable to stand more, quit work and went on strike.

It was at this juncture that the employers began to conspire. There was to be adopted a program that would, for the

term of the ship yard agreement, at least, put an end to any stoppage of work either by one or more individuals.

The first step in the procedure was to lock out the members of the Boilermakers' Society, perhaps on the theory that poverty makes the worker gentle and pliable. After this medicine was given time to work, the doctors on the Board of Conciliation (?) drafted the following remarkable prescription to be taken with the original five-year dose, as an antidote for strikes. It is known as The York Agreement and here are a few gems:

"Both parties being in accord that any stoppage of work is against the best interests of all concerned, and that it is desirable to have further arrangements to secure the due observance of the Shipyard Agreement dated March 9, 1909, in federated shipbuilding yards and ship repairing yards, it is hereby agreed as follows:

"'1.—The society undertakes that any member who is a party to a stoppage of work in contravention of the Shipyard Agreement shall be fined for the first offence at the rate of 5s per day for each day's absence from work. The society further undertakes to impose an increased penalty on members guilty of second or subsequent offences. A record of such fines and of their collection shall be certified each six months by a chartered accountant.

"'2.—The society within seven days of any stoppage shall pay the amount of any fines into bank on a special deposit account in the name of the society, to be used solely for the benefit of widows and orphans of the members of the Boilermakers' Society. All intromissions connected with this fund shall be audited by a chartered accountant, and a certified copy of the account supplied each six months to the Federation.

"'3.—In the event of any member of the society failing to pay the above fine or failing to make satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so, he shall not be employed by any federated firm for a period of six months for the first offense or 12 months for the second and any subsequent offense. In such case the fine already paid by the society on behalf of such member shall, on the expiration of the periods named, be refunded to the society out of the special deposit account. Men who have paid their fine or made satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so shall not be penalized by being refused employment.

As a document to which pure and simple trade unionists were a party, this stands a close second to the famous Roosevelt Commission in the anthracite strike of Pennsylvania.

In this case, however, it has been repudiated by a referendum vote. The officials seemed strangely bent on furthering the program of the employers. They made no effort to enlist support for the men who were locked out. So flagrant is the wrong, every principle of unionism being violated, that other trade unionists have expressed sympathy and a willingness to help. They have been rebuffed.

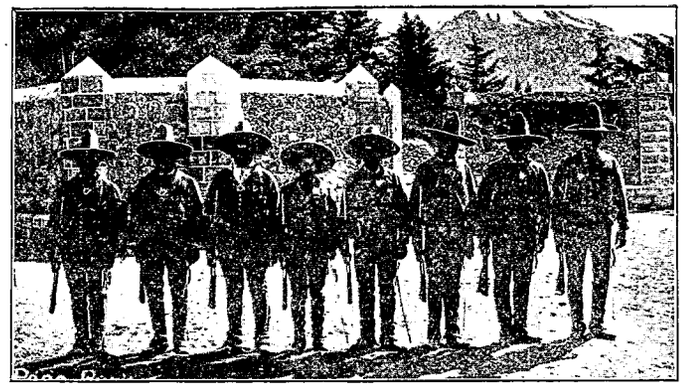
Mr. Hill and Mr. Bremner of the boilermakers have intimated that the men were not in their right minds on the first ballot. Accordingly they submitted another, being identically the same, with some added explanations.

These officials have received a stinging rebuke. The second proposal was rejected by a much larger vote than the first.

But the responsibility of the employers is not ended. Their attempt by means of the lockout to force the men to their knees is inhuman warfare. The men are not the chief sufferers. The first victims are the helpless wives and babies.



BLACKLEGS OR SCABS IN WHITE BEING ESCORTED OUT OF TOWN.



THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

THE prophecy of "Barbarous Mexico," that "Mexico is hurrying toward a revolution in favor of democracy," has been fulfilled.

If a revolution of the same proportions existed in Spain, in Russia, or in any other European country, as at this moment rages in Mexico, there would be columns and columns about it in the American press, there would be page-wide headlines, there would be special war correspondents in the field, there would be magazine articles explaining the situation.

As it is, the newspapers consider it of most importance to iterate and reiterate the official pronouncements, that the revolution is over, that the revolutionists are little more than bands of marauding bandits, anyhow, and that the reports of conflict which have leaked through the censorship were grossly exaggerated.

Were it not that a part of the truth has evaded the stifling hand of the censor, chiefly by means of travelers from the interior who have arrived at the American border, were it not that Diaz has failed to control the press of Mexico even as well as he has controlled the press of this country, it would be impossible to guess at this time either the extent or seriousness of the rebellion. The day the revolution started, Diaz suppressed every independent newspaper in the country, and yet the subsidized papers themselves told more of the truth than did the American press! Even the press of England, which is much farther away from Mexico in the news sense, has so far printed two columns about the uprising to our one!

If the revolution is of no importance, if it does not seriously threaten the Diaz regime, why did the government seize the telegraph wires and prevent the sending of any private messages referring to the situation? Why did it prevent the sending of news messages except messages dictated by itself? Why did it suddenly suppress all the independent papers in the country? Why did it bar out every foreign newspaper containing news of the rebellion? Why did it hold up private mail both entering and leaving the country for days and days? Why did it spend huge sums

of money buying up firearms and ammunition in stores in all parts of Mexico? Why are soldiers patrolling the streets of every border town, and of every interior town, as far as we can find out? Why, if it is nothing serious, were not Diaz's inauguration ceremonies observed in the usual fashion? Why, if there is no revolution in Mexico, did the Federal Government, or at least the state government of Chihuahua, appoint a peace commission to make promises to the rebels and try to induce them to lay down their arms?

That all of these things have been done seems pretty well authenticated. One needs to know nothing more than these things to know that there are some very serious happenings going on in Mexico. Exactly how serious they are, the detailed stories of the fight, we may not know for many weeks. If the government triumphs in the end, we may never know half the story.

Why is there a revolution in Mexico? Not, as some would have us believe, because Mexicans have revolution in their blood. It is rather because they have manhood in their blood, because they are unwilling to be slaves, because they are ruled by a despot and they want democracy, because there is no way to progress under a despotism except through revolution. I am afraid that Americans generally do not approve of revolution any more, no matter what the provocation. Even some socialists will tell you that armed rebellion is out of place in the twentieth century. It is the despotism of Diaz that is out of place in the twentieth century. Free speech, free press, the ballot—these are modern safety valves against armed rebellion. By denying them, Diaz has made revolution inevitable in his country. Hence, for the blood that is now being spilled in Mexico, Diaz and his partners—including his American partners—are entirely to blame.

The immediate cause of this most recent attempt to overthrow the perpetual Mexican autocracy was the persecution of the Anti-Re-electionist party. About a year ago a movement was started to oppose the plans of Diaz to "re-elect" himself as "president" for the eighth time. This movement was entirely peaceful; its program would be considered conservative in this country; its appeal was merely that the people insist that there be an actual election, that they insist on their right to vote, and that they vote for the Anti-Re-electionist ticket, which was headed by Francisco I. Madero. The speakers and the press studiously observed the laws and even refrained from criticising the character or the acts of the "president."

Nevertheless, as soon as it became evident that the opposition movement would sweep the country, Diaz proceeded to annihilate it. The story of that campaign I have embodied in one of the chapters of my book, "Barbarous Mexico." Suffice it to say here that it is a story of press suppressions, political imprisonments, banishments, assassinations and massacres, perpetrated by the government to destroy a peaceful popular movement. Madero was among those thrown in jail for "insulting the president," and when "election day" arrived the "election" was a stupendous farce.

Following the announcement of the "election" of Diaz and Corral, Madero, as soon as he was admitted to bail, issued a statement to the effect that all peaceful avenues for a re-instatement of the constitution had been exhausted except one, that if that one failed, then the people "would know what they must do."

The one peaceful means referred to was a protest that might be filed with the Mexican congress against a ratification of the election on the grounds of fraud. This protest, backed by the evidence contained in hundreds of affidavits sworn to by thousands of citizens in all parts of the country, specifying the frauds committed, was duly filed in September. Since the Mexican "congress" consists entirely of appointees of Diaz, this step was merely a matter of form. Of course, the petition was denied.

When Madero announced that the people would know what they must do, he meant that they must oppose force with force. Immediately he began plotting and immediately he was compelled to flee to the United States to escape arrest on new charges.

The revolution was set for November 20. So well organized is the political spy

system of Diaz that it was impossible to keep this fact from the government, and a week before that date the prisons began filling up with political suspects. For months the government had closely watched the sale of arms, but at great expense and danger thousands of rifles had been smuggled into Mexico and distributed among some of the secret rebel groups. Many of these rifles were seized; thus was a terrible blow inflicted before the appointed day. The loyalty of the army was doubted. Officers who were suspected of being favorable to Madero were transferred from their commands; according to rumor, some of these were summarily shot; it is said that eleven were shot in Mexico City alone. Soldiers who were suspected of disloyalty, notably at Chihuahua, were disarmed.

A dramatic incident exemplifying the activity of the police previous to the appointed day occurred in the city of Puebla on the morning of November 18. The chief of police and a squad of gendarmes surrounded the home of Aquiles Cerdan, a political suspect. Knowing that they would be killed anyway, the inmates of



BEFORE THE EXECUTION.

the house gave battle, five heroic women, Cerdan's wife and four others, standing shoulder to shoulder with the men in the fray. The *señora* Cerdan shot and killed the chief of police and the invaders, were repulsed. Reinforcements came quickly. Federal troops surrounded the house and a batallion of regulars was even sent from Mexico City. For many hours a fierce battle raged, in which it is said that more than one hundred lives were lost. The revolutionists who were defying the whole Mexican army did not give up until nearly all of them were killed and their last cartridge was gone. Two hundred rifles were taken from the house by the government.

Despite such set-backs, November 19 Madero left San Antonio secretly and crossed into Coahuila, and on the 20th and 21st the people rose in many cities and towns in widely different sections of the country. In the city of Zacatecas, capital of the state of the same name, the government having seized the arms of the revolutionists, an unarmed demonstration took place in the streets, and there was a wholesale massacre by the soldiers.

Near Rio Blanco, scene of the bloody strike of 1907, there was a fierce battle, the details of which are not yet known. During the first days the government poured soldiers into this section.

Battles are reported to have occurred at Torreon, Lerdo, Gomez Palacio, Parral, Acambaro, Puebla, Zacatecas, Orizaba, Cuatro Ciengas, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosi, Camargo, San Andres, Tomosachic, Reynosa, Santa Isabel, Durango, Namaquipa, Cruces, Hermanas, Santa Cruz, Pedernales, Madera, Ahualulco Etzatlan, Cocula, San Martin, Mazapil, Juchipila, Concepcion del Oro, Moyahua, Irapuato, Acultzingo, Valle del Santiago, San Bernardino Contla, San Pedro de las Colonias, Matomoros de la Laguna, and a number of other places. Some of the reported battles undoubtedly did not occur. On the other hand, it is more than probable that a good many battles occurred that were not reported at all. Uprisings were reported from as many as a dozen different states, but nearly all of those mentioned are reported from the states near the American border.

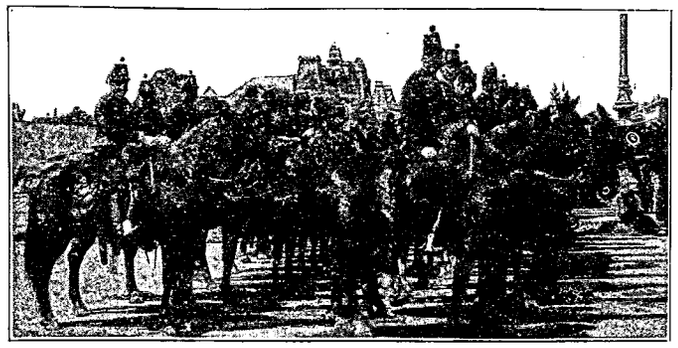
In the battles the rebels were many times reported as being successful. Gomez Palacio, a large town near Torreon, was captured, but the report that Torreon itself was taken seems to be untrue. Cruces, state of Chihauhau, Santa Cruz, state of Tlaxcala, Guerrero, state of Tamaulipas, and several other small towns seem pretty certain to have fallen within the first few days.

At this writing, December 7, by reason of the government's control of the telegraph, absolutely nothing is known of the southern part of the country. The opposition to the dictator is stronger in the South than in the North. Naturally, it would be expected that the rebellion would be more successful in the South. From Yucatan have come very meagre reports. There was an uprising in Yucatan and it was reported that fifty soldiers were killed and many wounded. Yucatan regularly has several thousand troops to quell disturbances, yet November 28, a regiment of cavalry was hurried away from the capital to reinforce the government troops in the peninsula. A serious revolt in Yucatan might never be heard of until the rebels were in entire control.

In the North the revolution seems to have focussed in the state of Chihuahua, a large section of which is absolutely in the hands of the rebels. Here the army of the opposition defies the government, and in several battles has routed strong forces sent to subdue it. In the last days of November General Navarro, at the head of 600 soldiers, made a sally from the city of Chihuahua to engage the revolutionists. He was met at Santa Isabel, where nearly half of his men were killed and he was compelled to flee in disorder back to Chihuahua.

November 29, a body of 150 soldiers, which had sailed from Chihuahua, were met at Pedernales and the whole force was destroyed or captured.

Representatives from an El Paso paper, who penetrated the southwestern part of Chihuahua, reported that they found nine-tenths of the people of the farming districts against the government. These people have risen in arms, have taken possession of the Chihuahua-Northwestern railroad and seem to be in absolute possession of a stretch of 150 miles of the road and a large slice of country on each



side of it. In these parts they are so strong that the government has so far not dared to penetrate very far into their country.

Indeed, the operations of the Diaz troops in Chihuahua just now seem to be devoted entirely to defending themselves. Big guns have been rushed from Mexico City, fortifications have been erected, trenches dug; Chihuahua, with nearly 5,000 regular soldiers within its limits, is preparing for a siege. So, whatever the situation in other sections of the country, at least in Chihuahua the revolution is not dead.

During the fighting in Chihuahua the whereabouts of Madero himself has been in doubt. It is probable that, after crossing the border from Texas, he found himself unable to effect a junction with rebel forces which he had planned to lead, and was forced back, after a battle near Monclova, into the mountains of Coahuila or Tamaulipas, or possibly back into Texas, though if he is in Texas he is keeping very quiet.



This revolution of the Anti-Re-electionist party should not be mistaken for a movement of the Liberal party, many members of which have been subjected to persecution in the United States during recent years. While, as always, the working class will do most of the fighting and endure most of the suffering, the movement is dominated by middle class interests. If Madero wins, his party will undoubtedly free the slaves, ameliorate the condition of the peons, pass a few labor laws, and establish free speech, free press and actual elections. As these things would constitute a tremendous step forward, I, personally, wish the revolution every success, whether, in the end it is dominated by the Liberal party, or, as now, by the Anti-Re-electionists. The Liberal party, would, of course, go farther. The Liberal party would take immediate measures to break up the vast *haciendas* and give the lands back to the people. It would also rigidly enforce the existing laws against the Catholic church, which it suspects Madero would not do. In my

opinion the Mexican Liberal party is as thoroughly a movement of the toilers as is the Socialist party of the United States.

While the leaders of the Liberal party will not endorse Madero or his program, there is little likelihood of there being a clash between the two elements, at least not until after the Diaz regime is overthrown. When the revolution started, the Liberal junta, located in Los Angeles, issued a manifesto setting forth the difference between the two movements, but advising its members to take the opportunity of the Madero rebellion to strike a blow at the government. If the revolution grows the Liberal leaders will throw themselves into it and attempt to dominate it in the interests of the more radical Liberal program.

Will the revolution triumph? It is difficult for the ordinary American to understand the tremendous odds against which these patriots are fighting. The Diaz government is at least ten times as well prepared to cope with insurrection as is the United States. Mexico has a standing army of 40,000, which is three times ours in comparison with the population. Mexico has a force of nearly 10,000 *rurales* and a tremendous organization of regular and secret police. The capital has 2,000 uniformed policemen—double the number of New York, in comparison with population.

And these soldiers, rurales and police are everywhere. There is not a town of respectable size in all Mexico that has not at least one company of soldiers, as well as its quota of *rurales*. The barracks are situated in the heart of the city; the discipline of war is kept up at all times. Even the equipment of the army is especially designed with a view to putting down revolt; the Mexican army makes a specialty of mountain batteries, and mountain batteries are most useful in internal warfare.

The strength of the revolution lies in the fact that the people are with it. Were a fair election held, Madero or any other opposition candidate would defeat Diaz ten to one. But majorities do not count in a nation that is ruled by the sword. If the revolution wins, it will probably be only after a desperate struggle in which at least a part of the regular army is won over to the revolutionist cause. Luckily, the army is made up largely of political suspects, labor agitators and workingmen who have been drafter, and they will fight for the purpose of improperly intimidat-swords of their officers are threatening them. Give them a chance for their lives and they will desert, almost to a man. Whatever unreported success the revolution may have at this time, it is certain that the government, in general, has the upper hand; but if the rebel nucleus can be maintained as at present in Chihuahua for a reasonable time, it must mean the serious embarrassment and probable overthrow of the Diaz regime.

This article would not be complete without brief reference to the part the United States government is playing in the Mexican crisis. Hundreds of miles of the Texas, Arizona and New Mexico border are being patrolled by United States troops, ostensibly for the purpose of enforcing the neutrality laws, actually for the purpose of improperly intimindating Mexicans who wish to go home and fight for the freedom of their country.

The exact text of the neutrality law is as follows:

"Every person who, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, begins, or sets on foot, or provides or prepares the means for, any military expedition or enterprise, to be carried on from thence against the territory or dominions of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district or people, with whom the United States are at peace, shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not exceeding $3,000, and imprisoned not more than three years."

Does this mean that a Mexican may not go home—armed, if he will—to engaged in a movement against the despotism?

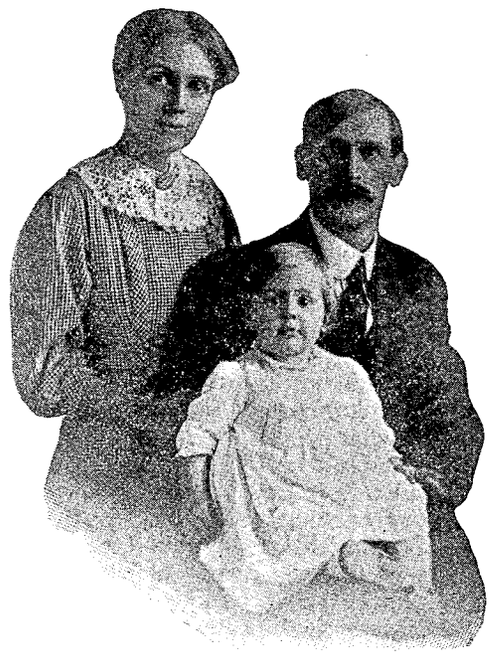
Not in the opinion of United States Judge Maxey of Texas, who reviewed some of the cases brought after the uprising of 1908. January 7, 1909, the San Antonio *Daily Light* and *Gazette* quoted Judge Maxey as follows:

"If Jose M. Rangel, the defendant, merely went across the river and joined in the fight, he had a perfect right to do so, and I will so tell the jury in my charge. This indictment is not for fighting in a foreign country, but for beginning and setting on foot an expedition in Val Verde county."

And yet the United States government has persistently prosecuted Mexicans who have done just this thing and no more. When I set forth these points in a public interview some days ago, an official of the State Department took issue with me, declaring that a Mexican has no right to arm himself and cross the line into Mexico. The official must have known that he was not speaking the truth, but made the statement with the distinct purpose of intimidating Mexicans residing in the United States and preventing them from joining the rebel forces. The presence and activity of the troops at the border themselves constitute a threat that is undoubtedly effective. The police of the border towns, too, have been viciously active. A special campaign has been directed against Mexicans. Hundreds have been held up and searched on the streets and hundreds have been jailed for carrying concealed weapons or for vagrancy.

The American authorities are certainly doing their part in helping Diaz crush the movement against him. So far the American troops have remained on this side of the Rio Grande. If the revolution grows it is extremely probable that they will be sent across, ostensibly to protect American lives and property, actually to hold Diaz, the Mexican partner of Wall Street, chief slave-driver of "Barbarous Mexico," on his throne.

If, under such circumstances, the American people are quiescent, I shall be ashamed that I am an American.



MR. AND MRS. JOHN KENNETH TURNER AND BABY.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

No. III. Prices

THE value of a commodity is determined by the necessary social labor. If someone told me that an overcoat was equal in value, or contained equal value, to the value of (or contained in) a suit of clothes, I would know that the overcoat and suit of clothes were equal in value because they contained equal quantities of the same common thing—labor.

Generally speaking the value of four pairs of trousers is about equal to the value of one coat. Why is the coat more valuable than the trousers? And what determines the measure of value when we come to exchange commodities?

You exchange your labor power—to the boss—for perhaps $2.00 in gold a day, and in turn the gold is exchanged for the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter. Why do these commodities exchange for each other?

As we learned before, LABOR is the measure of value. The coat, mentioned above, exchanges for FOUR pairs of trousers because the coat contains FOUR times the quantity of social labor that one pair of the trousers contain.

The necessary social labor contained in a commodity (shoes, coats, gold, bread, YOUR LABOR POWER or whatever it may be) determines what it will exchange for. The natural tendency is for commodities of equal value to exchange for each other, or for other commodities of equal value.

For example: the amount of wheat produced by ten hours of necessary social labor time will exchange for the amount of cloth, shoes, chairs, gold or some other commodity that will be produced by ten hours of necessary social labor.

The value, or values for which commodities will exchange change constantly as the social labor necessary to their production changes. Last month we read of a new molding machine that enables one boy to produce as many castings in one day as four men had been accustomed to produce. These castings have now greatly decreased in value (in the individual plant where the new process is used) but the total value of castings, in general, has been only SLIGHTLY reduced. The AVERAGE labor necessary to produce castings is only a little less than formerly. When the new process becomes general and the AVERAGE necessary labor greatly reduced, castings will greatly decrease in value.

"If we consider commodities as values, we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of realized, fixed, or, if you like, CRYSTALIZED human labor. In this respect they can differ only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labor, as for example, a greater amount of labor may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than a brick. . . .

"A commodity has value, because it is a crystallization of social labor . . . The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor worked up (or *contained*) in them." (Pages 56 and 57, Value, Price & Profit.)

"In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity we must add to the quantity of labor LAST employed, the quantity of labor PREVIOUSLY worked up in the raw material of a commodity, and the labor bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings, with which labor is assisted." (Value, Price & Profit, page 60.)

The value of barrels, for example, is determined by the social (factory) labor spent in producing staves and hoops and

the labor time used in producing the portion of machinery worn out in making them, as well as the necessary social labor spent in cutting and hauling (producing) raw logs for use in the mill.

Every time MORE social labor is needed in making commodities—shoes, hats, gloves, stoves or cigars—whatever these commodities may be—their value is INCREASED. Every time the quantity of socially necessary labor is lessened in the production of commodities, their value is DECREASED.

Nearly all kinds of furniture have greatly decreased in value the past few years owing to the improved machines used in their production and the relatively small quantity of labor contained in furniture.

Gold has steadily been decreasing in value in the past ten years owing to the improved methods of producing gold and the decreasing quantity of labor contained in it.

Rubber is steadily growing more valuable because the available world supply has been nearly exhausted and it requires more time hunting or planting, and caring for rubber trees—more labor is contained in a pound of rubber than a few years ago.

Gradually we see huge machines replacing the smaller ones in all the great producing industries and, with the constant introduction of more improved machinery, the quantity of human labor contained in commodities produced by modern methods—grows less and less. Such commodities decrease in value with every decrease in the labor embodied in them.

Price.

Price is the money name for which commodities exchange. WE are accustomed to figure in gold prices. All our bank notes read "payable in—so much—gold." But gold is a commodity just like bread, or overcoats, or dresses or automobiles. And commodities tend to exchange for the sum of gold containing a quantity of labor equal to the quantity of labor contained in them.

That is, if ten dollars in gold contains 40 hours of necessary labor, that gold will exchange for (or will BUY) as many pairs of shoes as 40 hours of social labor will produce.

Generally speaking, a commodity containing 10 hours of necessary labor will tend to exchange for gold, or any other commodity containing TEN HOURS OF NECESSARY LABOR.

This is true when price and value are equal. But supply and demand cause commodities to exchange (or sell) above or below their value, temporarily.

A temporary shortage in coal—when the supply does not equal the demand—may enable the dealers to exchange coal ABOVE its value for a short time. An OVER supply of automobiles may cause the manufacturers to offer to sell (or exchange) autos BELOW their value, for a time.

Prices are often either a little above or below the value of commodities, but they are always *inclining* TOWARD THE VALUE OF commodities.

(Please remember that we are not here speaking of monopoly prices. We shall consider them in a later lesson.)

"If supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond with their natural prices, that is to say with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production. . . . If, instead of considering only the daily fluctuations, you analyze the movement of market prices for longer periods . . . you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyze and compensate each other; so that, apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective VALUES or natural prices. . . .

"If speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but the constant and usual profits of different trades, spring from the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price OVER and above their value. . . .

"To explain the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are SOLD AT THEIR REAL VALUES, and that PROFITS ARE DERIVED from selling

them at their VALUES, that is, in proportion to the quantity of labor realized (or contained) in them.

"If you cannot EXPLAIN PROFIT upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all." (From, Value, Price & Profit, pages 68, 69 and 70.)

Questions.

Why does skilled labor-power sell (or exchange) at a higher price (for more gold) than unskilled labor? Does the fact that it requires more LABOR to produce a skilled laborer, that it takes more years of feeding, clothing and sheltering to PREPARE a skilled workman, have anything to do with the VALUE of their labor-power?

Mining experts tell us that it takes much less labor-power to produce the commodity—gold, than it did a few years ago. Have you noticed that your gold (or money) exchanges for fewer commodities nowadays than it did ten years ago?

Wheat is produced for a world market. Do you think wheat has decreased much in value during the past ten years as compared to the decrease in value (or social labor necessary) of steel?

We believe it takes very nearly as much labor-power to produce a bushel of wheat (on the AVERAGE) as it did in 1900; hence its value must have remained nearly the same.

Why then will a hundred bushels of wheat today exchange for MORE gold dollars than it did in 1900?

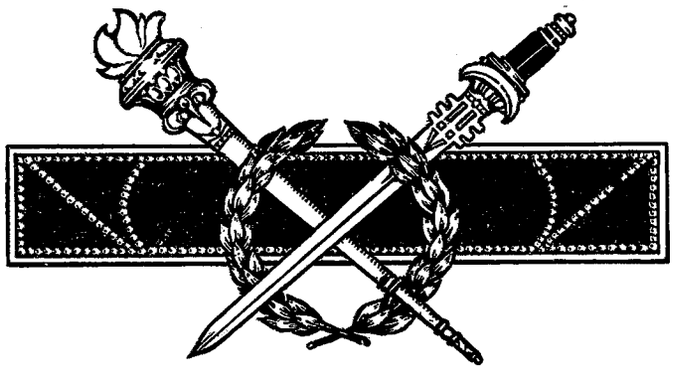
If the VALUE of both commodities had remained the same and no monopolist controlled the world's wheat or gold supply, they would exchange upon the same basis as formerly. That is, the same amount of gold would exchange for (or buy) the same amount of wheat.

Does the decreased value of GOLD result in the farmer getting a higher price (or more gold) in exchange for his wheat crop?

(Do not forget that, as Marx says, if we cannot explain profits upon the basis that all commodities exchange at their values, we cannot explain them at all.)

Next month we shall take up Surplus Value, which explains how capitalists make profits even though all commodities exchange at their values.

(Replying to question from L. T. T., we do not sell our labor. We sell our strength to work or our laboring power, our labor power. Labor is the expenditure of labor-power. See Value, Price and Profit, pages 71, 72 and 73.



EDITORIAL



FRED WARREN,
Fighting Editor of the *Appeal.*

Fred Warren Goes to Jail.

On December 30, 1905, Frank Steunenberg was killed by the explosion of a dynamite bomb at Caldwell, Idaho. Several weeks later Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners; William D. Haywood, Secretary, and George E. Pettibone, an honorary member of the organization, were kidnapped from their home in Colorado and secretly carried off to Idaho on a special train to be tried for the murder of Steunenberg. Requisition papers were issued by the Governor of Colorado on an affidavit signed by the County Attorney in Idaho, setting forth that the men were present in Idaho when the crime was committed and had fled from the state, although every one concerned knew perfectly well that they had not been in Idaho for months. The Western Federation of Miners was at that time engaged in a death struggle with the mine owners, and it is a fair inference that this kidnapping was a pre-conceived plan to discredit and crush this organization. The capitalist press of the whole country united to fasten the charge of conspiracy to commit murder upon these men, while the Socialist press, with scarcely an exception, defended them. They were held for nearly a year and a half without trial, while strenuous efforts were made by both accusers and defendants to arouse public opinion on one side or the other. In this situation Fred D. Warren, editor of the *Appeal to Reason* at Girard, Kans., conceived the idea of giving the American people a striking object lesson. With this in view; he had postal cards printed offering a reward for the kidnapping of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, who was at that time under indictment for murder in his own state and was safe in Indiana, because the Republican governor of that state refused to sign extradition papers. This object lesson was an important factor in arousing public sentiment for the imprisoned miners, and when Haywood was finally put on trial he was acquitted; the other men were finally discharged.

But the government officials and their capitalist masters did not forget the part Fred Warren played in their defeat, and an indictment was brought against him for having "sent scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter through the mails." After long delay he was tried and convicted by a packed jury, every member of which was a Republican. From this decision he appealed. Again long delays, and finally, after election is over, the Appellate Court has sustained the decision of the District Court, and Fred Warren must go to jail for six months. On the 21st of January, he is to begin serving his sentence. Triumphantly he goes to jail. He has put the Federal courts on trial before the working class of the United States. He has charged that they are the tools of the capitalist class to protect the interests of that class and to keep the workers down. In sending him to jail the courts have pleaded guilty to his charge against them. They have failed and he has triumphed. They meant to crush the *Appeal to Reason*. It went into the fight with a circulation of a quarter of a million. It now has half a million. If the government officials are stubborn and stupid enough to keep Fred Warren in jail six months, he will come out of it the editor of a paper with a million enthusiastic subscribers, the most powerful man in America. Fortunately for the working class movement, Fred Warren is as true and loyal as he is able and resourceful. He strikes with tremendous power, because he is striking at the tyranny that stands between the working people of America and the happy life they want to live. **His fight is our fight, and it is a winning fight.**

The Struggle of the Garment Workers.

Until now the most helpless and downtrodden victims of the capitalist system, the garment workers of America are opening their eyes, standing shoulder to shoulder and fighting for better pay and better working conditions. In Philadelphia and New York they have forced some real concessions from their employers; in Chicago, as this issue of the REVIEW goes to press, the fight is still on. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, the greatest scab clothing house in the world, is the storm center of the struggle. This corporation has out-distanced its competitors by the use of modern machine methods in place of the hand work which has held over from bygone centuries in the clothing trade. But in its thirst for profits it has kept down wages to the old level, while the prices of what the laborers must buy have gone on soaring. At last its wage-workers rebelled, and after a brief struggle the corporation offered sham concessions which would have brought no relief. Unfortunately its proposals received the endorsement of prominent labor leaders and philanthropists, and it speaks volumes for the courage and intelligence of the striking garment workers that in spite of the defection of their supposed friends they have stood firm. Our capitalist government in Chicago has used the clubs of its policemen brutally and mercilessly to crush out the strike. It is different in Milwaukee, where a sympathetic strike was called. The chief of police, a holdover from the Democratic administration, was using the patrolmen to suppress the strike as is customary under such circumstances, when he received the following letter:

Dear Sir:

"Complaints have been made here that disemployed citizens have recently been subjected to abusive epithets and rough handling by policemen.

"Whatever may be the basis of these complaints, I want it understood that no man on the police force has the right to interfere with a citizen who is not violating the law.

"I expect you as chief of police to make clear to the members of your department that so long as a citizen is within his legal rights he should not be manhandled or insulted. Officers tolerating such tactics and patrolmen practicing them will be accountable.

"Hoping that reports referred to will on investigation prove to be exaggerated, I am,

Respectfully,

EMIL SEIDEL, Mayor."

How this letter impressed the Milwaukee capitalists may be inferred from the following dispatch published in the Chicago Tribune:

Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 10.—[Special.]—In an open letter to the mayor and the public, strongly condemning inflammatory utterances such as were made during the garment workers' strike by members of the Socialist administration, and which were followed by rioting, the directors of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association have issued an appeal for sane thinking regarding the business situation in Milwaukee. The letter says:

"Recent events in the community reveal a tendency which demands the earnest consideration of the great body of thoughtful citizens and which should engage the attention of the chief executive. The fact that expressions recently have gained currency which tend to disturb the police and good order of the community and seriously impair its prosperity and stability is to be deplored.

"The number of unemployed is already distressingly large. The reports of public utterances of an inflammatory character, which are heralded to the world, tend to impair the credit and standing of the city. While they cause unrest at home they are also destructive of confidence. We strongly condemn all public expressions designed to incite class hatred and to destroy respect for law and order."

We congratulate our Milwaukee comrades on the stand they have taken and on the enemies they have made. "Municipal Ownership" under capitalism does not frighten the capitalists and is a doubtful advantage to the wage-workers. But to deprive the capitalists of their time-honored privilege of using the police to club strikers, this is the beginning of the end. Fight it out on this line, comrades; better even lose one election on such an issue than win by compromise. But in every city the wage-workers are awaking and uniting. Let us, as the party of the working class, insist that the police be used to protect us and not to help our enemies, and victory will be in sight.

ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

England. The Breakdown of the Old Unionism. At last something is doing in England. I do not refer to the elections which are taking place as the REVIEW goes to press. The present Parliament has done nothing for the working class. During an existence of more than ten months it has not even discussed the problem of unemployment. And so far as the infamous Osborne decision is concerned Premier Asquith has not ventured further than to promise attention to it in the indefinite future, provided, of course, that his party is returned to power. The labor group has done little to earn its keep. In the last hours of the session it did rouse itself enough to do some brave talking. Its chairman even threatened on one occasion to abstain from voting. But that was the limit of Laborite accomplishment. So far as can be foreseen at the present moment the next Parliament will be made up much as the last one was, the Lords have little to fear and the working class little to hope.

Nevertheless these are great days in old England, days that will be long remembered as history makers. One beauty about the things that are happening now is that they are so intelligible to labor unionists and Socialists of the outside world. Last winter the editor of a certain important American Socialist paper was foolhardy enough to attempt an analysis of the English situation. The reward he got for his pains was a tongue-lashing in which Social Democrats and Independent Laborites joined forces. In despair the American editor promised never again to express an opinion on anything pertaining to the English labor world. So far he has kept his word. But the events of the past few weeks may well give him courage to make another venture. For these events indicate that at last the labor movement of England is swinging into line with the world movement.

For years past the English labor movement has seemed to be made up of a great, slow-moving body of unionists and two energetic but mutually distrustful groups of Socialists. The unionists have been organized on craft lines. Most of them, 2,400,000, we are told, have been held down by long-time agreements. Their contracts have been long and their wages short. But they have seemed content with things as they are. There has been little sign of approaching change.

The Socialists, on the other hand, seem to have been exclusively interested in political propaganda. Whatever interest they have had in the labor movement has appeared to be concentrated in the attempt to make Socialists of the unionists. One group, the Social Democrats, have been irritated at the unresponsiveness of the union men. The union men have not been able to understand Socialism, hence these Socialists have been unable to understand the union men. Another group, the Independent Laborites, has worked with the unionists. Many members of it have gone to Parliament as representatives of labor. Necessarily these men have come, in course of time, to take on much of the conservativism of the organizations which they have represented. Naturally the two groups of Socialists, both including many sincere and able comrades, have not been able to co-operate. They have expended much time and space in fighting each other. Both have, it is true, done magnificent propaganda work. But they have done next to nothing in the direction of revolutionary unionism.

But England is industrially among the most advanced nations of the world. And its labor movement is old and strong. If America is the classic land of capitalism, England is surely the classic land of labor unionism. So it has been hard to understand why English Socialism has been at war with itself and English unionism has remained so long conservative.

But the situation is beginning to clear. Soon the broad lines of the class-struggle will stand out as sharply in England

as anywhere else. It is a fine thing to be able to record. It is with joy that we hail the new order of things in old England.

So far as can be seen from the outside the forces which make for the new order do not find their beginnings in the vigorous Socialist propaganda which has been carried on these many years. They rise rather out of the instinctive, untaught strivings of the hitherto conservative sections of the working-class. Workingmen who hitherto have patiently toiled under conditions established by trade agreements have suddenly rebelled *en masse*. They have ruthlessly broken the contracts entered into by their representatives. There is something elementally awe inspiring about the way in which they have disregarded the morality which they have been taught to hold sacred.

Take the Welsh miners, for example. Twelve thousand of them were employed in three groups of mines controlled by the Cambrian Combine. All of these, no matter under what conditions they worked or how thin the seams of coal which they were mining, received one shilling nine pence a ton for the coal actually brought to the surface. In many localities it was absolutely impossible for a man to earn at this rate a wage anywhere near the one usually regarded as standard. Finally seventy men working a particularly thin seam went on strike. Their employers responded by locking out all the men employed in the mine affected. This led to a strike involving all the mines controlled by the Combine. Unfortunately the engineers, stokers, etc., employed about the mines did not go out. After the strike was declared at least 1,000 men of various crafts remained about the mining properties taking care of the enemy's possessions.

This fact is what led to the Tonypandy "riot," which there has been such a talk about. On November 7th at six o'clock in the morning some 3,000 men and women marched up and down in the neighborhood of the Cambrian mines. Their purpose was to intercept the day shift of engineers when it appeared to begin its work. For some time all went well. From time to time these Welsh miners, true to their Welsh nature, filled the air with the music of their old Welsh choruses. Finally a couple of engineers appeared. Immediately they were surrounded by a group of women. So far as reports inform us there was nothing but warm argument. That is, until the mounted police interfered. For mounted police had already been sent to the scene of action by the Home Secretary. These professional disturbers of the peace charged ruthlessly on men, women and children. Many heads were broken. It is reported that one union miner has died of the injuries received.

Since this Tonypandy riot there have been other scenes of violence. Columns of strikers have attacked a power-house and smashed shop windows. They have seen all the forces of society leagued against them and have grown desperate. So far as can be gathered from reports they have not done violence to a single human being.

The strike is still on. The men show a wonderful spirit of solidarity. Yet the cards are stacked against them. The South Wales Coalowners' Association is much better organized than the union of the miners. When a mine is shut down the Coalowners' Association contributes to the company involved as much as its regular income amounts to. The mine owners can wait peacefully till cold and hunger drive their slaves back to them. All this the men see. And it is teaching them a lesson.

The events in South Wales would be studied in connection with the great English boilermakers' strike. This latter struggle has been going on for more than three months now. Its center is the region of the Clyde. The boilermakers have a strong and rich union. It is one of the most respected labor organizations in England. Like the other English craft unions it is built upon the trade agreement idea. That is, the executive committee of the union enters into a long-time agreement with the Employers' Association. All questions of wages and conditions are to be settled in accordance with the provisions of this agreement. If a dozen men in a concern somewhere have to work over-time or perform services which do not belong to their trade, they make a complaint to their union offi-

cials. In course of time this complaint is carried to a board of arbitration. At least that is what is supposed to happen. Often enough, in reality, the men never hear of it again. If they do, the award is liable to come so long after the complaint that, even in case it is favorable, it is of little value. Yet the agreements under which all this takes place have been held as sacred as the national constitution.

Last summer one brave group of boilermakers got tired of the sacred agreement. Instead of starting a complaint on the long road to a distant and uncertain arbitration committee they went on strike. They were denounced by their union officials as anarchists. Their employers answered them with a lock-out. The struggle spread till it involved the whole of the great boilermakers' union. It has been going on now for more than three months.

The executive committee of the union, made up of labor leaders of the old type, has arrived at an agreement with the Employers' Association. This agreement has twice been submitted to the men. Every force available has been summoned to whip them into line. Their leaders have berated them. The capitalist press has denounced them. All to no avail. Twice they have refused to ratify the agreement. The second time they repudiated it by a vote of 15,563 to 5,650. This looks much as if the men knew pretty well what they are about.

England is very much wrought up over all this. The capitalist dailies cannot understand the utter depravity of the union men. The union leaders, alternately scolding and coaxing, cut a sad figure as they strive vainly to find a way out. Everyone who can see anything at all begins to see that the events of the past few months mean the end of conservative unionism in England. They mean the end of the collective bargain extending over a period of six or eight years. They mean the end of grievances smothered under the long deferred action of boards of arbitration. They mean the beginning of a definite, open, bitter class-struggle. Economic conditions have reduced the workers to such straits that their long agony has forced them to break through all the laws laid down for them by the dead past and represented and defended by their leaders. From down in the ranks has swelled up a force which has burst traditional English unionism in sunder.

I cannot resist the temptation to insert here a passage from an article by Comrade Fred Knee in a recent number of the *Social-Democrat*. Under the title The Revolt of Labor he writes most illuminatingly of the crisis in the world of English labor. Especially illuminating is a paragraph in explanation of the failure of labor leaders to lead. Speaking of union executive officers he says: "It is quite easy to see where and how they may fail. It is years since they themselves had to work at these things; and however strong their recollection, there are the years between: and they count. Moreover, conditions in the industry itself may have changed; and the incidents of irritation and hardships filter very slowly and in diluted form from the actual worker, through branch official to district official, and on to the general office. And the man at work feels the irritation, has to deal with the hardship day by day, feels cheated hour by hour. Decision on the point at issue is far off; his Executive is far away, its action is slow; deliverance from this particular bondage seems hopeless that way; he is tied up for five years; and even then there may be no redress. He sees, too, that for every encroachment to which he submits the company's foreman will attempt another. So he kicks—he breaks his contract! And not one of my readers, with anything of the Man left in him, but would do the same."

With this revolt of labor there comes naturally new life for the Socialist movement. A revolutionary working-class will surely mean a united Socialist party. Once get the working-class thoroughly roused and some of the halting, timid Liberal-Labor Socialists will have to turn real revolutionists or throw off the mask and declare themselves unequivocal Liberals. The Social-Democrats, on the contrary, will find it possible to get into touch with the working-class as they never have up to the present time. From being a mere propaganda club they may develop into a real political party. Instead of criticising the labor movement from a

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Best Coffee, 25 lb. Sacks or more	**.23**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.35**
Select Tea, any kind, 10 lb. Sacks or more	**.25**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.45**
Choicest Tea, any kind, 10 lb. Sack or more	**.38**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.75**
Best Flour, 1 Bbl. only	**5.50**	bbl.	"	"	"	**6.50**
Choice Flour, 1 Bbl. only	**5.25**	bbl.	"	"	"	**6.25**
Best Starch, 50 lb. Boxes	**2¾**	lb.,	"	"	"	**5**
Choice Rice, 100 lb. Sacks	**4½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**8**
Best Rice, 100 lb. Sacks	**6½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.10**
Choice Mackerel, 50 lb. Tubs	**.10**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.16**
Choice Herring, 50 lb. Tubs	**3½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**8**
1 Box Best Soap, 66 Bars	**2.60**	box	"	"	"	**3.30**
1 Box Prunes, New, 25 lb.	**9**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.12**
1 Box Seedless Raisins, 50 lb	**7**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.10**
1 Box Raisins, 36 Packages, large	**7½**	pk.,	"	"	"	**.10**
1 Box Figs, 12 Packages	**8**	pk.,	"	"	"	**.10**
1 Bushel Navy Beans, 60 lb.	**4¼**	lb.,	"	"	"	**6**
1 Sack Rolled Oats, 90 lb.	**2½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**5**
1 Bushel Green Peas, 60 lb.	**4¼**	lb.,	"	"	"	**6**
1 Case Sugar Corn, 2 doz.	**.95**	doz.	"	"	"	**.12**
1 Case June Peas, 2 doz.	**.95**	doz.	"	"	"	**.12**
1 Case Acme Tomatoes, 2 doz.	**.95**	doz.	"	"	"	**.12**
1 Case Choice Peaches, 2 doz.	**1.50**	doz.	"	"	"	**.20**
1 Case Finest Peaches, 2 doz.	**2.25**	doz.	"	"	"	**.30**
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Pepper,	**.20**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.35**
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Cinnamon,	**.20**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.35**
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Ginger,	**.20**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.35**
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Allspice,	**.18**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.30**
6 Lb. Box Best Grade Cloves,	**.20**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.35**
6 Lb. Box Bakers' Cocoa, ½ lb	**.34**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.50**
12 Lb. Box Bakers' Chocolate,	**.30**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.40**
6 No. 10 or Gallon Cans Syrup	**.28**	gal.,	"	"	"	**.45**
1 Jar Pure Jam, any fruit 20 lbs.	**.14**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.20**
1 Can Pure Honey, 60 lb.	**9**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.16**
1 Pail Christmas Mixed Candy, 30 lb.	**7½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.15**
1 Pail Chocolate Creams, 30 lb.	**.12**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.25**
1 Box Lemon Peel, 10 lb.	**.13½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.20**
1 Box Citron, 10 lb.	**.15½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.25**
1 Box Clothes Pins, 60 doz.	**.48**	box	"	"	"	**.75**
1 Pail Peanut Butter, 25 lb.	**.13**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.25**
1 Can Pure Baking Powder, 5 lb.	**.14**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.25**
1 Box Codfish Bricks, 24 lb.	**7½**	lb.,	"	"	"	**.12**

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distance, they may become part and parcel of it. They may come to understand modern industrialism and fight for an industrial revolution as well as for a political one.

All this lies in the future. But there are plenty of signs that point to its becoming a reality. Our English comrades, displaying even more than their usual zeal in propaganda work, are everywhere in the field explaining Socialist economics to the rebellious workers. And in their writing about the union movement there is discernible a new note. As pure-and-simple unionism goes to pieces pure-and-simple politicalism also approaches dissolution.

SPAIN. Liberal Reaction. When Señor Canalejas came into power as Prime Minister much was expected of him. He was to tame the clericals, break with Rome, and institute a really liberal regime. He has been in power nearly a year now. Negotiations with Rome are still hanging fire. And the real power of the Clericals seems to be in no wise diminished. Indeed, if we look at the military activities of the government we may come to the conclusion that it is really the clericals who sit in the seats of the mighty. The government has secured from the Cortes an act empowering it to raise a loan of $300,000,000. This tremendous sum is to be expended upon military and naval expansion. With the improved military and naval equipment war is to be declared with all speed on the tribes of Morocco. Materials of war are being gathered and Melilla has already been fortified.

Labor unions and Socialist organizations have carried on a vigorous agitation against the military designs of the government. As a result scores of anti-government agitators have been imprisoned. The government does not hesitate at the most violent reactionary measures.

In the midst of the political excitement a great industrial war has broken out. The textile workers of Sabadell have gone on strike to the number of 18,000. Theif chief demand is recognition of their union. They would win had not the government interfered. National troops have been sent to the scene of action, and according to the last reports they "have the situation in hand." This means that, like their comrades in England and Wales, the workingmen of Spain are getting a good taste of liberalism. For the present the Liberal reaction seems to be triumphant both industrially and politically.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

THIS year's A. F. of L. convention was, if possible, more tame and listless than last year's gathering or that of the year before. Nothing new developed. President Gompers made the same exhaustive address that he did at previous conventions, and the executive council's report lengthened out over half a day's reading by Vice-President Duncan. Other reports and speeches from the stage helped to pad out the usual four days' time before the delegates could get down to work.

Pretty much the same resolutions dealing with jurisdictional questions, demanding legislation from law-making bodies, to levy boycotts, endorse union labels, etc., were presented as were before the body in former years. Then, after some perfunctory discussion, the resolutions were adopted, rejected or referred to the executive council once more for adjudication, especially where jurisdictional claims were concerned.

About the only discussions that enlivened the proceedings were those relating to the electrical workers' troubles and the chartering of the Western Federation of Miners, which, after some debate, were sent back to the executive council.

It should be mentioned in this connection that attempts were made throughout the early part of the convention by certain press agents to arouse the prejudice of the delegates by "doping" newspaper reporters with stories about the wicked Socialists framing plots to steal the A. F. of L. The fact that the Reid faction of the electrical workers controls a large majority of the organized men in the trade made no difference to the press agents. The Reidites were classified as "seceders" because the minority faction (the McNulty followers) said so, and, of course, the Reid people were dubbed as Socialists, and that was sufficient to condemn them.

The further fact that the Western Federation of Miners was invited during the last dozen years to join the A. F. of L. made no difference, either. They, too, fell under the ban because they are Socialistic, and at the psychological moment enough craft unions trotted out claims of jurisdiction to make further procrastination possible in the matter of issuing a charter.

After the electrical workers' controversy was sent to the executive council the Reid faction gracefully and unselfishly accepted in toto the plan outlined by Vice-President Duncan, to establish harmony in the trade, viz.: to call conventions of both factions to meet in the same city at the same time and appoint committees to work out an amalgamation plan, to withdraw all suits now pending in the courts and to turn over all funds to the executive council in trust until the unions are combined, and now it remains to be seen whether the tail will continue to wag the dog, and whether McNulty still runs the executive council.

In the case of the Western Federation of Miners, the executive council considered that organization's claims after the convention and postponed further action until January, about the time that the coal miners meet. The latter insist that the W. F. of M. be admitted, and come in they will, no matter what obstacles may be thrown in the way by the reactionists. If the W. F. of M. is not granted a charter, after all the invitations sent them to come in, it will merely hasten the merging of the coal and metaliferous miners, and then the latter cannot be kept out, no matter what the labor "trust-busters" may say or do.

* * *

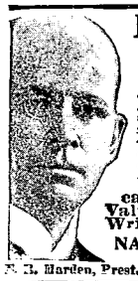
THOSE delegates who are Socialists held a number of conferences during the convention, and it was decided that, on account of the deliberate misrepresentations to which they were subjected, no resolutions of a progressive character would be presented and no debates would be participated in, so that the conservatives could perform their same stunts of mediocrity that they did in previous years.

Another reason why the "Reds" decided to turn a deaf ear to the delegates who importuned them to "start something" and keep those brethren who were dozing in their chairs awake, was that their measures would have been defeated and also would have furnished the capitalistic politicians of the country, who are being driven to distraction by the rampant dissatisfaction that confronts them on every hand, with a few crumbs of comfort and an opportunity to claim that the tide had turned against radicalism.

Then, again, the "Reds" were not so certain that their agitation would not have encouraged further discussion favorable to the formation of a labor party, which is not now needed, if it ever was, and would only serve to confuse the workers. Besides, the Socialist party will have plenty of work to assimilate the new recruits who are coming into the fold this year and prevent itself from being hamstrung by some radical reform movement that may be launched by clever capitalistic politicians with the promise of "getting something now," week after next or thereabouts. Indeed, Gompers displayed his thinly veiled contempt for ephemeral and transitory "isms" at every opportunity, and quite likely the wish fathers the thought that the rising young Socialist movement will be swamped in the same manner that the Populist revolt was, over a dozen years ago.

The truth of the matter is that the Socialist movement doesn't need to pursue the same tactics that were necessary ten or fifteen years ago to gain attention. It is receiving plenty of publicity nowadays from all sides, and the problem of the future is to educate and organize the newcomers and maintain a class-conscious, militant organization.

Let us not forget that the resourceful capitalistic enemy will send its spies into the Socialist party, just as those soulless scoundrels are sent into the trade unions, for the purpose of creating strife and disruption. The time has come to watch out in this respect. There are a number of states and cities in which some individuals have been and are acting as though they had the brand of the Manufacturers'



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Information Bureau or Corporations Auxiliary or the National Civic Federation on them. The persons that I refer to are never happier than when engaged in hair-splitting over tactics and starting factional rows, and raising Ned generally. These pinheads seem to take more delight in lambasting their own comrades for some alleged shortcomings than giving their attention to the great, broad principles that form the basis of the working class movement, and keeping their guns trained upon the common enemy. These dogmatists and catmatists appear to think that their mission in life is to denounce somebody else for not being a "good Socialist," just as the old school of trade union leaders, so-called, imagine that it is up to them to charge others with whom they disagree as being anything but "good unionists."

I repeat that this holier-than-thou danger point should be avoided in the Socialist party as well as the trade unions. Let us rather aim to discover the general principles and tactics upon which we can agree; let us go along together as far as possible, for there is work ahead to keep everybody busy—in fact, we are entering an era, indeed are already in it, that will put the organized working class movement to the fiercest test that ever has been experienced by any modern human institution. Centralized capitalism and its multitudinous agencies have never been more powerful than now, and the predictions that the Socialist agitators made upon the floor of the A. F. of L. conventions a decade ago are being fulfilled. The machinery of production has become trustified and monopolized, and labor is being mercilessly attacked on every side. The rank and file are beginning to appreciate that fact, even if their alleged leaders are not, and there is a widespread wave favorable to independent political action sweeping through the country. The thinking members of union labor are beginning to understand that the old methods of organization that obtained a quarter of a century ago are inadequate in this monopoly age.

Shall we take advantage of this opportunity to bring about a closer affiliation between the unions and the Socialist party, each to control its particular sphere of action? In my opinion, yes; and in my dual capacity I would advise all Socialists to join the trade unions and take an active interest in them, and all trade unionists ought to join the Socialist movement, and thus bring about a situation that will enable us to fight effectively with our industrial and political arms. And if it is necessary to unhorse a few reactionists on the one side and impossibilists on the other, let us do that. It is not a question of keeping leaders and spokesmen in positions of prominence, but rather the good of the whole American labor movement.

Portland, Oregon.—I take this opportunity to add my indorsement of your series of lessons on Marxian Economics by Mary E. Marcy beginning in the November REVIEW. These and your articles on Anti-patriotism are the most vital and necessary to the Socialist propaganda; and again let me say the REVIEW has the most thorough grasp on the needs of the movement of any publication in America. The comrades on the Pacific coast are strong for the I. S. L.

Yours for the Revolution,
W. G. H.

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Socialists in Gary, Ind., have organized a Local of eighteen members with Paul P. Glaser, Gary building, Gary, as their secretary. The Local plans to start a regular educational campaign and started a lecture course December 11th, with Secretary Glaser as their first speaker. Gary ought to be fruitful soil for the movement, and we believe our comrades there will be able to show great results if they carry out the big plans they have formed.

From **Sharon, Pennsylvania.**—It makes no difference how much or how little you have read on the question of Socialism, you should read "THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW." It has been styled "the fighting magazine of the Socialist movement." This is perhaps true, but the style and tone is such, that no one but a bigot can reasonably take offense at anything in it. It can be found on sale at all times at Alderman's cigar store, State street, Sharon, who reports that it sells equally as well as any other magazine on his stand, and he has perhaps the largest sale of magazines of any news stand in Sharon. It is also on sale at all Socialist meetings in Sharon.

Rochester, N. Y.—Here are my loyal greetings with my renewal for the constantly improving REVIEW. Although my hands are tied financially, I am with you body and soul to carry on the good work. I have not voted for anybody in the old robber parties since Grant and Colfax ran, and I am beginning to call myself one of the Old Socialists, and you may know how I glory in the strides the Cause has taken since those days. Yours for Socialism.—A. E. Murray.

The December Review is the BEST EVER. From Geo. Humberstone, of Toledo.

The Review Is Selling FINE.—I only got copies three days ago and am almost sold out. Send me 100 for January and 30 more of the December number. Find check to cover same enclosed—W. S. Holly, California.

C. J. Pickert, of Minnesota.—Mere words butter no parsnips; but I am almost as proud of the REVIEW as though I had had something to do in making it what it is.

C. E. Kline, Washington.—Here is another dollar for which extend my REVIEW subscription another year. The REVIEW is the only magazine in America worth taking. It gives the REAL NEWS.

W. W. Barden.—I have been successful in my efforts to persuade Local Union No. 151 to subscribe for 100 INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS each month.

Charles Drenk.—Our twelve-year-old comrade in Elkhart, writes ordering 20 copies of the December REVIEW early, and advising us that he was doing fine selling his bundle after school. We wish more of our young comrades would send for bundles to earn Christmas money or spending cash. Good for you Comrade Drenk. We hope you will keep at it and at it till you get all your friends and neighbors interested in Socialism.

Comrade M. E. Haskell of Boston writers: A capital issue—November, 1910; interesting, convincing, meaty—an almost incredible growth in readableness and richness within the past two years. Signed—A Proud Subscriber. Just you wait, Comrade Haskell, till we make the REVIEW what we are aiming for. Such post cards as yours make us determined to make the REVIEW the best magazine ever published.

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LOOKING FORWARD — By Philip Rappaport

Suggestive as Carpenter's book is, it must not be taken as a statement of the attitude of the Socialist Party on the sex question. This is explained in plain prose with forceful logic by Philip Rappaport, of Indianapolis, a party member. His work is a historical study explaining the status of women in history and the changes which the social revolution will make in the institution of marriage.

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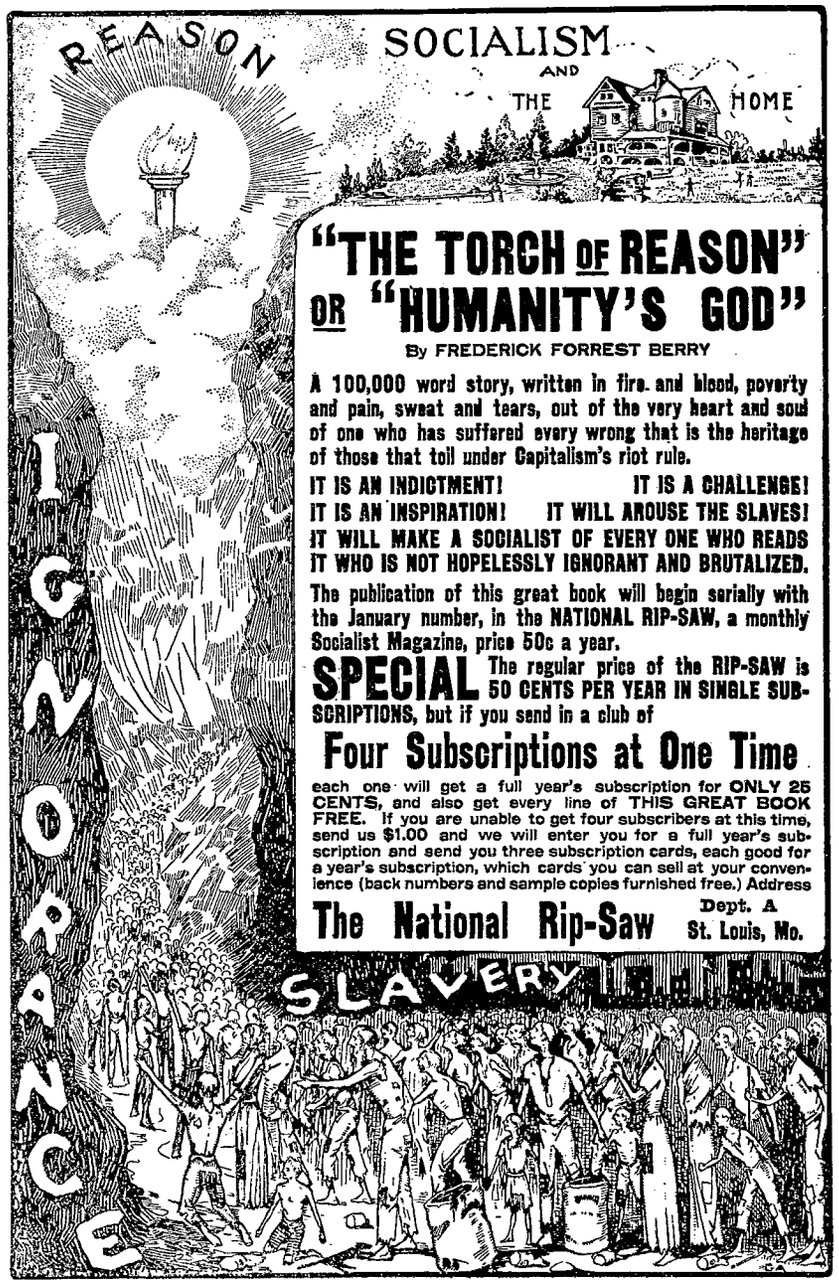
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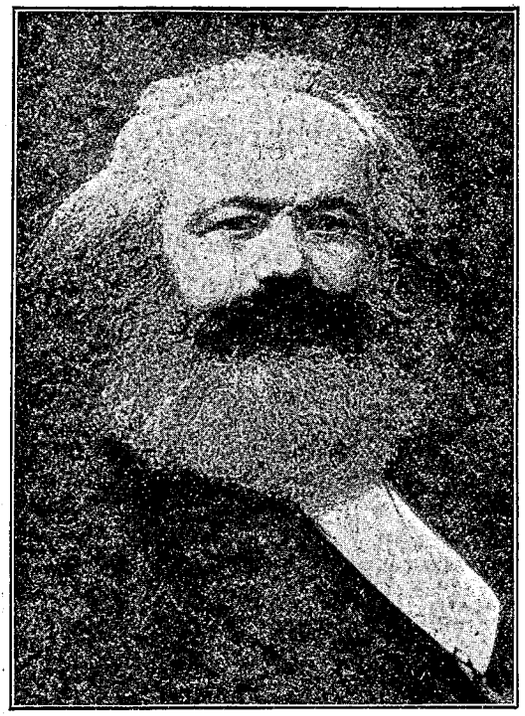
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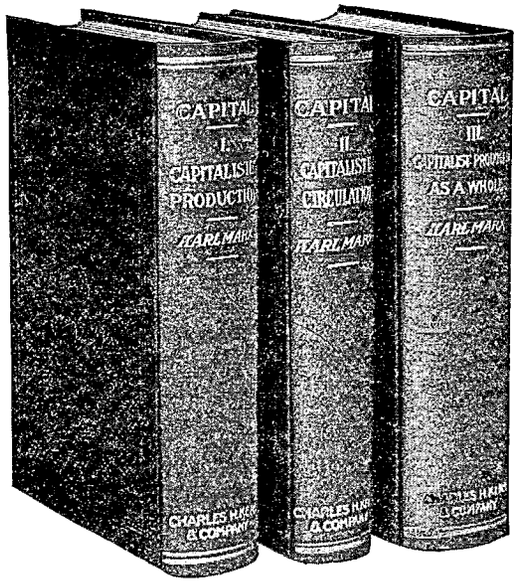


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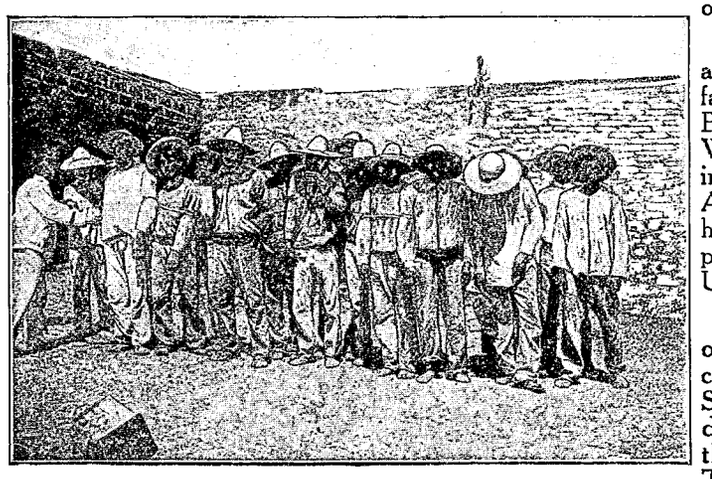
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Barbarous Mexico

Under this title the American Magazine began last year an exposure of the horrible slavery now existing in Mexico. Three articles by ***John Kenneth Turner*** full of astounding revelations were published in three successive months, and more were promised. Then without warning the publication of these articles was stopped.

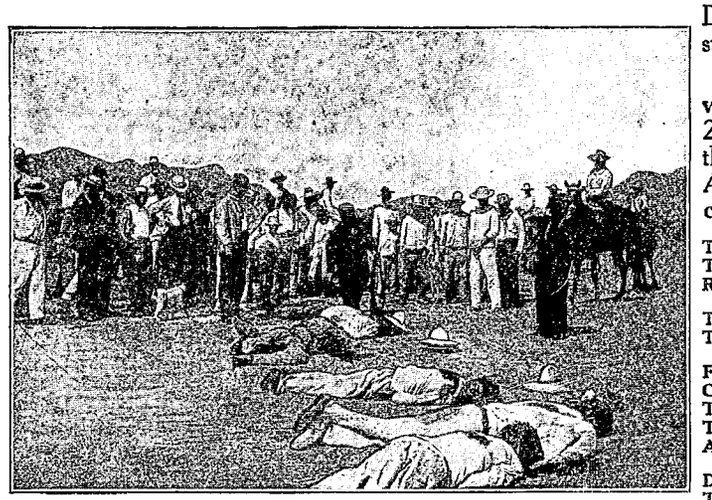


Mr. Turner attempted to find a capitalist publisher to bring his facts before the American people. But every door was closed to him. Whether by direct bribery or by indirect influence, Diaz and the American capitalists whose interests he serves control nearly every important channel of publicity in the United States.

But they do not control our co-operative publishing house. It is controlled by over two thousand Socialist workers, and we have undertaken to publish to the world the facts which John Kenneth Turner has unearthed and which Diaz and his friends are trying to suppress.

Barbarous Mexico, which we expect to publish November 25, will contain with some revision the articles which appeared in the American Magazine. It will also contain eleven new chapters:

The Country Peons and the City Poor.
The Diaz System.
Repressive Elements of the Diaz Machine.
The Crushing of Opposition Parties.
The Eighth Unanimous Election of President Diaz.
Four Mexican Strikes.
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The American Partners of Diaz.
American Persecution of the Enemies of Diaz.
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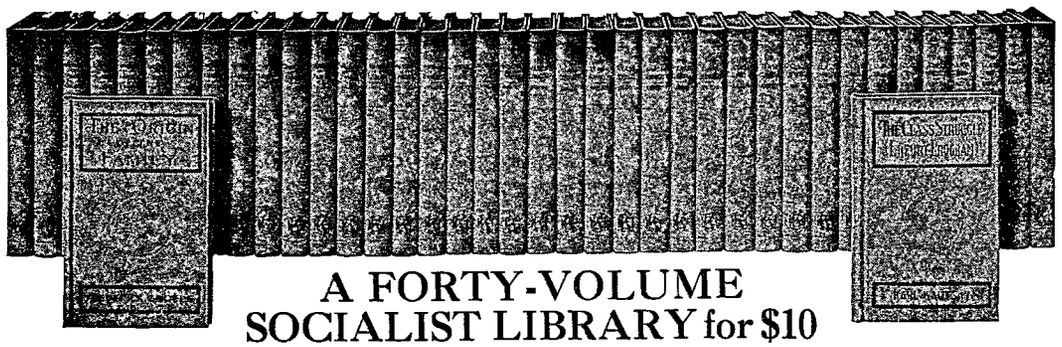


WHAT HAPPENS TO OPPONENTS OF DIAZ.

There will also be sixteen pages of engravings from photographs, many of them taken by the author during a prolonged tour of Mexico made for the purpose of learning the whole truth about that unhappy country. The book will be printed on extra book paper, handsomely bound in cloth with gold stamping, and the price, postage included, will be $1.50.

It is altogether probable that the larger booksellers of the United States will either refuse to sell the book or will keep it out of sight as much as possible. We must therefore depend mainly on socialists to push its sale. We will send three copies postpaid to one address for $3.00, six copies for $5.40, or 20 copies for $15.00, terms cash with order. Address

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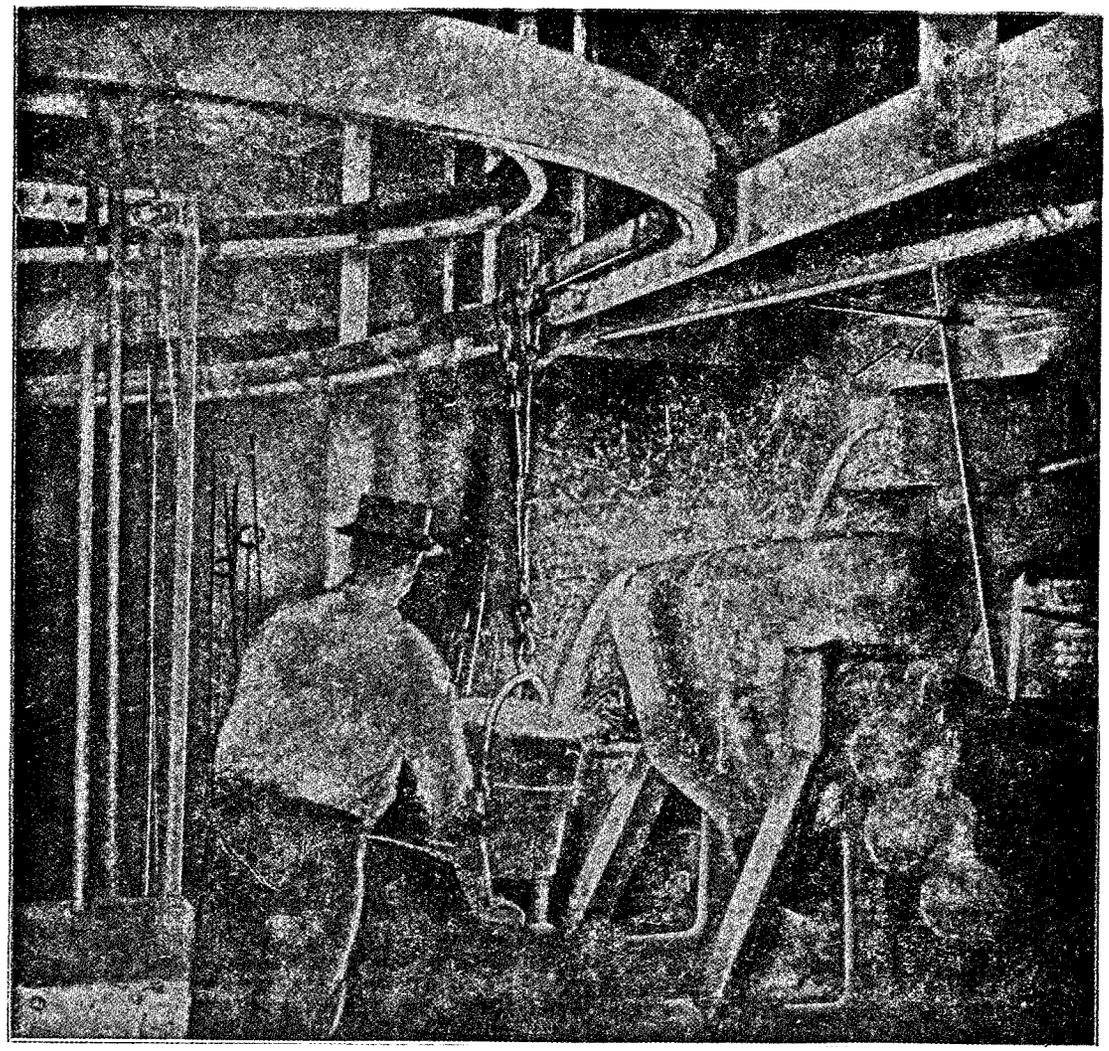
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FEBRUARY, 1911 PRICE TEN CENTS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE PASSING OF SKILLED LABOR AND CRAFT UNIONS
THE COMING OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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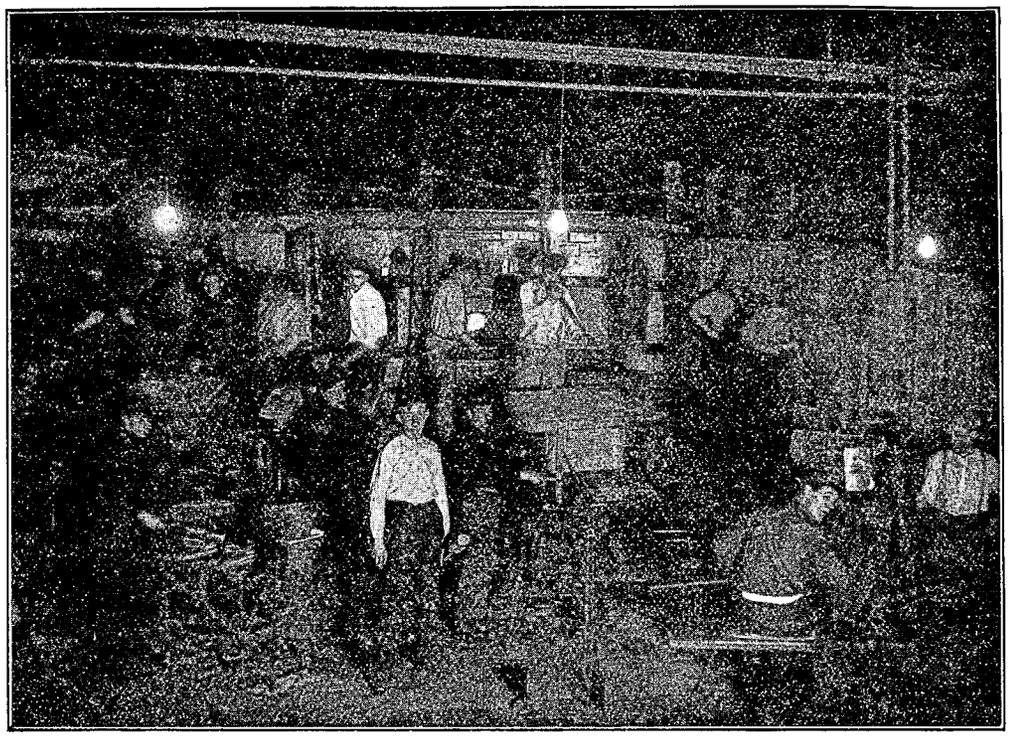
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI FEBRUARY, 1911 No. 8



WHERE MANY ARE EMPLOYED.

THE PASSING OF THE BOTTLE BLOWER

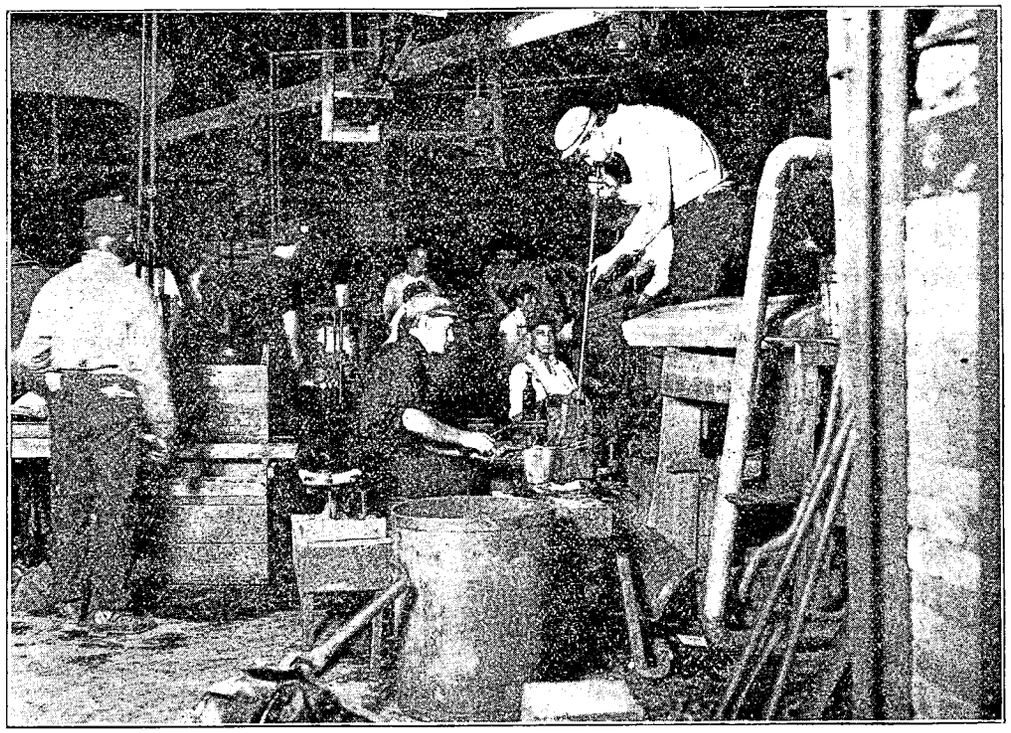
BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

MEMBER GLASS BOTTLE BLOWER'S UNION

MODERN machinery has become a tremendous factor making for ceaseless change in industrial processes and within industrial society. Out of this movement is evolving the new economic system that will solve forever the problem of the distribution of wealth.

People in general are not aware of the great changes in methods of production or of the revolutionary effects upon the minds of the workers. Society feels, in



THE OLD WAY—LUNG POWER.

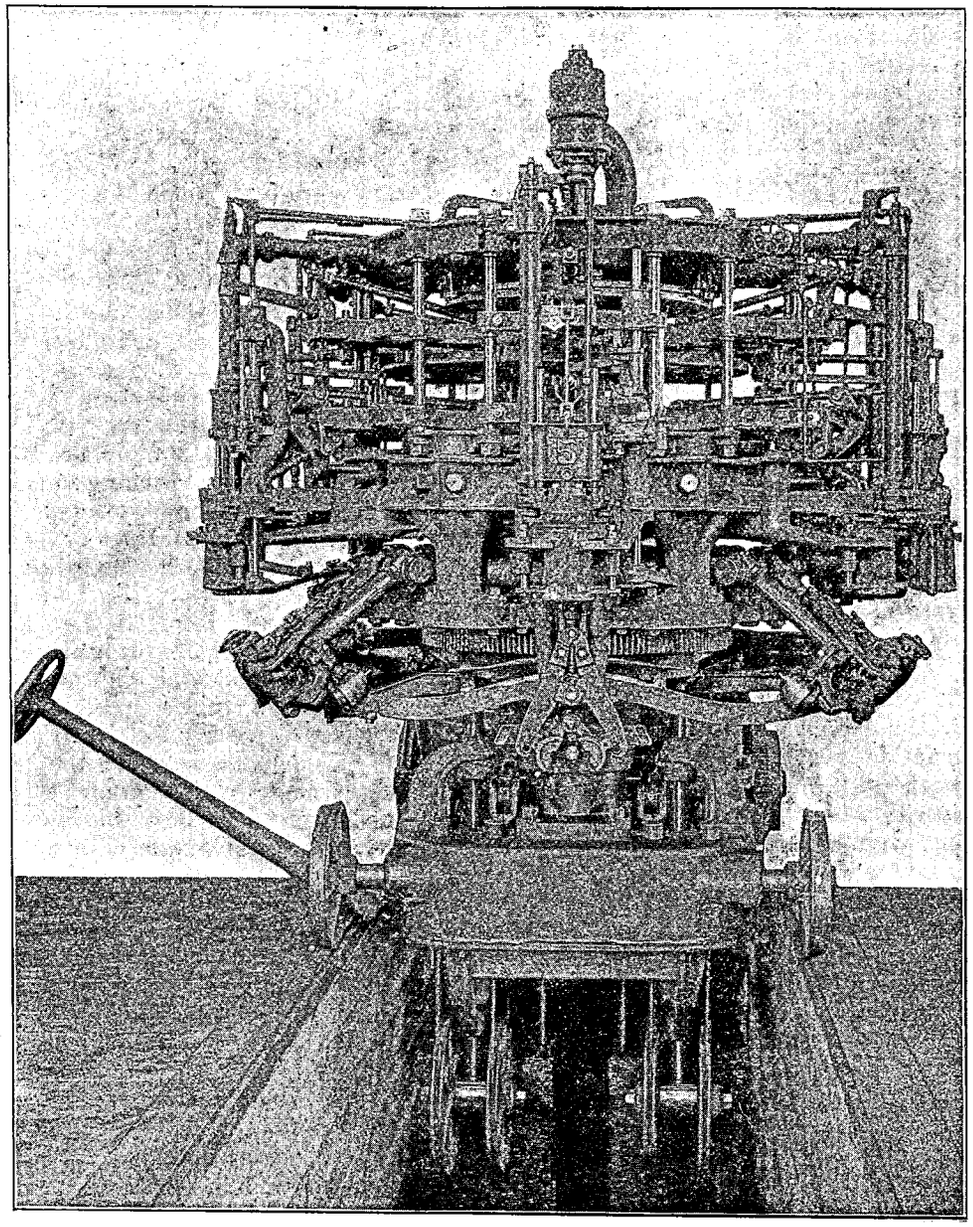
a sort of sub-conscious way, that machinery is making progress; but it is the particular groups of workers who have been displaced by the machinery, who have suddenly been compelled to face the fact that their means of livelihood has been taken from them, these men and women are keenly alive to the miracles of modern economic development.

Before machinery invades a particular trade, the workers within that group are, as a rule, indifferent to general machine progress and the inroads being made in other trades. But in these days of astonishingly rapid advance in labor saving devices, workers of every craft and calling are coming to realize that no trade is secure; no craft safe in possession of a profitable means of making a living. Among the workers then, it is no longer a debatable question, but a hard and stubborn fact: machinery is, even now, entering into every branch and department of production. Each year sees faster progress, more wonderful inventions. The automatic stage is being reached. It is no longer a matter of working out an idea that will accomplish a certain part of the production of an article; but to develop a machine that will, in itself, embody every necessary principle making possible the production of a finished article. Henceforth inventors will work toward the ideal, the automatic. We may look for leaps instead of slow growth. The advance will be by "mutations" rather than evolution, as it is commonly understood.

The glass bottle blower's trade is, at present, a fitting illustration of the foregoing. Within the last six years an automatic machine for producing narrow-neck ware has been invented and developed to such a degree that the companies using it now occupy a commanding position in the market. As a result, increasing numbers of skilled men are being displaced; thrown out upon a crowded labor market; compelled to swell the swollen ranks of the unskilled.

The machine, known as the Owens Automatic, was placed at work in 1904. It is the invention of Mr. M. J. Owens, of Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Owens was factory

manager for the Libby Glass Company from 1890. He was formerly a member of the American Flint Workers' Union, and worked at the trade. Previous to the invention of the Automatic, he had brought out the tumbler machine, the chimney machine, a device for drawing glass tubes, and the idea of pressing the blank shapes to be used in the cut glass trade. These inventions alone are enough to make the man famous. But the invention of the Automatic places him in the front rank of great American inventors. History will credit him with having made possible the application of the modern capitalistic methods to the glass bottle business.



THE NEW WAY—MACHINE POWER—ONE EXPERT TENDING.
Owen's Automatic Glass Blowing Machine.

The Owen's Automatic is indeed a marvel of mechanical ingenuity. To stand beside it, this creature of wheels and cogs, levers and valves, with a constitution of enduring iron; to see it revolve ceaselessly, tirelessly, needing no food, no rest, while from out of the maze of its motions a constant stream of perfect product flows, no human hand aiding, no brain directing, one is profoundly impressed. Here is the very acme of inventive genius. Here is the full fruition of the ideas, the aims, the hopes of inventors since that day, three thousand years ago, when the first waterwheel turned in ancient Greece. The old Greek poet who celebrated that invention in song, beheld with a seer's vision the dawning of a day when machinery would do the world's necessary work, and the race of mankind be freed from the slavery of toiling to gain only food, clothing and shelter.

Before the advent of the Automatic, the economic situation of the bottle blower was most desirable. For more than a generation he had been the "aristocrat" of the labor world. After the successful general strike of 1888, his union became very compact and powerful. With the increase of strength which came as a result of victory in the famous Jersey strike in 1899, and the accession of some 2,000 bottle blowers from the Flint union in 1902, the Green Glass Bottle Blowers' Association reached the zenith of its strength and power and the period of prosperity which followed was the greatest known in the history of the trade. No craft in America ever enjoyed better conditions. High wages, short hours, almost entire freedom from danger of accident, most excellent working rules, drawn up and enforced by the union, made this period indeed the halcyon days of the glass bottle trade. But those days are past never to return.

The strength of the union grew out of a set of circumstances peculiar to the bottle trade. The business was and is even today, in greater part, carried on by small companies, scattered over the country, located generally with regard to sources of raw material and fuel supply. The manufacturers, like all small business men, were intensely individualistic and fiercely competitive. Naturally, compact organization among them was practically impossible. Out of this weakness of the employers, the strength of the blowers' union developed, its greatest progress being made under the presidency of Dennis A. Hayes, who was elected president in 1896, and who still holds the office. The natural difficulty of learning the trade was an important factor in giving the union control. A glass blower is not produced in a few months. To learn the trade thoroughly, several years of application was necessary. Thus fortified the union was able to constantly improve the conditions of the bottle blowers. The greatest period of prosperity began with 1900 and lasted until 1907. During this stretch of years the business expanded until the demand for men considerably exceeded the supply. The ideal economic condition for labor under the capitalistic system was attained. "The job sought the man." Wages steadily rose, reaching the highest point in 1907. Fair workmen could make from $6.00 to $8.00 per day of 8½ hours. The speeders in Massillon and Newark, Ohio, Streator, Ill., and Terre Haute, Ind., made from $8.00 to $12.00 daily. The work was hard, heat intense, nervous strain great and night work unpleasant, but all this is true of other trades where men are poorly paid and ill-treated. Under the rules of the union, no glass is made in the summer months, July and August. Glass blowers look forward to this rest season with the keen anticipation of men who can afford a vacation and have the money to aid them in enjoying it. Working an eight or ten-month season, men earned from $1.200 to $3,000. This allowed a margin above a comfortable standard of living. Glass blowers live well, try to educate their children, give generously to every worthy cause and have no apology to make that they are not bondholders today when adversity has come upon them. A considerable number are fairly well off, probably as large a per cent as will be found among any other class earning the same amount of money yearly.



BOY WORKERS.

The splendid union gave the blowers protection and enabled them to get a large share of the value they produced, but it failed to develop in them an understanding of economic conditions.

And so, at the climax of prosperity, when in fancied security, the bottle blowers looked forward with confidence to even better advantages than they were then enjoying, the blow fell upon them. The machine was invented that has revolutionized the trade and in time will practically destroy it in large part.

We quote from latest news on the Owens machine:

"The machines are now being operated in Monterey, Mexico, a greater number in Germany, and one in Rio Janeiro, Brazil. The Owens Company has received application for the installation of a machine in Johannesberg, South Africa, and in Yokohama, Japan."

Machines were first installed in old style factories which had been fitted up with the patent Owen's revolving furnace. Later, a specially designed factory was built in Fairmont, W. Va. A description of this factory, making a contrast between the old and new systems, follows. This is also taken from the "American Flint," April, 1910:

"The factory now being erected at Fairmont, W. Va., which will be put in operation during July or August, will have a capacity of 2,000 gross of bottles a day. This plant will be a marvelous innovation and surpass the dreams of the most sanguine idealist. Under the present system of making glassware the raw materials are hauled from the mines to the factory and unloaded, mixed, and carried to the furnaces and placed there by the use of shovels in the hands of common labor. After the glass has been melted, it has been gathered from the furnace by skilled labor and manipulated by hand or semi-automatic machinery into bottles. The ware is then carried by boys into the annealing lehrs, and these have always been operated entirely by hand power.

"At the West Virginia plant all of this

labor, including the skilled, will be dispensed with. The factory is so constructed that the railroad cars are drawn up an incline 100 feet high, hoppers are suspended in a row and the railroad cars pass right over the tops of same. The sand, lime, soda, and broken glass is mechanically removed from the railroad cars and placed in the hoppers. On the lower end of these hoppers is a measuring spout. By the use of a plurality of valves the quantity of sand, lime, soda and broken glass is measured and put into a traveling mixer beneath the spouts of the hoppers. A man sits on this traveling mixer and mechanically manipulates the movement of same. After the mixer has passed under the spouts of the different hoppers and received the quantities of sand, lime, soda and broken glass sufficient to make up a batch, the mixing car is started by him for the furnace room, traveling over the tops of the furnaces. The mixer revolves, which properly mixes the batch, and when it reaches the first furnace, a disc is removed from the cap of the furnace and the hopper lowered through the cap of the furnace, the material passes from this hopper into the furnace where the melting takes place. The hopper is then elevated and the disc placed to cover the hole in the cap of the furnace, and the man returns to the batch house in order to repeat the operation for the second furnace. As the batch becomes melted, it flows by gravity into the revolving furnace used by the Owens process for making bottles.

The machine sucks the glass from the furnace through the bottom of the blank mould, forms the blank, transfers the blank from the blank mould to the blow mould, and by compressed air, expands it into a finished article, glazes the top, the lehrs being part of the machine, anneals the bottle and dumps it out at the exit end of the annealing lehr at which point the wares are selected and placed in crates ready for shipment. The machine has been started to work producing at as high a rate as 23 a minute at 6 a. m. Monday and kept in continuous operation until the following Saturday midnight. Moulds are changed and the machine oiled while in continuous operation.

"An extraordinary revelation connected with this mechanical wonder is that at the Fairmont factory it will not be necessary to touch the raw materials, or wares, from the time the raw material leaves the mines until the selector passes judgment on the ware at the annealing end of the lehr and places it in boxes ready for shipment.

"To give you an idea of the revolutionizing effect of this machine in the cost of production, will state that it is reliably estimated that at Streator, Ill., with a shop of three blowers and the necessary small help making pint beer bottles, and under a 20% reduction in wages, that shop labor cost is approximately $1.15 a gross. By the use of a six-arm machine for making pint beers the labor cost is 11 cents a gross. In Toledo where a ten-arm machine is used for making pint catsup bottles the total labor cost is 4½ cents a gross, and it is expected to reduce the Toledo cost when the Fairmont, W. Va., plant is placed in successful operation."

At this writing, the Fairmont factory is operating. The new style of factory, like the machine, requires but few men to keep it in operation.

The trustification of the glass bottle business is now possible. Before the appearance of the Automatic, the bottle blower, through his strong union, was able to demand and get such a large share of the wealth produced that the profits left to the manufacturer were not large enough to attract men with the genius for trust organization. Then too, the difficulty of organizing the small manufacturer made combination impossible. But now the human labor is thrown out and capital will feel perfectly safe. Permanent investment of capital to any amount can be made with certainty of large return. In no department of industry is the prospect so inviting. There are strong reasons for believing that the foundations for one of the world's greatest trusts are now being laid. The Owens Machine Company leases its machines on a royalty per gross of bottles made. The bottle business is divided according to different kinds of

ware. The practice of leasing the machine only to big firms having large capitalization has been carefully followed. The first company to use the machine was the Ohio Bottle Company, formed in 1904. This company was made up of Reed & Co. and the Pocock Company, both of Massillon, Ohio, and the Everett Glass Company of Newark, Ohio. The next year this corporation merged with Anheuser-Busch with two big plants at St. Louis and Belleville, and the Streator Glass Company, Streator, Ill. This company makes beers, soda and brandy bottles. The famous Ball Brothers, of Indiana, leased the right to make fruit jars. The Thatcher Milk Bottle Company, with factories in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois, has the rights on milk jars. The great Alton Glass Company, Alton, Ill., the Whitney Glass Company of Glassboro, N. J., and the Chas. Bolt Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Muncie, Ind., with the Heinz Pickle Company of "57 variety" fame, are all companies with plenty of capital. The significant thing is that these companies are not engaged in competing with each other, with the product of the machine. The import of this will appear later. These companies are well located geographically, a fact which is of much importance if a trust is to be organized. The Owens Company reserves the right to enter the producing field also, and is now operating two plants and selling the product in the general market. It is safe to say that an understanding exists, as to price, between the Owens and other companies. With the Owens Company owning the machines and gaining experience as a glass bottle producing concern also, profits are sure to be immense and combination inevitable.

The large number of small manufacturers, now struggling in an anarchy of competition, are doomed. There is absolutely no future for them. Even should they be able to beat wages down lower than at present (it should be stated that wages were reduced 20% in 1908, and the



MIXING BY HAND.

Owens Company promptly reduced royalties 37%), the Owens people will do as in 1908, reduce royalties even below the hand scale. This would leave the small fellows no better off. The little fellows cannot combine, even though they were able to put aside their intense individualism.

The coming combination in the glass trade will be outside the operation of the Sherman laws. Its activities will be entirely "legitimate." Its component parts can claim economy as a reason for combination. With each of the big firms making a different line of ware on the machine, the cry of "restraint of trade" cannot be raised. The glass trust will be what Teddy used to call "a good trust." There will be no occasion for the government to repeat the nice little joke it recently played on the Imperial Window Glass Company. Everything points to combination in the glass business. Perhaps, in time, it will embrace the entire field of glass production, bottle, window, tableware and all other lines. There is an immense field before it. Doubtless the glass trust of the future will rival the Standard Oil.

To the student of economics, the introduction of an epoch marking invention like the Owens Automatic and the capitalistic development which is following, affords an interesting subject for observation. The whole process of capitalistic development of an industry is passing in review before him. He sees the entry of the machine, the expropriation of the workers' means of living, the rise of the trust, the domination of the market, the elimination of the small producer and the expansion of the trust perhaps into an international power.

An interesting feature of the activities of the Owens Company is the introduction of the machine in undeveloped countries. It is significant of the tendency of modern capitalism to rise full blossomed in the backward nations. Development will be very rapid, because the most highly advanced engines of production will be utilized. Taken in connection with the cheap labor of those countries, the classical lands of capitalism will soon be face to face with a competition which cannot be met. And all this will hasten the time when the great change will have to come.

True, most of this development is in the future, but these are the tendencies. Glass blowers who can find jobs are still profitably employed; small plants are still making money; small capitalists are even building new factories. But were they not eating and drinking and making merry before the deluge? Even so today.

The Beginning of the End.

Automatic machinery is the fruit of the final triumph of the race over the forces of nature. Man has become a creator of a being almost as wonderful as himself; a being which will labor without ceasing, without complaining. This new phase of industrial civilization confounds all the capitalist economists. All their smug philosophy with regard to the relations between Capital and Labor become as "sounding brass." What now becomes of the stock answer they were wont to give to the working man's complaint? "Capital set free by reorganization and labor set free by industrial development, will, in a free market, unite and develop new industries." The machine instead of man will be used by the capitalist. With the day in sight when machinery will be doing the greater part in production, while the workers will be idle, who will purchase the product of the machines? Face to face with this problem, the capitalist economist becomes a discredited counselor. The working class alone can solve this problem.

When in retrospection the economic history of the race is passed it will be a wonderful story. Behold man the savage in his home in the primal forests, most of his needs supplied to him by nature. His existence was no more a burden to him than is that of the bird. See him again, when pressed out of his primitive abode by ever increasing numbers, he is forced to seek a better means of food supply. He begins to invent crude tools and discovers the arts of agriculture and manufacturing. Necessity drives him as a taskmaster. He has never been a willing doer. Even though he has labored hard and builded wondrously, yet his aspirations have been toward a state of existence where the weary would rest and the toil-laden be relieved of their burden. All his efforts in his upward journey have been towards the creation of tools, which producing the means of life for him, would permit him to live again, as in his earlier history, without constant toil. The way of the journey has been a rough one; the hindrances mighty, and myriads of men through the uncounted centuries have toiled and suffered and discovered and died, leaving the final consummation to the men of today.

And now the mighty work is almost finished. All the important forces of nature have been harnessed to provide power. The machine which can produce without human labor is here. The principle is being applied in every department of industry and as the processes are simplified by subdivision, will perform almost every part of the process of production. There remains but one step more and the goal of economic endeavor is reached and the race made free. Again, as in the beginning, necessity is the driving force. The mass of men made jobless by machinery are facing the age-old question: "What shall we do for food?"

Until this question is answered, further social progress is imposible. Civilization is marking time, gathering power for the next leap. From the working class must come the action that will let loose this power. The machinery must become the property of the workers.

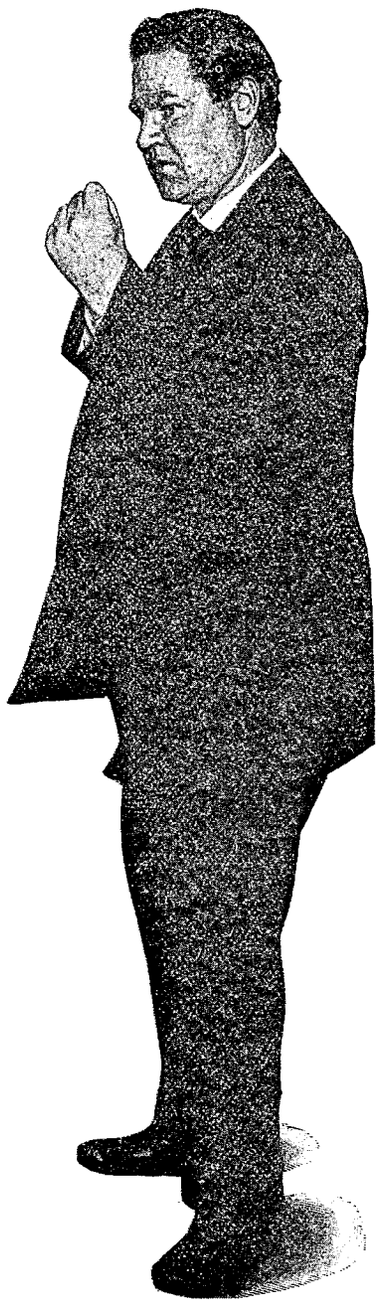
So the glass blower is passing to join the army of outcast workers. A multitude precedes him; a multitude follows—but not to despair. Necessity is compelling; education is preparing and hope is beckoning them to unite and overthrow the capitalist system.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers, they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.—Eugene V. Debs, in Revolutionary Unionism.

PICK AND SHOVEL POINTERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



AGREEMENTS with capitalists are the death warrants of labor.

There can be no closed shop as long as the boss has the keys.

There is no chivalry in the work shop. Capitalism compels sex equality.

Every new invention of machinery makes the journeyman of today the apprentice of tomorrow.

Trade unionists keep men out of the union and then wonder why the Manufacturers' Association can get scabs.

Labor organizations should be free to fight for their class interests at all times.

You recognize this fist as a fighting weapon. It is made up of five members, five organizations. They can all work independently when necessary but when called upon can become a united force.

Suppose one of them is tied up with an agreement—a white rag—for a year or more. What becomes of it? It will wither and decay. And what is true of this finger is true of a labor organization. It is useless to itself and stands in the way of its fellows.

An agreement between the capitalist class and the working class is an unholy alliance, and when entered into by any body of workingmen it removes them from their class and the class struggle and makes them auxiliaries of the enemy of labor.

When the soldier enlists he enters into an agreement to fight the battles of the capitalist class and shoot down his fellow workers. When the trade unionists sign an agreement with the capitalist class, they likewise enlist to furnish the soldiers with guns, with food and with clothing. They are the enlisted men behind the man behind the gun.

THE FIGHTING WELSH MINERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



All the king's horses,
And all the king's men
Couldn't put the agreement
Together again.

THE miners of Aberdare and Rhonda valleys in South Wales are still on strike. There are over 25,000 men involved in spite of an agreement signed last April to run for a period of five years.

The trouble started with eighty men working in the Ely pit of the Cambrian Coal Company. These men were unable to make living wages under the condition that prevailed; some of them found themselves in debt to the company when pay day rolled around so they went on strike, demanding better conditions and more pay for abnormal places. The company, to retaliate, proceeded to lock out 800 other men employed in the same mine, announcing their intention to keep all out until the eighty strikers went back to work.

The matter was taken up by the Miners' Federation of South Wales. There was vigorous discussion and demands for a general strike, the officials of the organization throwing all their influence in the balance against the general strike. It was finally agreed to submit two propositions to the membership, namely, a general strike of the South Wales coal fields; second, a strike of all men employed by the Cambrian company. The latter carried and November 1, 1910, 12,000 men laid down their tools. The following ringing resolution was adopted:

"That the tyrannical action of the Cambrian Combine in locking out a body of our fellow workmen to endeavor, through their sufferings, to enforce an unfair price list upon their workmen must be resisted at all costs. We therefore pledge ourselves to be faithful to the decision of the Federation ballot and re-

fuse to work for this combine until a fair price list is settled for the Ely workmen, or our 800 fellow workmen who are not affected are reinstated in their employment."

So serious was the situation becoming that the Cambrian Co. converted their wagon shed into temporary stables, intending to take all the horses from the mines without delay.

Seven thousand men of the Powell-Duffryn pit struck in defiance of the agreement, one of the chief grievances being the discharge of old men. The company claimed it was necessary to dispense with the aged men in view of the Compensation Act, the reason, of course, being that the old men, not so active and alert, were more liable to accident or death.

The growing sentiment for a general strike gave the conservative miners leaders a cold sweat; they issued the following wail:

"Fellow-workmen,—Having seen it reported in the press today that there is a desire by the workmen of the Powell-Duffryn pit, Aberdare, that the whole of the miners of South Wales should join them in stopping work, we feel it incumbent upon us as the chief officials of your Federation to urge upon you not to be parties to an attempt to redress a grievance by this irregular method of bringing about a general stoppage of the collieries, which, under any condition, can only be successful after carefully thought out and proper organization and control. In doing this we are acting in accordance with your instructions recently declared in a ballot vote, when by an overwhelming majority you declared against a general stoppage of the collieries in the South Wales district at the present juncture.

We also ask you to seriously consider the situation. There is not the remotest chance of a proposition, as suggested, for a general stoppage of the whole collieries of the United Kingdom having one moment's consideration at the Miners' Federation of Great Britain conference. They have had no opportunity of discussing the merits of the grievances complained of by the Powell-Duffryn workmen, and we cannot at present offer any opinion upon their action in stopping work, and in the interests of the whole members of the Federation, including the Powell-Duffryn men and especially the 12,000 Cambrian Combine workmen, the 3,000 Cwmtillery and Roseheyworth workmen, and the Rhosilly and Gelli workmen, who are at present on our funds and whom we are obliged to support, we urge upon the members of this Federation to refuse to consider any proposals for a general stoppage, which if entered upon in such a sudden unconstitutional manner must end disastrously for all concerned.

(Signed)

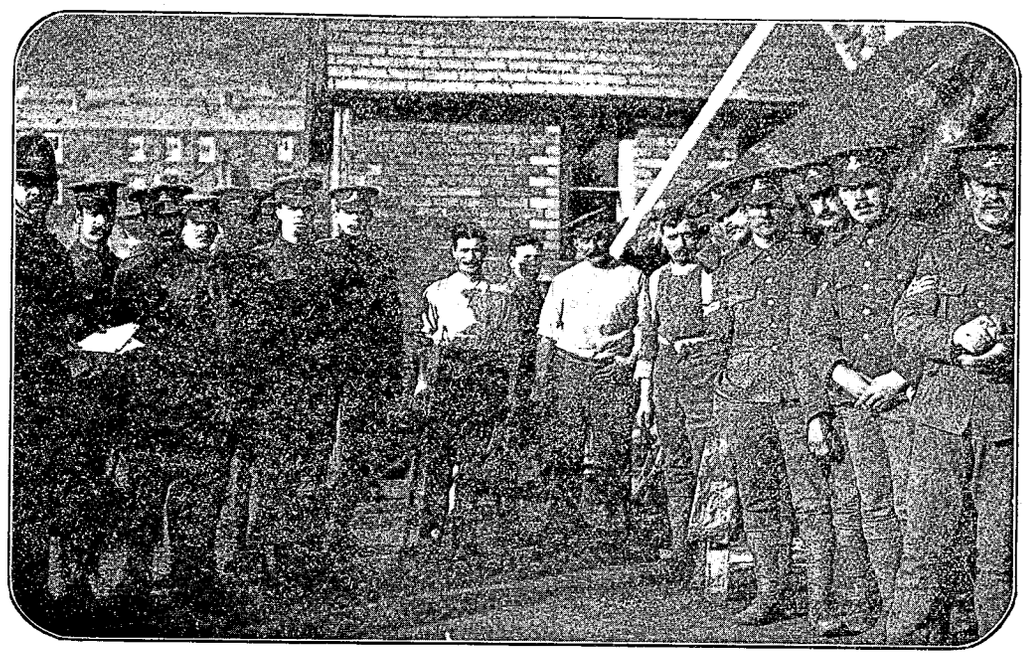
W. Abraham, M. P., President.
Thomas Richards, M. P., Gen. Secy.
Alfred Onions, Treasurer."

This statement coming at a critical period had the desired result of weakening some of the men; it also strengthened the mining companies in their determination to keep up the lock-out and a threat was made to extend it to other mines.

The Cambrian Co. felt secure in their position. The Coal Owners' Association would indemnify them to the amount of their average output when running full blast. The company's only concern would be to keep their property in working shape, and await the inevitable day when the miners would be compelled to return to barter their labor-power.

It had always been so. The company knew their men or thought they did. During previous strikes they had been peaceable and law-abiding, starving contentedly. The extent of protest being great mass meetings, the men gathering on the council grounds of the ancient Druids at Pontypridd. There among the stones erected in olden days, in the shadow of the historic rocking stone, their leaders would speak to them, extolling the virtues of the master. "Mabon" would sing in wonderfully sweet Welsh notes "The Land of My Fathers." Resolutions were passed. Sacred hymns from a thousand singers would reverberate through hills and valleys, the miners would tighten their belts and sad-eyed mothers and hungry babies would wish the terrible strike was over.

This strike had a different beginning. There was a rod in pickle for Manager Llewellyn of the Cambrian that he had not dreamed of. The first morning of the strike a strong detail of pickets were thrown around the pit. It was their duty



POLICE AND SOLDIERS GUARDING CAMBRIAN COLLIERY.

to see that no one went to work, the "engine winders," stokers, pumpmen and electricians were turned back, the office force was allowed to go on the property only upon promise that they would not touch the machinery or do other than their own work. Manager Llewellyn hollered "police!" And they came on the first train from Bristol, from London and Cardiff. The hotels of Llynapia and Tonypandy were filled to overflowing; the blue-coats established a temporary barracks in the skating rink; they organized in shifts and guarded the Cambrian Company's property faithfully night and day; but they couldn't run the pumps.

One crew had worked thirty-six hours; the water in the mine was getting the best of them; a little while longer and the pumps would be "drowned." There were more than 300 head of horses in the mine.

Llewellyn and the office force, under police protection, took a turn at firing the boilers. Next morning, in a drizzling rain, an army of bread-winners poured out of the rows of stone houses. Several thousand strong they marched on the Cambrian Colliery. The police were called into action; all reserves were added to the forces. The miners never hesitated; they charged the ramparts of the blue-coats; they tore down fences and brick walls for weapons; they stormed the colliery again and again. When beaten back they tried the strategic move of marching back to town, thinking the police would follow. But the police did not follow the crowd, nor was there a preserver of the peace on hand when some of the more reckless broke windows of the shops along the main street of Tonypandy..

One shop keeper who had made himself particularly odious to the miners by saying that "bloaters were good enough for miners," found his place of business completely demolished and ransacked. This rowdyism was no part of the general program of the organization. The chief desire being to close down the mines and close them tight as a means of bringing the company's officials to their senses and speedily ending the strike, which, if allowed to drag on, would cause unnecessary suffering among the miners' families, it is always the helpless ones who first feel the agony of industrial warfare.

Realizing the stern purpose of the miners, the mine officials yelled for their soldiers. The cry went up, "Save the

horses." King George sent a telegram to Llewellyn asking, "Are the horses safe?" The book-keepers and stenographers went down to feed the horses; the ponies were hungry and whinnied, which badly scared the white-handed bunch. When the fact was made public that the horses had been fed, the Society for the Protection of Animals sent Llewellyn and staff each a gold medal more or less suitably inscribed.

The English press was filled with news stories and editorials condemning the violence of the Welsh strikers. Most of them were painfully exaggerated. Here is a story, more like the truth, told by one who was there:

"I had been with two friends to the Market Hall to hear Haywood of America, and on the way home we met the police on their way to Aberdare. Reaching the Plough Inn, Aberaman, we noticed two policemen on foot, one Glamorgan and one Metropolitan, *chatting with a number of young men,* which shows how dangerous the crowd were, and a number of young men and women staring and chaffing four mounted policemen who had been left behind the main body gone to Aberdare. In about two minutes the main body returned, the people standing around watching them coming (we are not accustomed to see mounted police in our streets).

"To everybody's dismay, without provocation or warning whatever, the order was given, 'Left wheel, Charge,' and the police charged the inoffensive crowd of about 80 and drove them into the doorways, the heads of the horses were even inside the doorways. The people could not get away quick enough for the person in command. He kept on urging and shouting to his men: 'Go on, Go on, Get at them,' etc. I picked up one lad that had stumbled and fallen, and told him to stand on his feet, for the either drunken or fiendish brutes would have no scruples in trampling upon people, judging by their actions.

"After they had had their fill of this wantonness, they went down towards the Institute, where I had again to take refuge in a doorway. The police here charged the crowd twice, crowding the people into doorways and corners. The screams of the women and children were awful, and it was maddening to the men that they were unable to stop it (for they were not out for a row). I went home for fear of getting into mischief, and I am thankful the foot police did not say things to me they said to some men as they were crossing the road to go home.

"The police must have thought they were out 'pig-sticking.' The police say now that there was a demonstration of about 400 people coming down the street singing and shouting.

"It is a lie."

The scene described occurred at Aberaman, a short distance from the Powell-Duffryn colliery. This company had erected a barb wire stockade, electrified the wires with a heavy current, and had entrenched a strong force of police in the works. Food and plenty of liquor was furnished them.

A crowd of strikers marching toward the pit were attacked by the blood-thirsty, whisky-frenzied officers who backed the crowd of workers, men, women and children, into a canal, striking and beating them as they fell into the water, breaking the heads of some who were struggling to keep from drowning. Others who escaped ran into the live wires and were nearly electrocuted. Still the miners would have outmatched the police but for the arrival of soldiers with shoot-to-kill orders.

But no telegrams for the suffering workers were ever received from His Majesty. And the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals never once lifted its voice.

In this class war the men on strike in violation of agreement, receive but meagre support. The regular strikers get but $2.50 a week, with 25 cents added for wife and each child. This is the uneven battle of empty stomachs against the power of plenty.

On the workers' side there are no leaders worthy of the name. With the probable exception of C. B. Stanton, none that they would not be a thousand times better off without. Advisers, yes; there are some comrades who have burned the daylight to exist, and burned the midnight oil to learn how to live; thoughtful, courageous, untiring workers, sowing the seed of class consciousness. Evidence of their work is the present spirit of solidarity in Wales, which is spreading to other parts of Great Britain.

The need of industrial unionism appeals to workers of all kinds.



THOUSANDS OF MEN POURED OUT OF THE ROWS OF STONE HOUSES.

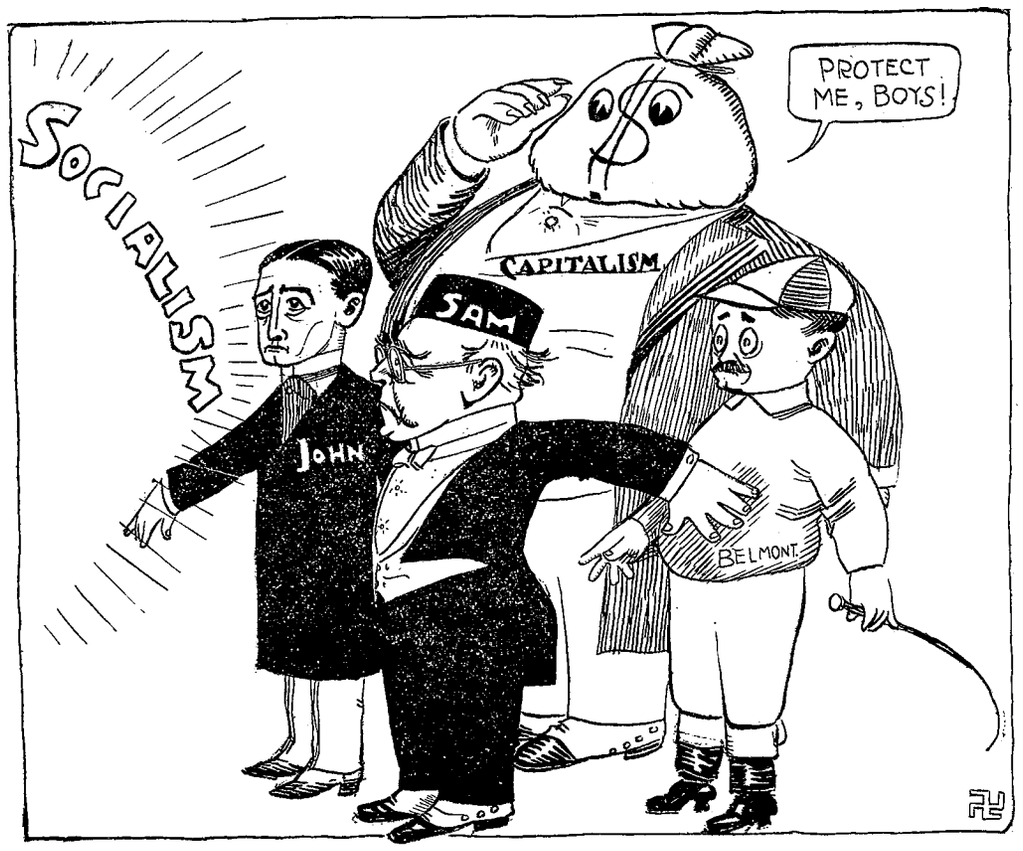


Having been in the heart of the strike region of South Wales, in touch with these militant elements of the miners' federation, living under the same roof, eating at the same table, having met and spoken to thousands of the rank and file, keeping a sympathetic finger on the Celtic pulse of these people, knowing something of their aims and aspirations, I have been able to get at the sap-root of the discontent. *It is the agreement,* which is now looked upon as a bond of penal servitude.

There are no terms vigorous enough to condemn the policy of agreements between employers and factions of th working class.

None but traitors to their class w foster or advise such relationship. abnormal, rendering the agreement-bound men useless as factors in the class struglei and often making them active participants AGAINST their own class and more effective tools of capitalism than police or military force.

The fight of the Welsh miners is against ignorant, incompetent officials and to abolish the agreement.



LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE RICH.

THE CRIME OF CRAFT UNIONISM

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

BETWEEN the trade union and the working class union there is all the difference there is between unity and division, progress and reaction, victory and defeat, The trade union is outgrown and its survival is an unmitigated evil to the working class. The concentration of industry forces the concentration of the workers, and but for the trade unions which resist this tendency they would be united within a class union that would fight their battles with all the advantages possible in the existing system. But the trade unions hold out against the unification of the workers notwithstanding the multiplying evidences that craft unionism is not only impotent, but a crime against the workers.

The reason for this is not hard to find. Craft unionism is backed by the ruling capitalists for the very purpose of preventing the workers from uniting in a class organization. Morgan's Civic Federation is sufficient evidence of this fact. Another reason is that an army of officials, big and little, are drawing salaries from the trade union movement. These salaries amount to millions of dollars each year. In addition to these salaries there are graft and pickings without end. The Morganized capitalist monopolists and the army of official salary drawers account for the ability of trade unionism to withstand the forces of evolution. It is to be added that the leaders of craft unionism, like the members of the President's Cabinet, graduate into high official position prepared for them by their masters. Mitchell, Morrissey and O'Keefe are shining examples in a long list of such graduations.

If there were no other proof that craft unionism is an unmitigated curse to the workers in this age of concentration of all things—except organized labor alone—the proceedings of a convention of the American Federation of Labor, devoted mainly to preventing the unification of the workers by vain attempts to maintain trade jurisdictions, would be entirely sufficient.

In this writing I propose to show by indisputable proof that craft division is a crime against the working class. At Buffalo, N. Y., four union men lie in jail, the victims of craft division, and unless the workers of that city take their cases in hand at once and staunchly back them up they will be railroaded to the penitentiary for a long term of years.

These four union men, Robert Cochrane, Joseph Meyers, Harry Millan and John Norton, are members of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They have been engaged in the strike of the Lake Seamen's Union, with which they are also affiliated, against the Lake Carriers' Association, which is only a thin disguise for the steel trust. This strike has been in progress for more than two years and has cost this one union alone nearly $200,000, its treasury being now empty and the resources of its members exhausted, with defeat staring them in the face. More than a score of good union men, members of the same craft union, have been assassinated during this strike by the detectives and hirelings of the Steel Trust, alias the Lake Carriers' Association. These private murderers of the Steel Trust are, of course, backed up by the authorities and their word is taken in preference to that of honest workingmen. The cold-blooded murder of union men is promptly followed by the acquittal of the hired hessians who murdered them, while other union men, innocent of crime, are thrown into jail

upon a trumped-up charge and sent to the penitentiary as victims of craft unionism.

Let me quote from a letter received some time ago from one of the union men engaged in this strike:

"We have been persecuted all over the lakes by the police of all the lake cities and by an army of special detectives. Seven members of the union have been shot down like dogs in the streets of the different lake ports and no redress could be obtained from the authorities. In each instance the assassin was promptly released. Two of our members have quite recently been shot down, instantly killed, by one of these detectives, in as cold-blooded a murder as was ever committed."

This is only a brief quotation from one of the numerous letters and reports before me, detailing the numberless outrages and crimes of which these craft unionists have been the victims in their struggle of over two years against the Steel Trust.

The point I wish to make and drive home with all the force I can is that it is the rank and file, the common workers, who are always the victims of craft unionism. They have to do the picketing, go up against the guns, and be shot down like dogs by the mercenary hirelings of the corporations, while their leaders drink champagne wine at Civic Federation banquets as the guests of the plutocratic owners of these same corporations.

It is not Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell who have to do the picketing and furnish the targets for the bullets of the corporation detectives. They never take any risks. They are never at the front. Gompers has never been in a battle in all his life. He lacks the courage to stand at the front. He is always safely in the rear. The misguided craft unionists who pay his salary are his bullet-stoppers. He is always the champion of craft unionism, but never its victim. The salary he draws is at the price of the craft unionists who are slain.

Every corpse of a union man shot dead in such a fight as that of the Marine Firemen bears ghastly testimony to the crime of craft unionism. If Gompers and the rest of the leaders believe in it and are honest let them furnish the corpses as well as draw the salaries.

But it is those who are foremost in advocating it who are hindmost in fighting its hopeless and disastrous battles.

Let us examine the situation just a moment. Here is Morgan and his Steel Trust, who have crushed the Steel and Tin Plate Workers' Union until only the shell is left, the shell of craft unionism, and are now crushing the Marine Firemen and other unions connected with the Lake Seamen and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. These craft unions are all but annihilated, as others without number have been before them. Their treasuries are bankrupt, their members impoverished and out of jobs, and about all there remains is the charter on the wall to remind them that they owe what has come to them to craft unionism. And while these poor devils are facing the automatic revolvers of the detectives and having their heads beaten into pulp by the police, and while their families are being evicted for non-payment of rent and their children are suffering for bread, their grand leaders are banqueting with the plutocratic lords and dames under the prostituted auspices of the Civic Federation of Labor, making merry over the beatitudes that flow from the brotherhood of capital and labor, and glorifying the marvelous triumphs of trade unionism in the United States.

It is in the name of the rank and file that I write. I care nothing about the leaders. About all they are good for is to keep the workers divided. At conventions they exploit themselves, grow jealous of each other, and to maintain their petty leadership rend organized labor into factions and keep the workers at each others' throats.

All about us are the evidences of decaying craft unionism in spite of the powerful influences that are propping it up. The workers themselves are beginning to see it. They realize that the forces of capital are united against them and that their craft divisions make them an easy prey to the enemy.

The strike of the garment workers at Chicago is almost sufficient to open the eyes of the dead. The strike of the nine thousand cigar makers at Tampa is another frightful object lesson. Here union men have been lynched, deported, marooned, slugged and outraged in every conceivable way, and all because of the impotency and treachery of craft unionism.

The strike of the Resistencia at Tampa some years ago may be recalled in the present strike, where the same outrages are being repeated and the same rank and file furnishing the victims. The strike of the Resistencia followed a series of meetings I addressed at Tampa and the papers charged that it was due to my agitation. The strikers, who were Cubans, struck as bravely as ever men did under the flag of a craft union, and they would have won without a doubt had not the members of the cigar makers' union, another craft union, allowed themselves to be used by the manufacturers to crush the strikers. The present strike is an echo of that strike and the treachery of craft unionism is bearing its usual fruit. Of course, I am with the nine thousand striking cigar makers at Tampa, as I was with the Resistencia, and I want them to win and will help them in any way in my power, regardless of the past, but I insist that they shall profit by its appalling lessons.

Only a few days ago, after a prolonged strike on the Missouri Pacific, the Machinists' union surrendered after being completely beaten by the other craft unions, whose members were all diligently at work all around the scab machinists, helping the railroad company faithfully, under their time contracts, to crush their own fellow workers. The leaders are as usual making the claim that it was not a complete defeat since the company allowed them what it had originally offered and against which they went out on strike.

It takes very little to constitute a victory for a craft union leader. To admit defeat is a menace to his job and his salary. He is therefore compelled to make out a victory and the capitalist papers usually support his claim. The "magnificent victory" of John Mitchell in the Anthracite, which made him "the greatest labor leader the world has ever known," and which was so fulsomely lauded by the capitalist press, is written in the desolation of many a miner's cabin and in the practical annihilation of the union in that region.

And now, what of it all? Simply this: Industrial Unionism, the unity of all the workers within one organization, subdivided in their respective departments, and organized, not to fraternize with the exploiting capitalists, but to make war on them and to everlastingly wipe out their system under which labor is robbed of what it produces and held in contempt because it submits to the robbery. If ever there was a time to unite the workers to fight their battles, and to have it clearly understood that they mean war on capitalism, war without quarter, and that they mean to overthrow that system, wipe out wage-slavery, and make the workers the world's rulers, that time is now.

To step from the craft union into the class union is to step from the darkness into the light, to emerge from weakness into power. All the failures of craft unionism and all the crimes perpetrated upon its victims cry out for industrial unionism. This is now the supremest need of the workers. Without the unity and power such organization confers they can make no substantial progress toward emancipation.

Industrial unionism is the structural work of the co-operative commonwealth, the working class republic. Every wage-worker ought to bend his energies to the task of uniting the workers in one mighty economic organization.

This change cannot be effected from within the craft unions or the federation that is supposed to combine them, although an effective propaganda can and should be carried on within those unions. Industrial unionism is a new and revolutionary unionism which requires a new and revolutionary organization. The new spirit may ferment in the craft unions, but it cannot express itself in the old molds. It must be remembered, however, that there are many whose jobs and means of livelihood are bound up in craft

unions. Let such as these do what they can within their unions while others set to work without to build up the new organization.

But whether within or without let all the awakened workers put forth their efforts, according to their means, to supplant decadent, corrupt craft unionism with industrial unionism, and unite all the workers, regardless of trade, occupation, nationality, creed or sex, within one powerful economic organization to fight their battles and achieve their emancipation.

LIBERTY

BY

TOM LEWIS

THE spirit of revolt against wage-slavery is fast permeating the working class from coast to coast and from pole to pole. The forces of capitalist development and modern industry, in the factory, in the mines and mills are bringing the workers together. This teaches us the advantages to be gained from working class organization in industrial lines and in class politics. Also, it is hastening the day when the disrupter in the ranks of the working class will make himself scarce. These men will no longer be tolerated. Class actions teach the workers how strong they are when acting together and they are going to throw out leaders who do not serve them at every stage of the game.

All this is due to class action and class education and to the things we workers learn in the school of Hard Knocks. Since we know that men's actions are guided by their material interests, we must reach the men and women in our class and show them how we can WIN if we only stick TOGETHER.

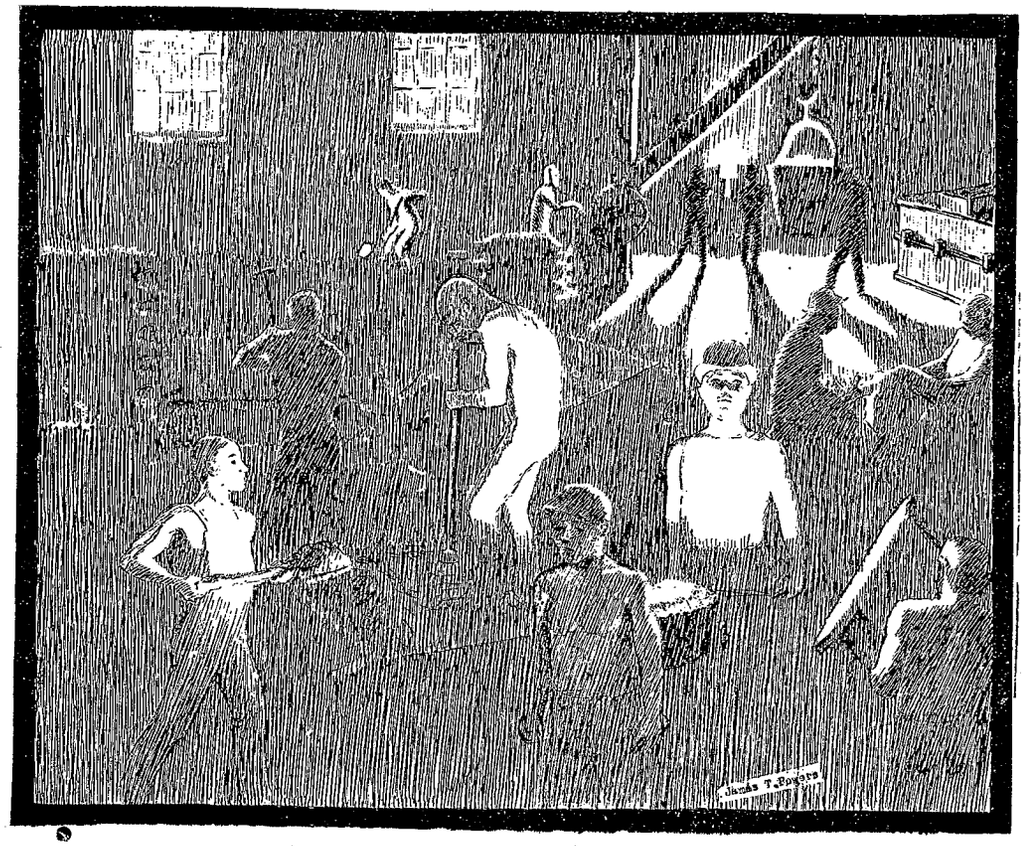
So we must talk to our comrades with patience without being elated over any mental superiority we may think we possess. Capitalism has already deformed many of our bodies, but let us still be glad some of us have brains enough left to plan an escape from wage-slavery.

We must never overlook any method to help our class—either politically or industrially, but we must always demand and insist that our comrades work for the benefit of our class.

New machines are being constantly invented and installed that eliminate workingmen and women. This intensifies the struggle for jobs and so one of our first and most important demands is for shorter working hours, which will decrease the numbers of unemployed and the consequent number of scabs—the greatest weapon which Capital uses against us. It is the UNEMPLOYED who are used to force down wages and to break strikes.

When the workers join for their own protection, the first thing they will do is to shorten hours and keep on shortening hours. A strong economic organization should charge no fees for admission, should welcome every worker in every industry and leave no stone unturned to make it EASY as well as to the personal interest of every man and woman to join.

Workingmen have no liberties now, except the liberty of quitting one job and the liberty of hunting for a new master. But the common ownership of the means of production and distribution will give us all the fullest freedom, because we will have splendid opportunities for work and play. Then and only then will we be able to understand the full meaning of social liberty. Economic Security under the banner of Socialism will mean a new freedom to us all.



BANISHING SKILL FROM THE FOUNDRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

METAL founding is one of the old mechanic arts. Indeed in some of its branches it may lay claim to being something more than a mechanic art.

Castings may be made of any metal that can be reduced to a liquid state without vaporizing. About 150 years ago it was discovered that iron could be cast. Up till that time the chief object of the founder's art was copper in its various combinations with tin and zinc, forming brass and bronzes. And these metals still furnish the raw material for an important branch of the foundry business. Where lightness combined with strength is required, steel castings are displacing iron, but iron still remains by far the most important foundry metal.

The molder capable of doing the finest work has in him the makings of an artist. He must have eye as true, touch as sure and light and hand as supple and sensitive as any wielder of brush or pencil. He must have imagination, the parent of invention, because every difficult, intricate job requires, if not invention, at least ingenuity. The gradation in the character of the product from a grate bar to the statue of a Greek God are as marked as the gradations from painting a fence to painting a landscape.

The manner in which the foundry resisted the efforts of inventors bears wit-

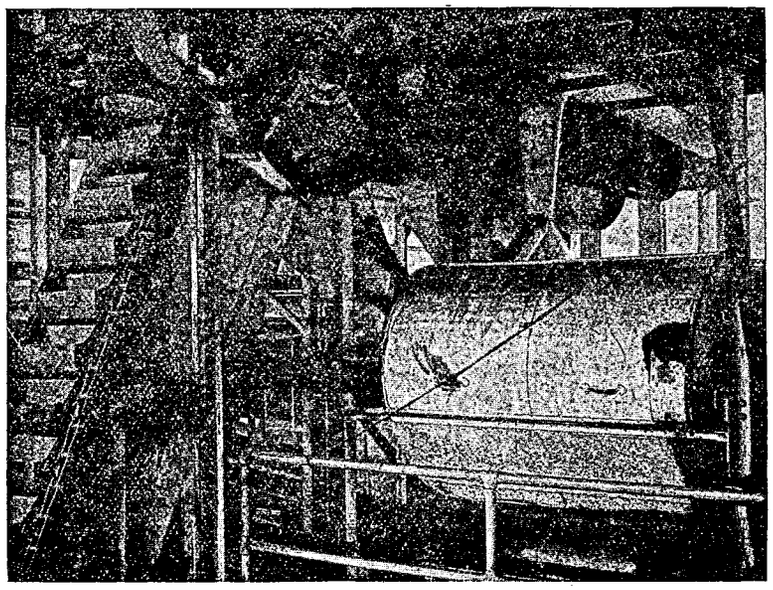
ness to the difficulties encountered, and is corroborative of my contention that in some of its branches, it is more than a mechanic art. It withstood so long the assaults of the inventors that molders had come to feel like some other craftsmen that, "You can't put brains into a machine."

Long before I went into a foundry, twenty-seven years ago, efforts had been made to substitute mechanical contrivances for the hand and hand tools of the molder. Up until that time, and for long after, these attempts merely furnished amusement and a little mild excitement for the molders. In nearly every specialty foundry there was a tradition of the trial and failure of machines, and often they could be seen rusting in the yard. In one case a molder challenged, raced with and beat a machine making molds. Nevertheless the machine won—for its owner—because in beating it, the molder had established a new and more rapid pace.

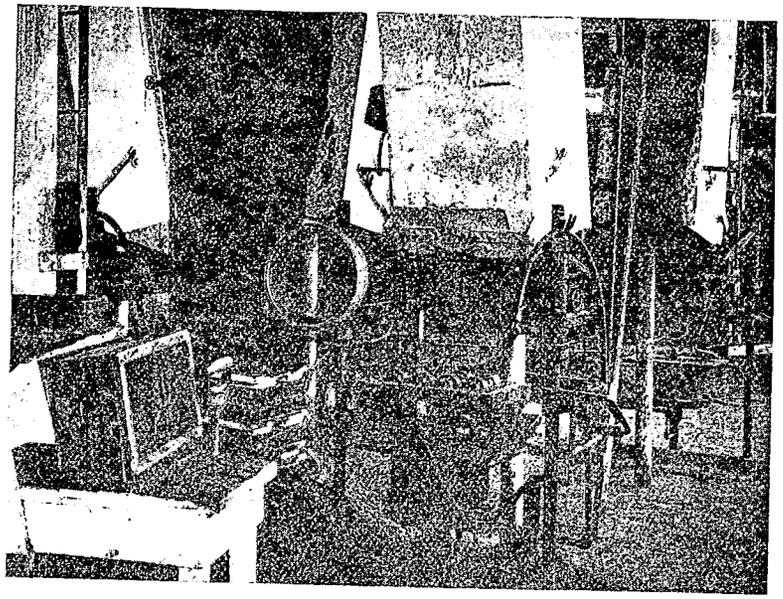
Out of all this effort and experiment the "match plate," the "stripping plate" and the "squeezer" were evolved years ago. They were all old when I went to work in the foundry. All modern molding machines are merely adaptations of these old inventions.

Machines introduced in other industries, while they did not lighten the work, at least did not make it harder. No occupation has connected with it more hard work requiring great muscular exertion than metal founding. The early machines never aimed at this work. They were designed to eliminate skill and were not labor saving machines. They not only left all of the hard slavish drudgery to be done as before but increased it. To this very hour most of the machines added to foundry equipment while increasing enormously the output per "hand" have done so only by forcing the "hands" to greater exertions. In addition to forcing them to greater exertions the machines have reduced the relative and actual earnings and lowered the economic status of the foundry "hand."

It is not therefore surprising that foundry workers, collectively and individually, organized and unorganized were a unit in opposition to "improvements" that did them such irreparable injury, injured them by decreasing their earnings, lowered their status and increased their burden of toil.



BUCKET ELEVATOR AND RIDDLE. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)
From the elevator a chute conveys the sand to a rotary riddle, which is shown at the lower right hand corner of the same illustration. The sand then passes to belts, where it is mixed with water and tempered. The tempered sand is then reconveyed to each molder.



MOLDING MACHINES. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)
A view of the molding machines which stand at the base of the chutes, through which is received the molding sand from the overhead conveying system after it has been riddled and tempered.

This perfectly justifiable hostility on the part of the molders was a factor in retarding the development and adoption of the machines. But powerful economic forces beyond the control of either molders or foundry owners were creating conditions which made it ever more profitable to add molding machines to foundry equipment. So in they went and in they are still going in increasing numbers despite the feeble resistance of the molders.

Some six or seven years ago a national convention of the Molders' Union went on record declaring that the union was not opposed to molding machines. At the same convention they let down the bars so that machine operators can now become members of the Molders' Union. But this official action in nowise altered the feeling and attitude of the workers in the shops who had to compete with the machines. The admission of machine operators—who are not molders—to the union is an illustration of the solidifying power of the machine which I will deal with in another article.

The old "stripping plate" and the still older "match plate" provided the mechanical principles out of which grew the modern molding machine. They are in fact only pattern devices, and it is taking a rather unwarranted liberty with the word to call them machines. From a purely mechanical standpoint their application is unlimited, but there are practical considerations which fix their limitations. One consideration is the size of the casting, another is the intricacy. But even though size and other features are favorable, unless there is a large number to make it would not be profitable to rig the job for a machine.

A number of forces have been at work creating this necessary condition. For one thing, the world is growing in population and wealth and there is a greater demand for machines. A great many machines and other commodities have reached such a state of perfection that nothing short of a revolutionary discovery or invention can bring about any general alteration in design or construction. Such articles and the castings required for them, can be standardized. The foundry manager when putting in new patterns of a standard design which are to be made for an indefinite time, need not hesitate at first cost as he would if the castings were to be made for only one or two sea-

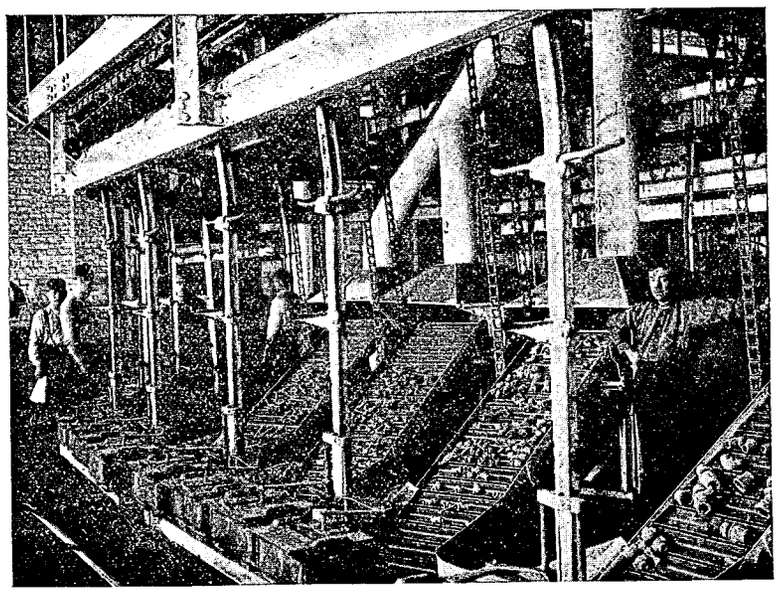
sons. The merging of big financial interests controlling hitherto competing concerns by standardizing and in other ways, helps to produce the right condition for the development of machines.

"Match plates" and "stripping plates" have been in use on a small scale ever since they were invented, but for the reasons I have pointed out never came into general use. With the great revival of business in 1899 duplicates of each casting were needed in larger numbers than ever before; molders' wages were advancing; pattern making and pattern making tools had been almost perfected; and corporations were richer and in better condition to carry on expensive experimenting operations than ever before. All things were favorable to the development of molding machines and this period marks the beginning of a new era in the foundry business.

At first the molders were inclined to scoff. Those engaged upon the more intricate and difficult jobs in particular felt perfectly safe. They felt that while they might do the plain jobs on the machines they could never make the difficult ones until they could put brains into the machine. The scoffing soon turned to mourning as they saw their favorite jobs being made by unskilled laborers on "stripping plate" or "match plate" machines.

As a rule the more difficult the job to mold the greater the profit in rigging it for the machine. Hence it was the jobs made by the very best mechanics that were first attacked. In the case of a plain casting the machine might only enable the unskilled laborer to make as many molds as the skilled molder, while on some of the more difficult jobs it would enable the laborer to make as many as five molders.

One job of which a strong, competent molder made four in a day, two laborers made forty-five when rigged for the "stripping plate." The molders for years had made seventeen a day of a certain job; now three unskilled laborers made two hundred and twenty-five (225). Only a molder or a person familiar with foundry practice who has seen made the most intricate castings could appreciate the finest points about the "stripping plate." From amongst all of its features I select one as an illustration to show its advantages; to show why a laborer, doing all of the hard work formerly done by the molder—the shoveling, riddling and ramming—can still produce so many more castings in the same length of time.



MOLD AND CASTING CARRIERS. (Courtesy of Crane Co.)
The mold carrying system which conveys the molds from the molding machines to the pourers. The casting is then knocked out, the sand passing through the grate, while the casting is conveyed to the chutes which lead to the hoppers above the tumbling mills.

To secure castings against the wash of the metal, in common with every molder, I have spent hours setting small finishing nails in some small "bead" of sand in a mold; then sprayed or brushed it with a mixture of water and molasses and perhaps dried it with a gas flame. Castings with such "beads" are now made on the machine without nails, molasses water or drying.

In one foundry in Pittsburg, where I worked for many years, there was 100 bench molders in 1901. Now, with the output on that class of work nearly doubled, there is less than ten left.

The possibilities of the "stripping plate" and adaptations of the "match plate" are only now becoming generally known to foundry men, and conditions are just ripening for their development. Of the tens of thousands of small and medium sized castings produced every year which might be made on machines, only a few have as yet been touched.

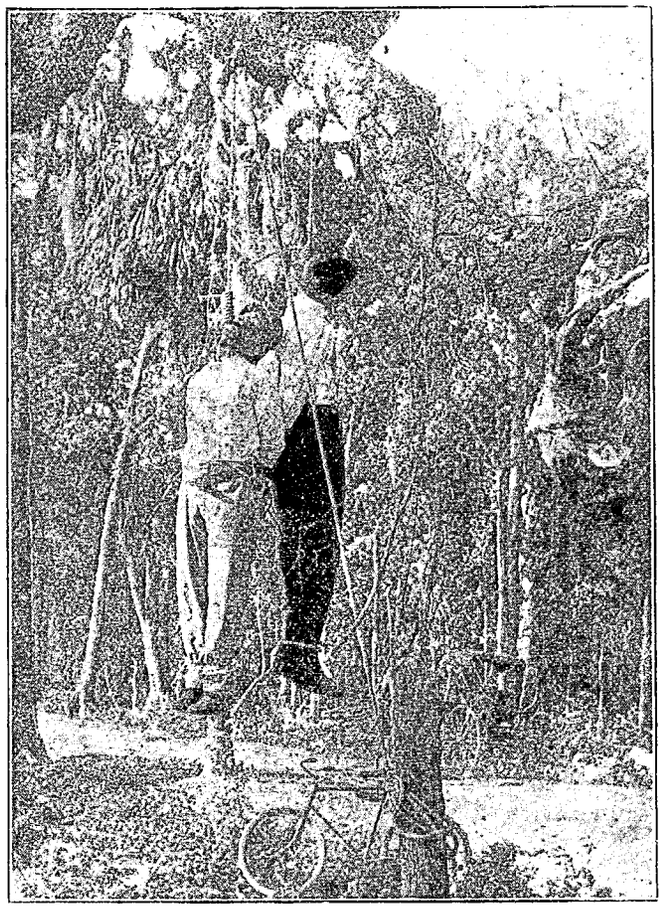
Only by the adoption of the continuous heat can the foundry machines already tested and of proven merit be utilized to the best advantage. Only a few foundries in the world run continuous heats. One of these few and the first to introduce the real labor-saving machinery was the Westinghouse Airbrake at Wilmerding, Pa., about which I shall tell in a later article.

> When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character.
>
> Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.
>
> Communist Manifesto.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN TAMPA

Editorial

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL



WORKING MEN LYNCHED BY CAPITALISTS.

A CIVIL war has been raging in the city of Tampa, Fla., for about six months past.

Not a figurative civil war, but an actual civil war.

A civil war with all the most aggravated features of such a war.

A civil war with a reign of terror.

A civil war with deprivation of the citizens' constitutional rights.

A civil war with the murder of citizens in the streets.

A civil war with the hanging of suspects.

A civil war that has driven many of the inhabitants to flight and exile.

For six months this strike has been raging as the result of a strike of the cigar workers against the cigar capitalists. But the governor of the state of

Florida took no notice of this war. And the people of the United States took no notice of this war.

The people of the United States were kept in ignorance of the state of affairs. The daily newspapers, metropolitan and other, their columns filled with all sorts of worthless information, were silent about the civil war in Tampa.

But the governor of the state of Florida, was he silent because he knew nothing of this civil war, or did he keep silence for the reason that in this civil war the capitalists of Tampa had the upper hand of the workers of Tampa?

At last, however, this conspiracy of silence as to the bloody goings on in Tampa has been broken.

It has been broken by the Socialist and Labor press, and by the magnificent solidarity exhibited by the cigar workers throughout the country.

For months past the *Call* has been publishing news items, contributed articles and speeches exposing the reign of terror in Tampa. The organized cigar workers throughout the country have been taxing themselves for the benefit of their striking brothers in Tampa. And Tampa cigars have been laid under an effective boycott, so that the dominant industry of that city is practically at a standstill.

It is this last fact, above all, that has finally loosened the speech of the authorities in Tampa and in Florida. The most sensitive nerve of the capitalist is his pocket nerve. And the virtual destruction of the leading industry of Tampa has finally compelled the mayor of that city and the governor of the state to attempt to justify themselves through the medium of the *Call,* before the forum of public opinion.

Public opinion will give small heed to the words of the mayor of Tampa. His statement abounds with flat denials and charges of falsehood. These denials and charges are themselves transparent falsehoods. For instance, of the charge that the pliant officials of the city of Tampa handed over the two workingmen prisoners to a small gang of lynchers who hanged them, he says that it is "false from beginning to end." From this one would infer that there was no lynching at all. Further on, however, this precious public official admits the lynching, but says that the prisoners were in charge of county officials, who arrested them "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," and that "the men were never within the limits of the city of Tampa from the time of arrest till the lynching occurred." So while men were lynched, the mayor of Tampa was in no way concerned. Nevertheless, he says still further: "Had I known that it was contemplated, I feel sure that I could have prevented it." But if the lynching occurred "in the adjoining town of West Tampa," how could the mayor of Tampa have prevented it?

But the mayor of Tampa is no other than Donald B. McKay, who, according to general report, was one of the "Citizens' Committee" that, in 1901 kidnaped prominent members of the Cigarmakers' Union and had them transported to the wilds of British Honduras, while other men active in the union were flogged, placed on trains, and taken out of Tampa. Naturally, it is not safe for union men to walk on the streets of Tampa while Donald B. McKay is mayor.

But now comes the governor of Florida. He starts out, in the usual way, with the assertion that he is a friend of the unions. Let us see how his friendship works out in actual fact.

Friendship No. 1.—"There were charges that men were forced to go to work. These charges were supported by the affidavits of four laborers." But the governor was not convinced. "The testimony in rebuttal showed in each case a different result." And to justify his dismissing the charge, the governor wants us to imagine—"as you can well imagine"—that "a great many men had been forced to quit work by the strikers."

When we are called upon to "imagine" one thing, why may we not also "imagine" that the "rebuttals showing a different result in each case" were also "imaginary"?

Friendship No. 2.—It was claimed that two representative union men had been forced to leave the city—deported. But the governor found that "both men left voluntarily—on account of the fear for their personal safety."

Friendship No. 3.—Two workingmen were arrested and lynched by the swell mob. But "one of them had been tried for murder three times and had always proved an alibi."

Friendship No. 4.—The union hall was was smashed up, closed, and the records siezed. This is admitted. But Governor Gilchrist tells us that later on the hall was reopened! Sure enough, you can't lynch a hall, as you can a workingman, into eternity!

Friendship No. 5.—Three strikers were tried by a jury, found guilty and sentenced. The strikers complain of a prejudiced court and a packed jury. Does the governor know anything about it? He doesn't know and he doesn't care. "As to the merits of this trial I know nothing, and if I did it would not be in my province to criticize one way or the other, either favorably or unfavorably, the actions of the jury and the trial officers."

Governor Gilchrist of Florida! There was once a governor of Illinois, a member of your party. Several men had been lawfully murdered by a prejudicial court and a packed jury, and two men were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by the same court and jury. And when this honest Democrat—not a damned hypocrite—became governor of Illinois, he pardoned the two innocent survivors of that horrible conspiracy, and published the facts to the world. That man's name, Governor Gilchrist, is immortalized in history as that of one of the world's great moral heroes, while your name will be disgraced as a foul coward who besmirches the name of the helpless dead, and a damned hypocrite who pretends to be fair to Labor while he has sold his soul to Capital!

BE YOUR OWN BOSS

BY

JACK MORTON

WE have all seen this phrase at the head of luring advertisements; BE YOUR OWN BOSS, but if we have answered them, we have found a flimsy scheme for getting other folks to work for us.

Nobody but the Socialists have ever suggested that every working man and woman ought to be their own boss. Nobody but the Socialists have ever known how it would be possible for each man to be his own boss—to do away with masters of men entirely.

In spite of the old stories we are taught at school about this "Land of Liberty," in common every day language we speak the truth. We know we "work for other folks," and we know we are the slaves of our bosses. And this does not mean freedom at all.

We wage-workers have to have a job in order to earn wages to live and we are the slaves of the men or women who OWN the jobs. We do not sell ourselves to them for a lifetime, but we do sell ourselves—or our strength to work—by the week or by the day, for so much a day. And since we have sold ourselves for the week or day, we are the slaves of the boss during that time. We are compelled to work as he wills.

Of course, we can rebel and refuse to obey, but in that case we find ourselves out of work. And the man out of work is on the road to hunger and starvation. That is all there is to it. We are not free so long as our only choice is starvation on one side or wage-slavery under a boss on the other.

Of course you want to Be Your Own Boss just as much as I do. Every time the foreman of the mill where I work docks me two hours pay when I am ten minutes late, I feel that there is nothing so much I want in all the world as just to Be My Own Boss. When I read in the papers about the president of the big mill company buying $50,000 Italian art

treasures, I yearn to LOSE my BOSS, and when I draw my lonely $18.00 a week I feel that heaven must be BOSSLESS land where pleasant dreams come true.

But I want to lose my boss, and ALL bosses, in *this* world, and when I found the Socialists were working for an abolition of Bossdom, I threw my lot in with theirs and began to help push the good thing along.

Now if you work for the Armours, of packing house fame, you know they are YOUR BOSSES, because they OWN THE PACKING PLANT. If somebody else owned the packing house HE would be your boss.

The man FOR WHOM you WORK is able to make you pile up wealth for HIM BECAUSE HE OWNS the mill, the factory or the mine where you are employed. The reason you obey HIS commands is because he OWNS the plant and because if you refuse you will lose your job and your chance to LIVE.

If you and I and all the other men and women employed in the mill OWNED THE PLANT we would be our OWN BOSSES. Socialism proposes that the workers of the world shall seize the factories, mills and mines, the railroads and all the tools or machinery of production to be owned collectively by ALL the workers and to be operated by and *for* the benefit of the workers themselves.

If the collective workers in the steel industry produce a billion dollars worth of steel, socialism means that they shall own the mill and also own the product and receive the full value of it instead of getting just wages enough to keep our hearts pumping the blood through our veins.

OWNERSHIP of the mines, mills, factories, railroads and all the machinery of production BY THE WORKERS and operated by and for them is the back bone of Socialism.

If you are a BOSS, you won't like it. If you are a wage-worker with a clear, healthy mind, it won't take much thinking to see on which side you belong.





THE JAPANESE MINERS

BY

S. KATAYAMA

THE Shogun of Japan is chief general of the Empire. How the Japanese miners secured many rights and privileges from the Shogun Iyeyasu is worth the telling. The story goes that in a time of war Iyeyasu, the future Shogun was beaten in battle, traced and followed by the enemy far into the mountains.

And Iyeyasu came up to the gates of a mine and asked the miners to allow him to enter so that he could conceal himself. But it was not customary for the workmen to allow anybody to enter the mines except the miners and they refused Iyeyasu in spite of his urgent pleas.

Then, the story goes, Iyeyasu made an attractive offer. He promised that if he should ultimately be able to defeat his enemies and become a lord over Japan that he would make all miners Nobushi, with special privileges and free passes all over Japan.

The miners were much impressed and at last decided to conceal Iyeyasu in the mines from those who made the attack. So Iyeyasu escaped death and became final victor. All this happened years ago in the Hikagesawa Mines in Sarugas Province at the foot of the Fuji Mountains.

When Iyeyasu established his feudal government over the whole of Japan, the constitution he gave contained fifty-three articles, among them one which gave the miners of the Empire the privilege of wearing two swords and of calling themselves Nobushi, Field Knight or Open Samurai. This gave the miners of Japan a strong union and many privileges.

Under Old Japan

At the time of Feudalism, in Japan, the gold and silver mines were worked by the government and very few belonged to private capitalists, so that it was not such a difficult thing for a powerful government official to bestow many favors upon the miners. Methods of mining were primitive and the men had to undergo many hardships and lived lives of constant danger. Miners were supposed to

be the cream of courage in the Empire, men who feared Death not at all. Wages were very high. "Kanayama Shotai," a miner's living, is even today used as a synonymn for luxurious living among the working class. Inside the mines the men lived as they chose. There they ruled absolutely and there were no restrictions put upon them. In the great chasms of the earth they made laws and rules of their own.

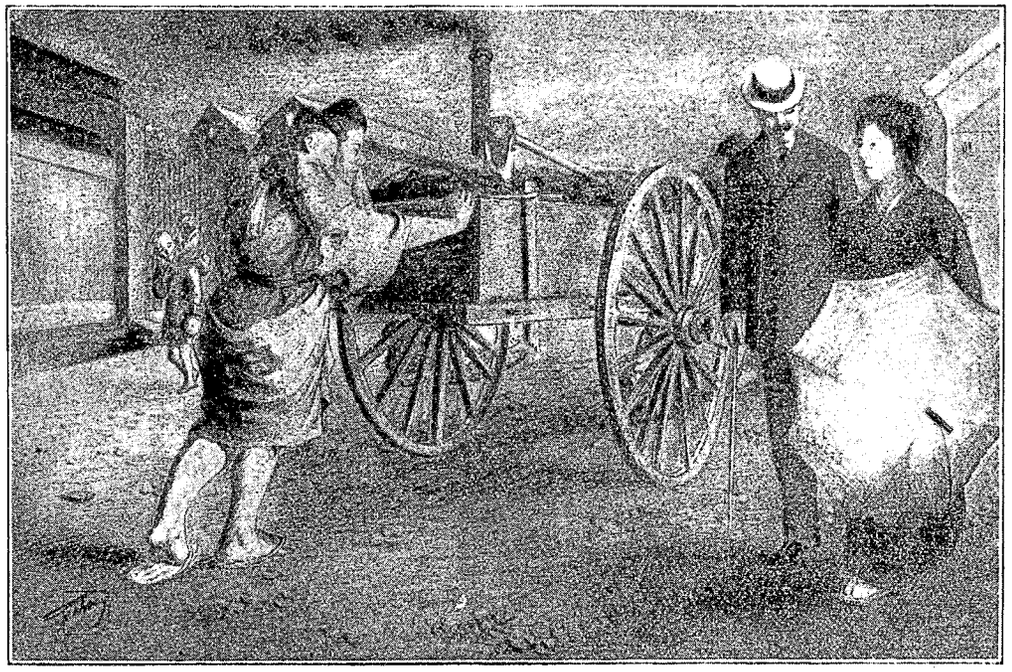
Few men had households of their own. Nearly all lived communistically in a hanba, all families living together to make the work easier. This hanba is still maintained by miners in all the unions. A head of the hanba is elected by majority vote and has much influence and power.

Practically there has been but one miners' union in all Japan. As a miner, each man is welcomed as a brother to any mine in the Empire. For example, a miner comes to a strange hanba. The men and women receive him with ceremonies and treat him, at once, as a member and brother in the great union. If there is no work, or the guest is on his way to a distant mine, he is welcome to stay a few days when a miner from the hanba escorts him to his new working place. A miner in good standing in the union could formerly travel from one end of Japan to another under the care and guidance of his brother miners. Their strongest watch word is Mutual Aid. But all this was not enough to protect them in their struggles with the invading mine-owners.

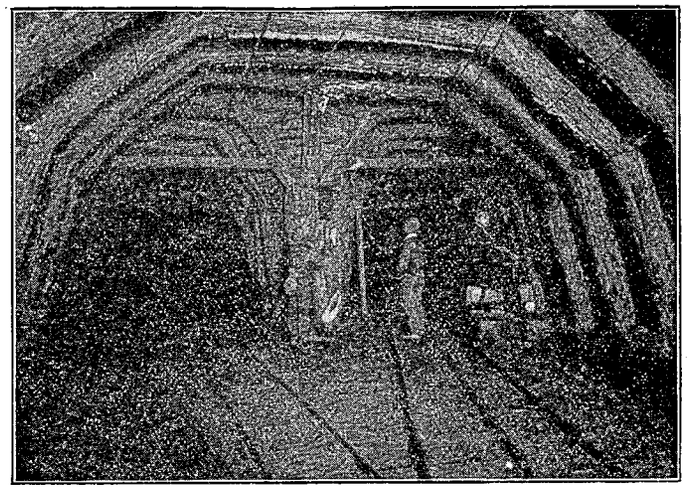
For advancing industry and the introduction of Western mining methods have wrought a great change. Thousands of new mines have been opened for the production of baser metals. The coal mines have become a source of great wealth to the new owners, so that the Miners' union has been materially altered.

Almost every farmer, who has little work to do on the farm in the winter, comes to the coal mines for work at that season.

It was the wonderful Western Shaft System that deprived the men of their underground kingdom. Their rule is gone. These men are now lowered by shaft, run by electric power or carried in by electric railway cars. And the Boss



STREET SCENE—DRAWN BY A JAPANESE COMRADE.



MINE ENTRANCE.

has come to stay. Miners must obey his rules and work under his supervision. The company weighs his product and pays what it deems sufficient. The luxurious living of feudal days is gone.

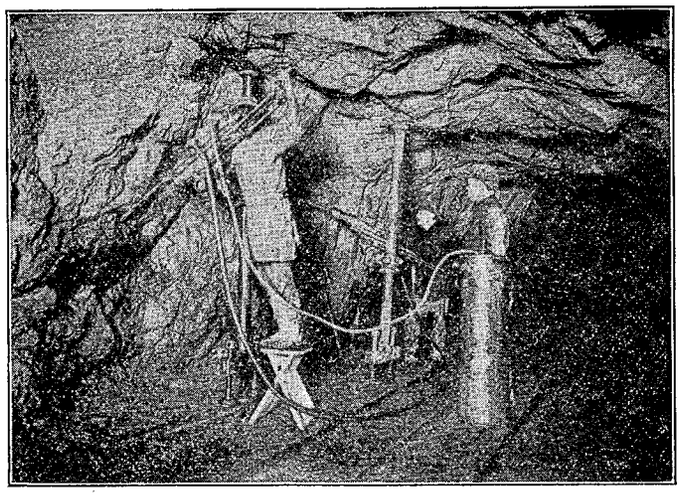
But the men still cling to the old forms, electing their head and clustering about the old union ceremonies. And all the efforts of the mine owners have not yet been able to destroy the organization.

The Asio Copper Mine

The Asio Copper Mine is known all over the world for its wonderful copper ore. It is owned by the Furukawa family, which has made huge fortunes out of this and other mine holdings. Furukawa, the original owner, is now dead. His son leads an easy life, enjoying the wealth the miners dig for him. The most important thing known about him generally is that he paid $50,000 for a dog.

Asio is 120 miles from Tokyo and fifteen miles from Nikko Temple, figuring straight over the mountain. Freight from the mine is carried over the mountain by cable carriages run by water power. Nearly 7,000 miners are employed in Asio.

Four hundred carpenters prepare the arches and props where the 3,000 copper



COMPRESSED AIR ROCK DRILLING.



GOING TO WORK.

miners work. Over 250 women and girls work outside the mines at various jobs.

Labor Trade in Asio Mines

In every mine in Japan there are twice or thrice as many workers as there are miners. These are "common labor" recruited from any quarter. Gradually the miners themselves have come to be recognized as the most exploited workers in Japan. Men are now enticed into the mines by promises of a good living and many kindnesses, as no intelligent man wants to work in a mine. But when workers are recruited under false pretenses and once enter the Asio mine, they are treated almost like slaves—particularly the unskilled laborers. While the miners in the old organization are still able to demand decent living for themselves, the unorganized workers are almost as bad off as galley slaves.

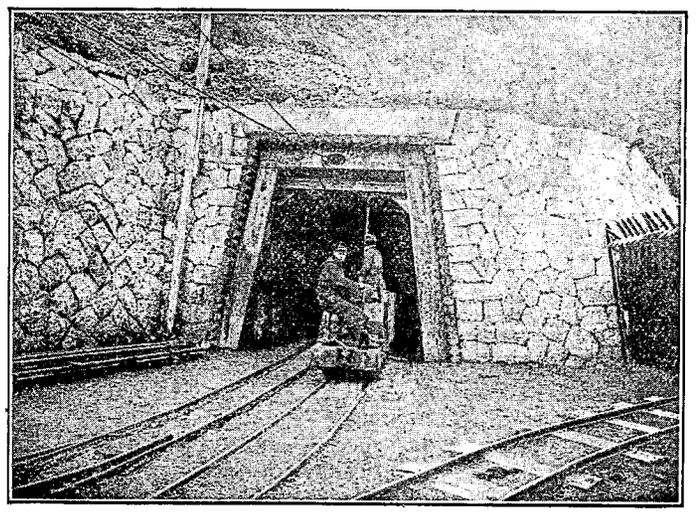
In order to prevent these men from leaving the mines, the bosses keep them in continual debt. Men cannot leave the mines in the day time and the only chance for escape is during the night. But the mines are usually far off from the cities in the mountains and the roads are patroled by policemen or guards so that the runaway is often caught and brought back.

The old hanba was the real headquarters of the miners, but it has evolved into a tool for the mine-owners. It is still nominally the communistic dining hall or home, but is now used for exploitation and enslaving the men by debt.

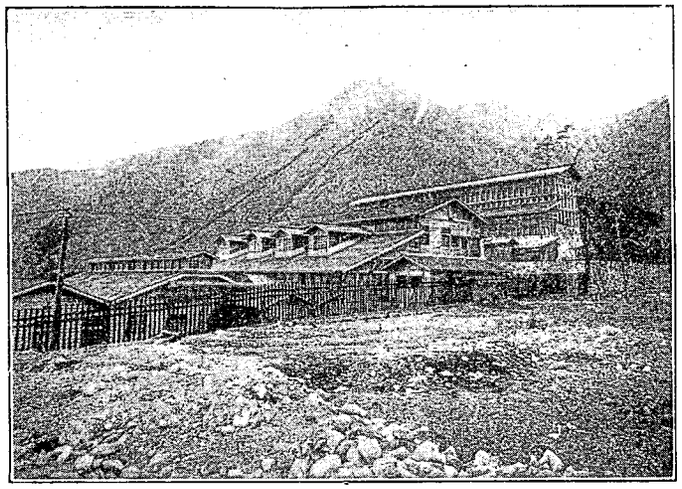
It is his debt to the mine-owner that hangs like a yoke about the neck of the miner and forces him to work long hours for a pittance.

Girls and Women in the Mines

In Asio we see so many women and girls at work that we are unable to dis-



MINE GATE.



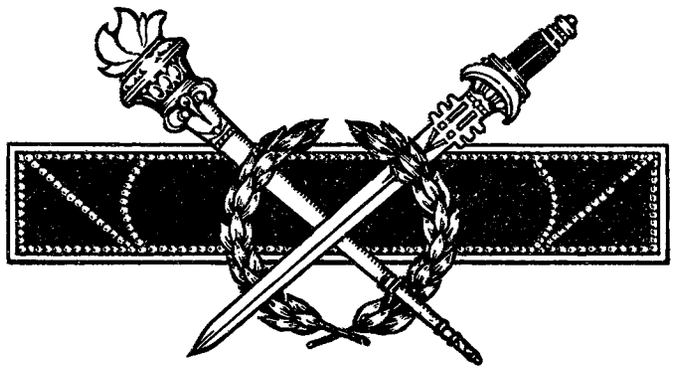
THE ASIO MINE.

tinguish whether they are men or women. These women and girls are employed by a sub-boss, not directly by the mine company. According to Japanese mining laws, the mine-owners must pay a certain wage scale, but there is a vast difference between the law and the facts.

Asio is a mining town. There the power and influence of the mine master is absolute. Public authority and the police are all serving the mine-owners. The mine-workers have no protection from the greed of the company.

My Shabsai Shimbun is sent to the miners. It is confiscated by the mine owners and never reaches them. Evidently the mine masters can do as they please and open the mail.

Since the riot of 1907 it has been impossible to work outside for the miners. This makes it worse for them, but we hope that some day we can work openly for them!



BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

IV. How Profits are Made

MANY of us have been accustomed to think that profits are made from graft, from special privileges, or from monopoly. We have talked so much of the thieving among capitalists that we have altogether overlooked the great, main method of profit taking.

As Marx says, if you cannot explain profits on the supposition that commodities exchange at their values, you cannot explain them at all.

And so we shall assume (as in truth they generally do) that commodities, on the average, exchange at their value.

Suppose that it takes two hours of necessary labor to produce the necessaries of life for a workingman—or, in other words, two hours of labor a day to produce LABORING-POWER.

Suppose too (as is very likely the case), that $2.00 in gold represents two hours of labor.

Now the value of labor-power (which the workingman sells) is determined (as the value of all commodities are determined), by the social labor contained in it. It is represented by the necessities of life, produced by two hours of necessary labor a day.

If the workman sells his labor-power at its VALUE, he will receive in return a commodity containing two hours of necessary social labor. In the case we mention above, he would receive $2.00 a day.

In other words, a day's labor-power represents two hours of labor, embodied in the food, clothing and shelter that produce it, just as the two dollars in gold (or an equivalent) represent two hours of necessary labor. The labor-power is equal in value to the value of the $2.00 in gold. The workman has sold his labor-power at its value.

The workman receives enough ($2.00) in wages to eat, drink, to rest and clothe himself—enough to PRODUCE MORE labor-power. He receives the value of his labor-power.

But wage laborers sell their laboring-power to the bosses by the day or by the week, at so many hours a day. The capitalist buys the commodity (labor-power), paying for it at its value. If the wage-worker is a miner, in TWO HOURS he will dig coal equal in value to his wage of $2.00 a day. The coal he digs will contain two hours of labor just as the two dollars in gold contain two hours of labor and as the necessaries for which he exchanges his two dollars, contain two hours of labor.

In other words, in two hours (of necessary labor) the miner would have produced value in coal equal to the value of his wages (or his laboring-power). But he sells his labor-power by the day or week and the boss prolongs the hours of work as far as possible.

In two hours, however, the miner has produced enough value to pay his own wages, but the boss, having bought the laboring-power by the day, may be able to make the wage-worker work ten hours daily. The miner needs only to work two hours to produce a value of $2.00 to reproduce his labor-power. As Marx would say:

He must daily reproduce a value of $2.00 (which he will do in two hours), to daily reproduce his labor-power.

But when he sells his laboring-power to the boss the boss acquires the right to use his labor-power the entire day—as many hours as the worker's physical endurance or fighting resistance will permit.

If he forces the miner to work ten hours daily, the workingman will be

laboring EIGHT hours beyond the time necessary to pay his own wages (or value of his labor-power). These eight hours of surplus labor are embodied in a surplus value or a surplus product.

In two hours the miner produces in coal value sufficient to pay for his labor-power, but in the eight succeeding hours of labor, he will produce coal valuing $8.00, all of which the capitalist retains for himself.

Since the miner sold his laboring-power to the capitalist, the coal, or value the miner produces, belongs to the capitalist.

Thus the capitalist spends $2.00 a day in wages (or two hours of labor) and acquires coal, or other commodities, equal to $10.00 (or ten hours of labor). Thus come profits.

Year after year, the capitalists buy labor-power, paying for it at its value in the case of the miner at $2.00 a day). The capitalists *own* the products of the workers—equalling ten hours of labor. They exchange a commodity (gold, or money), containing two hours of labor for labor-power (containing two hours of necessary labor—represented by the necessities of life). But when the miner goes home at night the capitalists find themselves OWNERS of the coal he has dug, which contains TEN HOURS OF LABOR.

Coal (representing ten hours of labor) will exchange for gold (or money) containing ten hours of labor; in this case for $10.00. The miner has produced $10.00 worth of coal. He received $2.00.

The eight hours of value, or $8.00 worth of coal, which the capitalists appropriate, is *surplus value,* for which they give no equivalent.

"It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the working man as workingman and the capitalist as a capitalist.

"The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring-power and the surplus time or SURPLUS LABOR performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent, by working which the working man would only reproduce the value of his laboring-power, or replace his wages." (Page 81 Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.)

The capitalist owns the product of his wage-worker. When he sells this product he disposes of commodities a part of which have cost him absolutely nothing, although they have cost his workman labor.

It is easy to see how the miner received the VALUE of his laboring power: $2.00 gold contain two hours of labor, $2.00 exchange for—or will buy—the necessaries of life (produced by two hours of labor) which will enable the miner to produce MORE LABOR-POWER for the next day's work.

In this case, the miner's product, the coal he digs in one day, contains five times the quantity of labor needed to produce the necessaries of life, which produce, in him, more strength or more labor-power.

For the things he gets for his labor-power contain only TWO hours of labor, while the things he produces, and which are claimed by the capitalist, contain TEN HOURS of labor.

The miner sells his labor-power and, naturally, the capitalist desires to use it as profitably (for himself) as possible. If the wage-worker demanded commodities in exchange for his products, containing an equal quantity of labor, he would no longer be a wage-worker, for capitalists would no longer employ him. There would be nothing—no SURPLUS VALUE—left for the capitalists.

But men and women who have nothing to sell but their labor-power have no choice in the matter. They are compelled to sell their strength or labor-power in order to get wages to live. Capitalists, on the other hand, employ them for the sole purpose of taking profits. Capitalists are forced to give the working class enough to live and work on, but they try by every means at their command to prolong the working day into ten, or even

twelve hours, in order that more surplus products, or surplus value, may remain for themselves.

But intelligent workmen and women are not content with selling their laboring-power at its value. They are coming more and more to demand the value of their PRODUCTS. We are growing weary of being mere commodities, compelled to sell ourselves, for wages at the regular "market price." We are weary of receiving a product of two hours of labor for products containing ten hours of our labor. We are tired of living on meagre wages while we pile up millions for the capitalist class.

This is the chief demand of socialism; that workingmen and women cease selling themselves, or their strength, as commodities. We propose to OWN the commodities we produce OURSELVES and to exchange commodities containing a certain quantity of necessary social labor, for other commodities representing an equal quantity of necessary social labor.

You and I work for the boss because *he* OWNS the factory or mine or railroad or the mill. OWNERSHIP of the means of production and distribution (the factories, land, mines, mills—the MACHINERY that produces things) makes masters of capitalists and wage-workers of you and me.

Socialists propose the ownership, in common, of the mines, mills, factories, of all the productive industries, by the workers of the world.

When you and I and our comrades OWN the factory in which we work, we will no longer need to turn over to anybody the commodities we have produced. We shall be joint owners of the things we have made socially. We shall demand labor for labor in the exchange of commodities. This is the kernel of socialism. It proposes to make men and women of us instead of COMMODITIES to be bought and sold upon the cheapest market as men buy shoes or cows.

Questions:

In the illustration given above, can the mine owners pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit? Explain. Can the mine owners sell coal at its value and pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit?

Would it be posible for the mine owners to pay the mine-workers MORE than the value of their labor-power and to sell the coal at LESS than its value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

If the wage-workers should become strong enough to demand the value of their products what would happen? Would there be any surplus value left for the capitalist class? Explain why not.

What becomes of the difference between the value of your labor-power and the value of the things you produce in the factory, or mine?

Suppose you are working in a California mine and earning $3.00 a day, which is sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter IN CALIFORNIA, enough to reproduce your labor-power. Suppose your employer wants to send you, and 200 of your California comrades to work in his mines in Alaska. The value of the necessities of life are more in Alaska than they are in California. It requires $6.00 a day to buy food, clothing and shelter (to produce LABOR-POWER) in Alaska.

Will you be able to save any more money in Alaska at $6.00 a day than you would in California at $3.00 a day? Why not? Who pays the difference in the high prices of the necessities of life? YOU or YOUR BOSS? (We are not speaking of individual cases but of high prices charged for food, etc., in general.)

Of course, we all know that the working class produce all exchange value. We make all commodities, but as we have sold our labor-power to the boss, our products belong to HIM. So the boss pays for nearly everything, because he has appropriated the things we have made.

When the value of the necessities of life RISE, does the working *class* or the capitalist CLASS pay the bill? In the case of our mining jobs in Alaska, do WE pay $6.00 for our board, clothes and room, or does the $3.00 increase in OUR cost of living FALL ON THE CAPITALIST?

GET-RICH-QUICK SCHEMES

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

IT IS time that we stop it. I mean this epidemic of gold fever now raging in the Socialist ranks; this vociferous intrusion of the jackal of the money exchange into the Socialist gatherings; this confusion of get-rich-quick schemes with the message of economic emancipation.

How much longer shall we wait before we say—Stop It! Shall we wait until the red flag shall become, like the British flag, a commercial asset; until the barricades of the revolution shall be placarded—Stocks and bonds for sale! Buy now! Lots for sale! Own a home! Enough has the Socialist party and the Socialist press been prostituted by the gambler, the plunger, the adventurer. It is idle to say—those are private, personal affairs with which the Socialist party cannot meddle. When recognized spokesmen of the Socialist party, national officials of the Socialist party, organs of the Socialist party, are being used for the foisting upon the members of the party of various schemes of quick enrichment, the thing ceases to be a private, personal affair. It is the concern of the Socialist party when comrades of standing use their influence in order to arouse among the Socialists the capitalistic emotions of greed and cupidity. The Socialist movement does not demand of its adherents a vow of poverty, but it does demand that they lay aside their capitalist schemes and dreams of wealth when they enter the confines of Socialist organizations and the sphere of Socialist propaganda.

I say—This we must stop! I mean that we must not tolerate any longer the gambler to ply his trade in the midst of our gatherings. The hawker of stocks and bonds must not be permitted to mix his voice with the voice of the Socialist agitators.

Some may say—Ah, this comrade has an ax to grind! or,—He is jealous!

I will say at the outset that I have no ax to grind; that I am not jealous. I neither bought nor sold stocks nor lots. I neither lost nor gained anything. But suppose I had a private grudge to pay. It should not concern the Socialist party. Never mind my motive. The point is—We must stop it.

I do confess, however, that the enormity or confusing commercialism and Socialism did not dawn upon me at the outset. I, too, was misled by the phrase, "personal business," and by the standing of the comrades who furthered commercialism, and my good opinion of them. For this reason I am not asking for the punishment, disciplinary or moral, of any one who was instrumental in polluting the movement. I simply ask—Stop it.

And yet I will name one comrade. I will name Wilshire. The reasons why I name Comrade Wilshire are several:

First: Comrade Wilshire's standing as a Socialist cannot be gainsaid. Before he sat down to sup with the devil, he devoted a great deal of his life and a goodly portion of his private fortune to the propaganda of Socialism.

Second: Because my relations to Wilshire are of the best and pleasantest. If I here do not claim him as my friend, it is only because such a relation may be claimed by mutual assent.

Thirdly: Notwithstanding or because of the first and second, I name Wilshire because he more than any other gambler sounded the golden tom-tom and dinned into the ears of Socialists, Money! Money! Make Money! In fact, he led the pestiferous band of promoters into the Socialist camp.

I care not a tinker's damn whether Wilshire's enterprises are financially sound or rotten. We want none of them mixed up with our propaganda and Socialist activity. For the good of the Socialist cause I hope that Wilshire's mining schemes will prove, sundry and all, financial failures. For had the Bishop Creek "greatest gold mine in the world" really panned out anything like what it had been announced, there would have been no stopping the golden horde from wrecking the Socialist party with their capitalistic schemes. But the Bishop Creek gold mine proved even more elusive than King Solomon's mine. And I have heard of no one making money on any of Wilshire's enterprises excepting Wilshire himself. Perhaps not even Wilshire.

For I have no doubt that Wilshire started out with a notion that he could beat Wall street at its own game. This he thought he could do with the help of the comrades. Instead, I fear, Wall street used him as a feeder to the pockets of many comrades.

Once plunged in the whirl of wild-cat speculation, Wilshire adopted the methods current among gamblers.

Wilshire advertised the Bishop Creek as "the greatest gold mine in the world," at the time when he had not a dollar's worth of gold out of it. Wilshire estimated that he would get $20,000,000,000 worth of gold out of the mine; that he would pay the national debt; that he could demonetize gold.

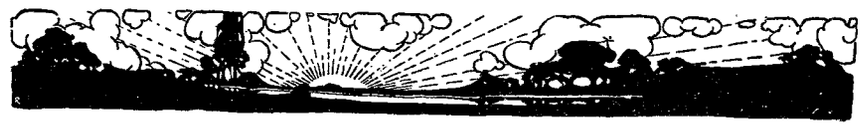
Now that is more gold than was mined or washed in America since its discovery. This is going some.

Wilshire sold anywhere between $500,000 and $1,000,000 worth of Bishop Creek stock. Wilshire spent less than $100,000 on the mine. The difference is what the stockholders contributed to Wilshire personally as spending money.

Wilshire sold his own stock. Not a dollar's worth of stock was sold out of the treasury, after Wilshire secured control of the corporation, except to Wilshire himself. Wilshire would buy some shares out of the treasury and then advertise the fact that he was buying in order to unload greater quantities of his own stock. Wilshire went the limit in using his magazine to boom his mines. He used the name of Comrade Wanhope to give prestige to his magazine. He used the name of Untermann, then member of the National Executive Committee, the name of Upton Sinclair to boost his mine. What did poor Sinclair know about gold mining? And National Organizer Goebel, now member of the N. E. C., was actively helping Wilshire. Goebel must be a good gold miner. He showed it in helping Wilshire to extract gold out of the pockets of the comrades.

Now Wilshire has departed from hence. He may return. He may justify himself before his stockholders. This is none of our concern. What we demand is that Wilshire keep his stock-jobbing schemes out of the Socialist publications, even if the publication happens to belong to him; that while engaged in these schemes he should keep out of the forefront of the Socialist movement; that he cease hawking his stock in Socialist gatherings; that he cease using the phrases current in Socialist economics and politics in advertising his stock; that he cease employing Socialists of national eminence to boom his stock-jobbing schemes.

Another word. The American Socialist movement has so far contributed nothing to the International Socialist movement. Shall it now contribute Wilshire's stock-jobbery factory? It seems that Wilshire has opened a shop in England and keeps a printing press busy printing stocks and bonds. Let the European comrades be advised. Keep stock jobbery out of the Socialist parties of Europe. And stop it in the Socialist party of America.



MEDICAL CHAOS AND CRIME

NORMAN BARNESBY, M. D.

NOBODY would accuse Dr. Barnesby of being a Socialist, but his new book, "Medical Chaos and Crime," published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York City, offers so many reasons why physicians and surgeons should be Socialists, that all Socialists will feel a debt of gratitude to Dr. Barnesby.

Socialists have long said that when men or women want to know the REAL causes of things, it is well to look for ECONOMIC reasons. And it is the economic need of physicians and surgeons the whole world over that is causing the "Medical Chaos and Crime" which Dr. Barnesby exposes so mercilessly.

Most of us have the old hallucination about "having to live" and doctors are just like the rest of us. They have families to support and rent to pay and clothes to buy just as we have and they have to secure a "practice" some way.

"If our people do not pause in this wild career we shall soon—I mean we of the cities—become a race of neurasthenics and degenerates. And the members of the medico-surgical profession are no exception. It is no longer the call of the suffering that inspires them, but the call of the dollar . . . Yet so false have become our standards that many a physician, formerly honest and even altruistic, has come to look upon the relief of suffering or the saving of a life as merely incidental to the earning of a fat fee. And from honest greed, if there be such a thing, the step is but a short one to dishonorable practices and deceit. Like all who have lapsed into rank commercialism, he finds that he must employ unfair means if he would achieve the success that he craves. . . .

"No doubt there are thousands of struggling doctors who, if they could be prevailed upon to tell the truth, would admit the deceits and petty frauds that they practice on their patients, but would plead pecuniary embarrassment or downright poverty as an excuse. In the summer months, for instance, an ordinarily good practice often dwindles down to almost nothing, yet the rent and living expenses go on just the same. The worried doctor, with wits sharpened and conscience dulled, looks about him for relief, and then it is that the unwary patient is advised to undergo an operation or receives a long course of treatment.

"The tonsils must come out! A familiar remark, is it not? Furthermore, it is much better to operate in June or July (if you can hold your patient) than in the winter or early spring when business is brisk. . . .

"A well-known physician . . . whose reputation is of the best, told me recently that his great success in medicine was not due to any unusual skill or knowledge, but to the fact that he was a 'damned good business man.' After further investigation . . . I discovered that he was rated so highly simply because he could cure the ills he personally caused.

"His first diagnosis when he finds that the patient is a drivelling hypochondriac is 'stomach trouble,' 'gastric catarrah' . . . or some other reverberating name, which impresses the patient. His first treatment in such a case, almost without exception, is to administer to this poor creature large and repeated doses of potassium iodide in some form, with instructions to return if he feels nausea, headache, pain, or a bad taste in the mouth.

"Now it happens that potassium iodide, given in large and repeated doses and taken with a small quantity of water, causes these exact symptoms . . . Consequently the dupe goes back for relief, . . . and the iodide is gradually reduced, while the pocketbook is being relieved of its contents. In the course of the second or third week the poor frail shadow of a patient wanders into the office once more. My friend now takes pity upon him by withdrawing all of the iodide, thus effecting a brilliant cure of the disease with the high-sounding name. The delighted patient, naturally, is most

grateful. Having other friends afflicted with stomach trouble, he tells them of the clever doctor who has dragged him from the jaws of death. They, too, flock to the master physician, and of course, are eventually 'cured,' the time in each case depending on the limit of patience and the extent of the bank account. . . .

"When a young graduate in medicine hangs out his sign in a large city he must not expect, as a rule, to make his expenses for at least a year. Sometimes, however, fortune provides an early opportunity for him to distinguish himself. Such a chance befell a certain young physician in New York a number of years ago. He had been practicing only a short time—that is to say, he had taken an office and displayed his sign—when it happened, one day, that being the only doctor available he was called by a rich family to attend a young woman for some abdominal complaint. The young doctor soon found that the trouble was insignificant, but he felt that to release his hold on such a case so quickly would not be good business. Accordingly, he looked grave, and after a prolonged examination, announced that the patient was really in a very serious condition which required immediate operation. As he was a good talker and possessed unlimited 'cheek,' he succeeded in winning the confidence of both patient and family, and soon secured their consent to an operation. He lost no time in performing it, sewed up the wound and, after a period of after treatment, sent in a bill for $2,000. The exorbitant charge was paid without a murmur. The grateful family were made to believe that this able and prompt young surgeon had saved their dear one's life, and for such a service no price they were able to pay was too high.

"Before the patient had quite recovered, however, the shrewd surgeon discovered a complication that demanded another operation. Having gained the complete confidence of the unsuspecting family by his first remarkable success, his word was now law in the household. A second operation was performed, and a second bill for $2,000 duly honored. Then, finding the game so easy, he played it for all there was in it. It seems incredible, but he actually succeeded in inducing that poor, rich victim to undergo another abdominal operation at the same modest figure.

"Whether the family became disillusioned after the third operation, or whether the young surgeon feared to tempt the devil once more, I can not say. He went abroad almost immediately afterwards, took a special course in surgery, and returned to America well equipped, both professionally and financially. He owes his start to this one case which he handled (or rather mishandled) with such consummate effrontery."

In speaking of professional ethics, Dr. Barnesby sheds a world of illumination. "A doctor whose record is but a succession of failures, may not only stand high in professional circles but may be instrumental in causing the removal of the best practitioner in the community if the latter has been so unfortunate as to confound ethics with 'medical ethics.' For example, Doctor A., finding that Doctor B. has lost a patient through carelessness or stupidity, may forfeit his career if he so much as hints at the truth to the victim's family. The first offense—killing a patient—is a mere transgression of the moral law; the second violates the higher law of 'medical ethics' and is unpardonable. Hence A. continues his practice, maiming and killing as he pleases, while the over-zealous B. moves away to try to live down his disgrace."

Dr. Barnesby prophesies that in the near future the expression "medical ethics" will be swept away and the standard of professional men become the Golden Rule. We agree with Dr. Barnesby only we do not expect the great change till after the abolition of the Rule of Gold, when men shall be economically independent and your illnesses and my sickness and pain do not mean financial prosperity to the physician and surgeon.

Dr. Barnesby gives us some excellent advice that we may, however, benefit by today.

In all cases of surgery, he advises us to demand of our physician to know how many operations of the kind he has already successfully performed. In cases of sickness we must demand to KNOW.

"Medical Chaos and Crime" is full of

information everybody should possess, but after all, the position of the physicians and surgeons is a hopeless one under Capitalism. Capitalism will never remove the economic need of the young and unexperienced doctor, nor of any other doctor, and life, in the profession, is a continual struggle, as it is everywhere else.

When the great day comes that men and women have abundant opportunity to earn a bounteous living honorably, then and then only will graft, deceit and actual murder pass away.

But if this book is an argument in favor of physicians becoming Socialists, what must it not mean to the PATIENTS upon whose sufferings and deaths Necessity grows fat! Surely it is to their interests above all, to insure professional men economic freedom in order that they, themselves, may cease to be prey.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW LECTURE BUREAU

FREE TO LOCALS

Our object in planning the Review Lecture Bureau is to increase the circulation of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, to supply lecturers who are representative of revolutionary socialism—men and women who will drive home the things the REVIEW is trying to say to the working class, and to put some money into the local's treasury.

We have been fortunate in securing William D. Haywood to fill dates for us. Comrade Haywood has returned from his tour of Europe filled with enthusiasm for the growing solidarity of labor he has found in every country. No American has ever spoken to the enormous crowds in Europe that greeted Haywood everywhere he went. Stokers, dockers, boilermakers, thousands upon thousands of miners and other working men and women heard him and refused to go home when his meetings closed. "More, more"! was the cry that greeted Haywood whereever he spoke.

We have a plan whereby it will be possible for every Local in the country to have a Haywood date, without any expense to the Local. The comrades guarantee to take 500 admission tickets at 25 cents each. Each card is good for a three month subscribtion to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, wherein Hawyood hopes to repeat, drive home and clinch the arguments he makes in his lectures. This is the perfect propaganda. No man or woman ever grew sleepy at a Haywood lecture or forgot what Haywood said. They will get these things in permanent form in copies of the REVIEW.

The 500 tickets sold at 25 cents each, will be $125 of which we will pay $25 on hall rent, furnish posters, dodgers, and pay all of Haywood's expenses. We will send FREE 200 copies of the current number of the REVIEW to be sold at the meeting for the benefit of the Local. The Local keeps the collection and literature sales. The Local takes half of all tickets sold over 500. Remember each admission ticket is good for a three-months' subscription to the REVIEW. There is no better way to arouse the workingmen and women in your city than to get them to hear Haywood speak and to send copies of the REVIEW into their homes every month.

We are filling dates for Haywood in the central states at this time. Take up this matter with your local and write for a date NOW if you want to plan a lecture for February, March, or April. We will send on the cards, to be paid for on date of lecture.

FRANK BOHN, former delegate to the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, and state organizer of New York, starts out for the REVIEW Lecture Bureau, beginning February 16th. Every town that has had a Bohn lecture is asking for more, and Comrade Solomon, state secretary of New York, states that Comrade Bohn is one of the best organizers and speakers that has ever piled up good results in that state. Frank Bohn is a college man and can give you a scholastic treatise if you want it, but he is going out for the REVIEW because he wants to talk to workingmen and women and to put the FIGHTING MAGAZINE into new locals.

Pennsylvania and Ohio comrades can have dates in February and March by applying promptly. We will send on 200 admission tickets, to be sold at 25 cents each. Each ticket will bring three numbers of the REVIEW to holder. It will be the local's chance to break in with revolutionary propaganda. We will donate 100 copies of the current number of the REVIEW to be sold at the meeting for the benefit of the local. If the comrades prefer to take 50 yearly REVIEW subscription cards rather than 200 three-months' cards (to be used as tickets), we will send them instead. Collection and book sales go to the local.

But don't plan to have a lecture with only 200 people attending. Get 500. Frank Bohn will keep them alert and interested. He will give them more straight socialism in one hour than most lecturers KNOW. We will send cards in advance to bona fide locals, to be paid for at the Bohn lecture.

Subjects on which Frank Bohn will speak are as follows:

The Trusts and the Labor Movement.
Socialism (general propaganda lecture).
Economic Interpretation of History.
The Revolution of 1776 and the Constitution.
History of the American Labor Movement.
The Farm Democracy in America.
Slavery and Anti-Slavery, the Civil War.
Industrial Unionism.



FRANK BOHN

EDITORIAL

An Eight-Hour Work Day.—The Socialists and Industrial Unionists in Portland, Oregon, have started a campaign for a universal eight-hour working day, to be started by the workers themselves on the second day of May, 1912. In this agitation they ask the help of the Socialist Press, the Socialist Party, all other Locals of the I. W. W., the American Federation of Labor, and all other organizations interested in the welfare of the working class. The REVIEW warmly endorses this movement, and stands ready to help it in any possible way. As a rule we have small faith in most palliatives, because too often they work out to the advantage of some group of capitalists instead of helping the working class. The eight-hour movement is different. If a wage-worker who has been toiling nine, ten, eleven or twelve hours a day can by uniting with his fellow workers on the political or industrial field, or both, reduce his hours of labor to eight, he is at once better off as an individual, he begins leading a healthier, happier life. What is more, his position in the labor market is distinctly improved. If the capitalists can no longer force men to work long hours, they will require more men to do the same work. There will thus be more jobs; the competition of men for jobs will be less keen, and they can make better terms for the sale of their labor power. As Comrade Haywood says, "If there is an unemployed man, it means that YOU are working too many hours." Here is a fight in which the interests of skilled and unskilled workers are manifestly the same, and they should stand side by side in this concerted demand. The highly skilled workers in many trades have already won the eight-hour day for themselves. But as Comrade Wheeler shows in this month's REVIEW, the new automatic machinery which the capitalists are rapidly installing will presently deprive these aristocrats of labor of all their advantage. To hold what they have already gained they must make common cause with the over-worked and underpaid laborers whom they have left outside their organizations. Every one of these is now a menace to the union man. Here is the "Something Right Now" for which reformers have urged revolutionists to unite. If you work for wages, a universal eight-hour work-day is a vital matter for You. If you yourself already have an eight-hour day, this movement will help you keep it; otherwise you may lose it soon. If you are working longer hours, this movement will give you at once some of the things you want most, and best of all, it will put bigger things within your grasp. Get together. The eight-hour day in 1912 is a possibility for all of us who stand together and demand it. And when once we have united to get that, we shall be in a position to demand more and ever more until we control the machines by which we must live. Discuss the eight-hour day in your Socialist Party Local and in your union. Talk about it to every wage-worker you meet. Write about it to the papers, speak of it from the soap-box, and help start an agitation that by next year will sweep everything before it. It can be done. The time is ripe. This can be made a winning fight, and if we win, it is the beginning of the end of capitalism.

"Nationalism."—Tradition has it that a wise man, wise beyond his generation, for he lived in the age of prayer, once said: "O Lord, deliver me from my friends; I can take care of my enemies myself." We feel like echoing his prayer when we read some of the books on Socialism by amiable idiots who talk, and write, and print, and publish without ever having an inkling of the real meaning of Socialism or of the class struggle. These reflections are suggested by a recent book entitled "Nationalism," which comes to us from the author, Mr. Edwin Gilmore Richards, Sharon, Mass. It is neatly printed, but the union label is conspicuous by its absence. Mr. Richards is to be congratulated on his choice of a title, and we should not criticize him but for his statement: "Nationalism is similar to Socialism—perhaps it is the same thing." Probably few working people will read this book; which is fortunate. Were they to

do so, they would infer that Socialists were indifferent spectators of the class struggle which is the supreme fact of modern times, and that we were leisurely planning the details of a philanthropists' paradise in which all good children should be rewarded and all bad children gently but firmly regulated by the elected representatives of All the People. It is a book that would drive a real workingman to drink, while it would call forth a tolerant smile from a trust magnate. Fortunately books like this one are far less common than a few years ago. Class lines are tightening, and sentimentalists are at a discount. They are only dangerous when they succeed in fastening themselves upon the Socialist Party. Where they succeed in doing so, they paralyze it for a while, but only for a while. Even our fool friends are powerless to stop the processes of evolution.

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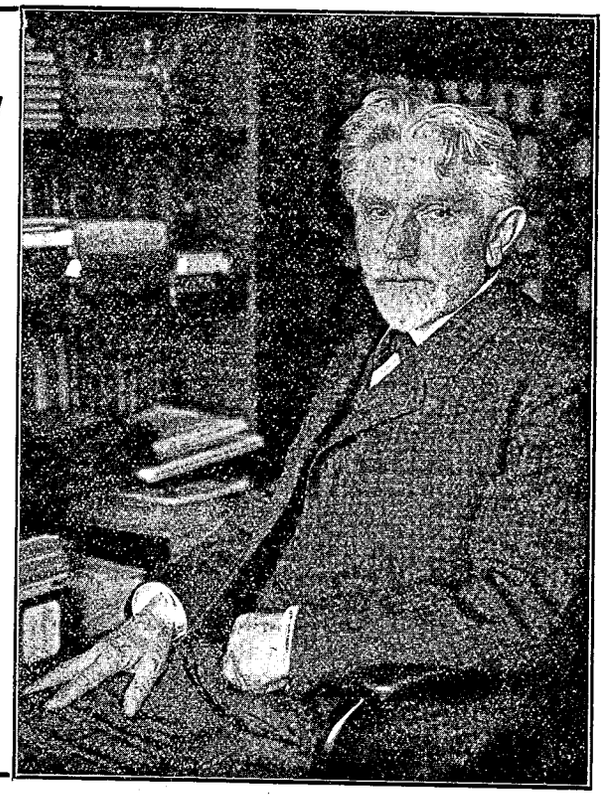
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

FRANCE. Another Moyer-Haywood Case. International capitalism is bound to repeat its campaign methods internationally. We had our Moyer-Haywood case two years ago; France is having hers today. It is an old play with a new title. This time it is called the Durand case. France is much wrought up over it.

M. Durand, a union official, was found guilty of killing a scab. The scab, a man named Donge, was killed; there was no doubt of that. Durand was nowhere near when the murder was committed; this, too, was established for certain. Yet Durand was held guilty of the murder. When a labor union man is accused of a crime a completely established alibi is always considered incriminating.

In many highly civilized countries nobody would get much excited about a man's being punished for a crime that wasn't proved against him. Ordinarily they wouldn't in France. But it happened that the penalty adjudged in this case was death. Sentence was pronounced some weeks ago at Rouen. Now the French have sentimental objections to judicial murder. So a tremendous protest was raised against the decapitation of Durand. Once public attention was called to the matter it was seen that there was little or no proof of guilt. Then the Socialist newspapers and one or two members of the Chamber of Deputies began to look into the case. They found that Durand had been condemned on the testimony of one man. This person testified that Durand had presided at a meeting where Donge, the scab, had been condemned to death. But now that the trial is over the witness confesses that all he knows about the whole matter is that he once heard Durand say: "We must have nothing more to do with this man Donge."

The public protest against carrying out the death sentence gathered such volume that the government became alarmed and reduced Durand's punishment to seven years' imprisonment. But the unions are not satisfied. They demand a complete vindication of their comrade. This, of course, can be secured only by a retrial. This is what the workers are fighting for at present.

ENGLAND. The Election. A year ago they had an election in England. The Liberals, Laborites and Irish home-rulers returned to Parliament with a majority pledged to put the House of Lords out of commission as a co-ordinate institution. The year has gone by. The Lords are as obstreperous as ever. For some reason, known only to themselves, the members of the Liberal government gave up their fight and went to the country for a new verdict. Millions of money have been spent. Valuable time has been wasted. The whole country has been put in an uproar. On December 20th the election was concluded. Here is the result: Unionists, 272; Liberals, 271; Laborites, 43; Redmondites, 74; O'Brienites, 10. That is, the Unionists lost one seat; the Liberals lost three, the Laborites gained two, the Redmondites gained three. The majority backing up the government therefore remains almost exactly what it was before the election took place. All the expense and excitement went for nothing. The government has exactly the same commission from the people which it had before the election machinery was put into operation.

Justice sums up the whole matter under the title, "The Victory of Buncombe" The Liberals are the world's champion promise fabricators. And once more their promises have been believed. Thousands of Socialists have believed and voted for Liberal members. This is the main lesson of the election. The British electorate still walks by faith and not by sight.

But while the practical result of the election has been nil, certain features of it have their lesson to teach. The Labor party gained two seats, and in this fact there is some cause for rejoicing. But the campaign carried on by the Laborites has done nothing to allay the suspicions aroused by this party last January. It

was often stated at that time that the Labor party had entered into a coalition with the Liberals. This charge was indignantly denied. Those who have taken the denials in good faith will be pained to learn that whereas one year ago the Labor party put up twenty-five candidates to fight three-cornered contests, at the most recent election they put up only eight. And it is somewhat disconcerting to learn that of these eight not a single one was elected. Only one Labor candidate was elected over a Liberal, and that was in a Scotch constituency where there was no Tory in the field. The other forty-two who were returned have won their places with the consent of the Liberal managers. In some constituencies the Liberals put up no candidates, but merely saw to it that an unobjectionable Laborite made the run against the Unionists. In certain constituencies which have double representation in Parliament, one Liberal and one Laborite were nominated. Each elector, of course, had two votes. The Liberals, naturally, voted for the Laborite, and the Laborites did as much for the Liberal.

It was under these conditions that the Labor party made its gain of two seats. No one would dare claim that this gain represents an increase in working class power. On the other hand, the whole history of the election goes to show that the Labor party is more dependent on the good will of the Liberals than any of us had supposed. Of course, there were individual Labor candidates who made straight Socialist campaigns. Keir Hardie, it should be recorded, fought as hard against the government as the most devoted Socialist could wish. But as to the party as a whole, it stands impeached before the labor movement of the world.

The Social Democratic party lost votes. This is a discouraging fact to face, but it is not by any means the worst thing that could happen. One thing it seems to be teaching our English comrades, and that is the fact that they must work with all their might for electoral reform. The representation in Parliament is not according to population. The rotten borough system of England is still rotten. In one constituency a large Socialist vote goes for nothing; in another a small Liberal or Tory vote returns a candidate victor. Candidates are still fined a large sum for presuming to run. Worse than all this, the qualified electors are only a small minority of the population. If political action is worth anything at all these conditions must be made the point of Socialist attack. The Social Democrats are more and more waking up to this fact.

AUSTRALIA. The Release of Peter Bowling. In October the Australian Labor party secured control of another state government. It elected 46 of the 90 members of the legislative assembly of New South Wales. New South Wales will be remembered as the scene of the Newcastle coal strike of last year, the strike which ended in the jailing of the Union leaders. On Jan. 10, 1910, Peter Bowling, the miners' president, was sentenced to a jail term of two years for "inciting to strike." Ever since then the Labor and Socialist press has kept up an agitation for his release. The recently inaugurated labor government of New South Wales took office Monday morning. Oct. 23. Monday night at 8:30 Peter Bowling was released. He was enthusiastically welcomed to freedom by the Trades Council and Socialists of Sydney.

Perhaps the most significant thing he has said since his release is that hereafter he will not work with either politicians or political bodies in any industrial struggle. He attributes the failure of the coal strike, as well as his own imprisonment, to the "influence" of labor politicians.

The Labor Party in Power. It is something to get any proposal out of the realm of mere discussian into the realm of experiment. This is what has happened in Australia. Here at last we have a chance to find out from actual experience whether government by a Labor Party means anything to the working class. The Australian Labor party has finished its first legislative session. It has had its own cabinet and a good majority in both House and Senate. It went into power pledged to certain reforms in taxation and the control of industry. The tax reforms have been got fairly under way. The Land Tax Bill, the object of which is to break up the large landed estates, espe-

cially those owned by absentees, has been passed. It lays a tax of four pence in the pound on estates worth over £5,000 in unimproved value, and adds a penny per pound in the case of absentee owners. Churches and labor unions are excepted.

Legislation looking toward the control of industry presents greater difficulties. It is not to be had for the enacting. The sacred constitution stands in the way. "Go to," say the members of the Labor government, "we will amend this constitution." And this is what they are now about. Two bills have been passed submitting constitutional amendments to popular referendum. One of these, if carried, will confer upon the legislative bodies of the commonwealth full power over "trade, commerce, corporations, industries, monopolies, labor and employment." Under "labor and employment" are specifically mentioned wages and industrial disputes. The second constitutional amendment to be submitted gives the lawmakers authority to nationalize monopolies.

A number of minor legislative enactments have been passed in response to the demands of the working class. The Conciliation and Arbitration Act has been amended, although not as extensively as the unionists desired. Hereafter the unions are to be allowed to use their funds for political purposes. But the amendment making it mandatory on a judge to give unionists the preference in the settlement of all industrial disputes has been defeated; nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the Labor government has done its best to enact a series of working-class laws.

But the working class has a right to demand something more than laws. It is as the administrator of public affairs that a government comes most immediately in contact with the working class and working class problems. And in its administrative capacity it must be acknowledged that the Australian Labor ministry has made a mess of things. At least it has been a complete failure so far as the interests of the working class are concerned.

For one thing, this Labor government treats its own employes abominably. It has not yet consented to grant its postal clerks a minimum wage of seven shillings. And the linemen on the government telephone lines get only eight shillings.

But the attitude of the government toward the workers involved in industrial disputes is of even greater importance. It affects the working class of the entire nation. The real test of any government so far as the workers are concerned is, Does it favor or oppose the working class in its struggle to rise out of poverty and misery? What is the result of the application of this test to the Labor government of Australia?

In the records of its administration it is difficult to discover anything to distinguish it from the typical bourgeois government. It carries on official strike-breaking, if need be, with all the enthusiasm and efficiency to which we are accustomed in other lands. Take the case of the tramway strike in Adelaide. The Labor party is in power in South Australia, the state in which Adelaide is situated. The Adelaide tramways are owned by the state. The laborers employed on the tracks are members of the United Laborers' Union. They demanded of the contractor who hired them to work for the state an increase in wages. When the request was refused a strike followed. The Labor premier of South Australia sent police to protect the scabs who were employed to break the strike. The strikers were ordered away from the tram lines. All who insisted on remaining in the vicinity of their jobs were arrested and sentenced to jail terms of from one to four months.

It is worth nothing in this connection that Mr. Hughes, the present attorney-general of Australia, was indirectly, if not directly, responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of Peter Bowling.

The Labor party of Australia bears no resemblance to the Labor party of England. It is full of class conscious, determined workers. Its press fights consistently and intelligently for the working class. The party objective, which is Socialism, is never lost sight of. In fact, it may not take many years to turn this party into a real Socialist organization. But the men who now have their grip on the party machinery, the men who have been put into the highest offices of state, are certainly a bad lot. They are working the working class in masterly style.

SWITZERLAND. Socialist Party Congress. The annual congress of the Socialist party of Switzerland met at Basel, November 26-27. The report of the executive committee showed that though there are enough Socialists in the country to send a fairly strong group of representatives to the national parliament, the party organization is comparatively weak. The trouble seems to be that there are a number of Socialist organizations working independently. This matter was brought up for discussion and action. As a result a committee was chosen to draw up a plan for complete reorganization of Socialist forces.

But the most important action taken had to do with the relations between the Socialist party and the labor unions. These relations are at present far from satisfactory. Comrade Grim, of Bern, introduced a long and complicated resolution dealing with the whole matter. In his address supporting his resolution he outlined the development of industry in Switzerland, showing how the capitalist class had gradually gained control of the machinery of government. His conclusions were that the political movement toward revolution would come to naught were it not supported by a strong revolutionary labor movement. The majority of the delegates were strongly of his opinion. A committee was appointed to take up this subject, also. This committee is to consult with representatives of the labor unions, devise a plan for co-operation between the industrial and political movements of the working class, and report its recommendations to the congress to be held next year.

PORTUGAL. Workers Demand More Than "Freedom." As the REVIEW goes to press the cable brings news of a great railway strike in Portugal. Practically all the railways of the new republic seem to be tied up. It is reported that representatives of the men have refused an offered raise of twenty-five per cent in wages. Thus far the strike has taken its course with remarkably good order. Evidently the strikers are not bent on embarassing the government.

Socialists are naturally much interested in this latest development in the Portuguese situation. Apparently the meaning of it is that the workers of Portugal, some of them, at least, realize that they need a better life as well as more liberty. In a perfectly orderly and concerted manner they are, apparently, laying claim to some of the good which is to result from the revolution.

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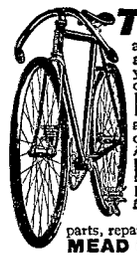
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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

SOME close observers of economic developments are beginning to wonder whether another religious controversy is likely to be engendered in the trade union movement. We can all remember the A. P. A. fervor that was rampant fifteen or twenty years ago and the trouble it created in the political field especially. The organized labor movement, while not very conspicuous at that time, because it was the period of transition from the K. of L. to the A. F. of L., was nevertheless sorely handicapped in many parts of the country by the religious zealots whose fighting blood was warmed by the struggles between the advocates of Protestantism on the one side and Catholicism on the other.

There was much talk at the time on the one side that every Catholic church was really an arsenal, that carloads of rifles were secretly stored under the altars, and that the faithful were drilling nightly in the basements. Likewise, it was said in all seriousness that the Orangemen and A. P. A.'s were constantly busy in plotting to capture the country and send their opponents into kingdom come by wholesale. Workers by the tens of thousands in industrial institutions eyed each other suspiciously, as though they expected an immediate attack, and when it came to voting they were in each other's hair with a vengeance, with the result, of course, that the politicians, Protestant or Catholic, usually managed to bob out on top of the heap.

The Populist movement was pushing to the front, and the shrewd capitalists and their smooth politicians fully realized that if the common herd could be kept on battling over the question of the safest route to heaven, the aforesaid herd would remain in the old parties to reward their friends and punish their enemies, and thus the reforms for which the middle class were clamoring would be defeated or postponed and enable the captains of industry to carry out their centralization schemes, which have been duly inaugurated on schedule time.

That Mark Hanna, one of the most astute capitalistic politicians that ever lived, successfully used the religious organizations to smash Populism and tighten the stranglehold of big business on its middle capitalist competitors, the trustification and monopolization movement of the past fifteen years fully demonstrates.

Now a new chapter in economic and political history is being written, and Hanna clearly foresaw what was coming. In the only talk I ever had with Uncle Mark—in which he extended a cordial and insistent invitation that I join the Civic Federation to assist in getting something "right now" for labor—he proved to my own satisfaction that he understood a great deal of Socialist philosophy, the progress of the movement abroad and its possibilities here in America. But he thought the best thing to be done at that juncture, "as socialism was a long way off," was to get over the rough spots in the roadway by establishing harmony between capital and labor. "I could secure the nomination for President," said he, "but my ambition is not in that direction. All the efforts of my remaining years will be devoted to securing a better understanding between the men of capital and the men of labor."

By way of parenthesis, I have often wondered whether Sam Gompers copied the phrase, "men of labor," which he uses upon every possible occasion, from Uncle Mark or Hanna borrowed it from him. I am inclined to the view that the modern Warwick invented the term, as he was disposed to accept the Bryanesque confusion in this respect that a man's labor is his capital, and, therefore, the workingmen are in reality small "men of capital" (and the Lord knows that a lot of them feel that when they exploit themselves for the benefit of a boss their wages are capital). The plain old terms of capitalists and laborers ought to answer all purposes without any frills or furbelows.

But to get back to the text. There has been a rapidly growing campaign among

the religious folk during the past few years to get close to the labor movement. In the Protestant wing the Presbyterians took the lead, and at the Norfolk convention, four years ago, Rev. Charles Stelzle, who was formerly a machinist, came along as a fraternal delegate and made an eloquent appeal for co-operation between the church and organized labor. He reappeared at Denver, Toronto and St. Louis and repeated his message. At these conventions Rev. Stelzle made many friends, and he even succeeded in forming a "Temperance Fellowship," which included prominent officers of the Federation and international unions.

Suddenly, at the St. Louis convention, who should appear but a Catholic priest, Rev. Peter Dietz, a Jesuit of Oberlin, Ohio. Father Touehy, who is pushing along the co-operative movement among the organized farmers, was also there. Likewise Archbishop Glennon, of St. Louis, delivered a sermon for the benefit of the delegates in his cathedral about "beer mug philosophy," which was wired through the country by the Associated Press as an attack on socialism. The Knights of Columbus held meetings to entertain delegates, and it was freely commented that there were more Celtic names on the list of delegates than ever was known before.

A bunch of Jews from the eastern section of the country sat up and took notice. Likewise there were many nonchurchgoers who began to mutter. The unrepresented ones asked each other what it meant, and the Jewish brethren thought it would be a good idea to have a rabbi at the next convention to hold the stage for a spell and explain the Hebrew view of the labor situation. And it must be admitted that the rabbi could dig up a lot of ancient history.

Whether the agnostics and free thought societies will follow suit and join in introducing a grand field day on religious subjects at future A. F. of L. conventions remains to be seen. Certainly, if any one representative is entitled to air his views all others must be accorded the same privilege. The Federation can play no favorites in this respect.

But what is below the surface in this sudden display of friendship for labor on the part of certain sects that have discouraged and frowned upon the organization of the workers, not only in America, but in Europe and all other parts of the world? Why these hysterical admonitions and solemn warnings of certain pulpiteers against socialism and radicalism? "Divide and conquer!" has been the shibboleth of the tyrant and his servitors for centuries, and all signs indicate that the world-old scheme is to be given another trial. The famous prediction of Mark Hanna, that the next great political battle would be between Republicanism and socialism, and that in such a contest the Republican party would have the support of the church, is being fulfilled.

By appealing to religious prejudices the church bosses, who have the opportunities to conspire while those who feed them are at work, hope to discredit the radicals and create a division, caring little whether their meddling brings wreck and ruin and having only a single eye to compelling the servant to obey his master.

I don't believe that the scheme will prove successful. In nearly every great revolutionary movement in which the church sided with reaction, and in which the masses had fewer educational opportunities than they possess nowadays, the church has been worsted in the contest, with the result that its temporal power is gone forever, and the leaders in that institution, if they are not completely blinded by their stupidity and unable to judge the future by history, ought to know that their intrigues will recoil upon their own heads.

The religious bonds that bound the peoples of the past have been greatly loosened in recent years. The cry now is, "Why don't the workingmen go to church?" and the answer is plain enough. The present-day pulpiteers, with few honorable exceptions, do not and dare not promulgate the doctrines of the fathers of the church. Their material interests won't permit them. Their dependence upon the capitalistic profit-takers and contributors to build magnificent cathedrals and luxurious homes—when Christ was born in a barn and preached upon the highways—is too rich a prize to be surrendered for the martyrdom of espousing the cause of the poor and oppressed.

No; the smug clergy of today would rather sit in their mansions, supplied with

every modern convenience produced by labor, than to break bread with the despoiled and impoverished working class, whom they delight to lecture and point out the errors of their ways; they rather prefer to bask in the smiles of the usurious scoundrels who rob widows and orphans and pile up billions of wealth than to aid in the world-wide movement of the toiling masses to shake the parasitical capitalists from their backs and force them to perform honest labor for their own support.

Let these clerical bourbons, who never learn or forget anything, proceed with their program, but believe me they will be met at every turn of the road by an awakened working class which will not permit itself to be wooed by any siren song of rewards in a future paradise commensurate with the sufferings endured here below.

Capitalism and its concomitant evils must go, and the churchy gentlemen are getting on mighty dangerous ground when they attempt to interfere in the contest that is now in progress.



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". "MEXICO, or more properly DIAZ, challenged for barbarity, does not answer convincingly." These words are quoted not from any revolutionist, but from the editorial page of one of the greatest capitalist newspapers, the Chicago Tribune. The "challenge" to which the Tribune refers is

BARBAROUS MEXICO

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

"The truth regarding the slaves of Yucatan, of the Valle Nacional and the Valley of Death is a gruesome, horrible story of wretched human beings kidnaped, whipped and worked to death in behalf of Mexican, American and European capitalists. . . . Around this atrocious system of extracting dividends from the bodies of men, women and children, the slavers have organized a police, military and government machine with such efficient auxiliaries as press and other agents of publicity to keep the truth from the world. . . The American partners of the Mexican savage include the big press agencies, American millionaires who have enormous investments in Mexico, and the federal government at Washington. For a number of years the federal government has lent its police powers to Diaz in the endeavor to turn Mexican liberals over to the Mexican hangmen.

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LITERATURE

Anarchism and Other Essays. By Emma Goldman. With biographic sketch by Hippolyte Havel. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East 13th street. Cloth, $1.10.

The author defines Anarchism as follows: "The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary." Her opening essay is a "horrible example" of the metaphysical method of reasoning from unproved assumptions to fantastic conclusions. For example she assumes (page 60): "The A. B. C. student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand a hundredfold." This is a gross exaggeration, such as inexperienced socialist speakers often make, thus weakening whatever good arguments they may have. The probable truth is that IF waste were eliminated and IF large-scale production (against which Miss Goldman declaims in the same essay) were extended over the whole field of industry, the possible product, apart from new technical improvements, would be five times what is needed. This is on the assumption that hours of labor are not shortened, but the common sense of the average wage-worker would call for their shortening at the earliest possible moment. What Miss Goldman advocates, however, is the abolition of centralized production and a return to the old wasteful methods, for the sake of developing the "free initiative" of the workers.

All through the essay there is an assumption that the tyranny of church and state are at least as fundamental causes of misery as private ownership of the means of production. For her, Marx and Engels have written in vain; her philosophy of life has more in common with that of the theologian, whom she detests, than with that of the Socialists, whom she criticises because they are trying in the most "direct" way to take the guns and clubs away from the capitalists.

The "other essays" are much better than the first, and contain much that is worth reading. The author's philosophy of life is that of the peasant-proprietors of the eighteenth century, but her sympathies are broad enough to take in the revolutionary wage-workers of all the world. She has made and is making a heroic fight for free speech, and while she says a great many things with which we cannot agree, we cannot but admire the courageous way in which she says them.

Whirligigs. By O. Henry; published by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, L. I., N. Y. Price, $1.20.

More American than Poe, more American even than Harte, O. Henry swiftly made his way upward in the hearts of a constantly growing audience till he became the most widely read short story writer of his time. This last collection of his stories, the title of which he selected shortly before his death, is not confined to NewYork but is perhaps more representative of his varied genius than any former volume. Some people say that O. Henry lacked seriousness. But after all is not the humorist he who, possessing the very finest sense of proportion, refuses to make a tragedy of life, knowing that wailings and lamentations add to the sum total of human woe?

O. Henry lived as he wrote, with a smile on his lips when his heart was most tender and sore. It has always been the custom for little souls to regard the humorist with contempt. It is only the little people who live continual tragedies. O. Henry was a man with feelings so fine that he rarely discussed them seriously with any one. The best he gave to his wonderful reading public was always clothed in his tender humor. His utter seriousness and sensitiveness forbade the naked truth. In many ways O. Henry was a great man, and no great man was ever a tragedian to burden the world with his wails. A tragedian always suffers from a highly exaggerated ego and heralds his miseries to the four heavens. Because he towered above most men, O. Henry knew that all men are only men after all and made his own life possible

and other lives happier by dealing in comedy and humor.

One would search for a very long time before finding anywhere a story as full of quiet earnestness, of tender pathos, of noble underlying purpose as "Blind Man's Holiday" in this volume of "Whirligigs."

The well known inimitable style, the cutting wit, the whimsicality, the wonderful control of the element of surprise, the keen characterization and, above all, the infinite love for and understanding of humanity in all its complex moods and phases, all are here in this new volume—the things that will make O. Henry read in company with De Maupassant and Kipling long after other names have been forgotten.

Import and Outlook of Socialism. By Newton Mann. Boston: James H. West Company. Cloth, $1.62.

A scholarly work, faultless in literary style, by a Unitarian clergyman who believes in human brotherhood and gradual reforms that will establish "Social Justice," which, the author says, is the "supreme watchword" of Socialism. He looks at the revolutionary movement of the working class from the outside; he reproves the wage-workers who wish to keep socialism distinctively a class movement, and evidently thinks the Socialist party would be greatly improved if it had a larger proportion of professional men and property owners in it. We are very glad to see that the union label has been omitted from the book, and that it has been published at a price the average wage-worker will not pay. For any wage-worker getting his first impression of socialism from this book would probably conclude that it was a movement of "high-brows" and that he did not "belong." On the other hand, it will doubtless be read eagerly by clergymen of the more liberal sort, and by club women with essays to write. In such circles the book can do no harm, and it may even allure an occasional student into reading more and learning more.

Songs of the Army of the Night, and The Mass of Christ. By Francis Adams. New and revised edition. New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 2 East 29th street. Cloth, $1.00.

This is a reprint of a book of verse by an Australian poet, notable because unlike most writers of verse the author is himself a part of the great revolutionary movement of the working class and voices its hopes and fears, its loves and hates. If all the poems were as good as a few of them are, it would be a great book. Even as it is, we regret that the price of the little book is too high for it to have a wide circulation among wage-workers. Here are a few stanzas from a poem entitled "In the Sea-Gardens":

Yonder the band is playing
And the fine young people walk.
They are envying each other and talking
Their pretty empty talk.

There in the shade on the outskirts
Stretched on the grass I see
A man with a slouch hat smoking,
That is the man for me!

That is the man of the nation;
He works and much endures.
When all the rest is rotten,
He rises and cuts and cures.

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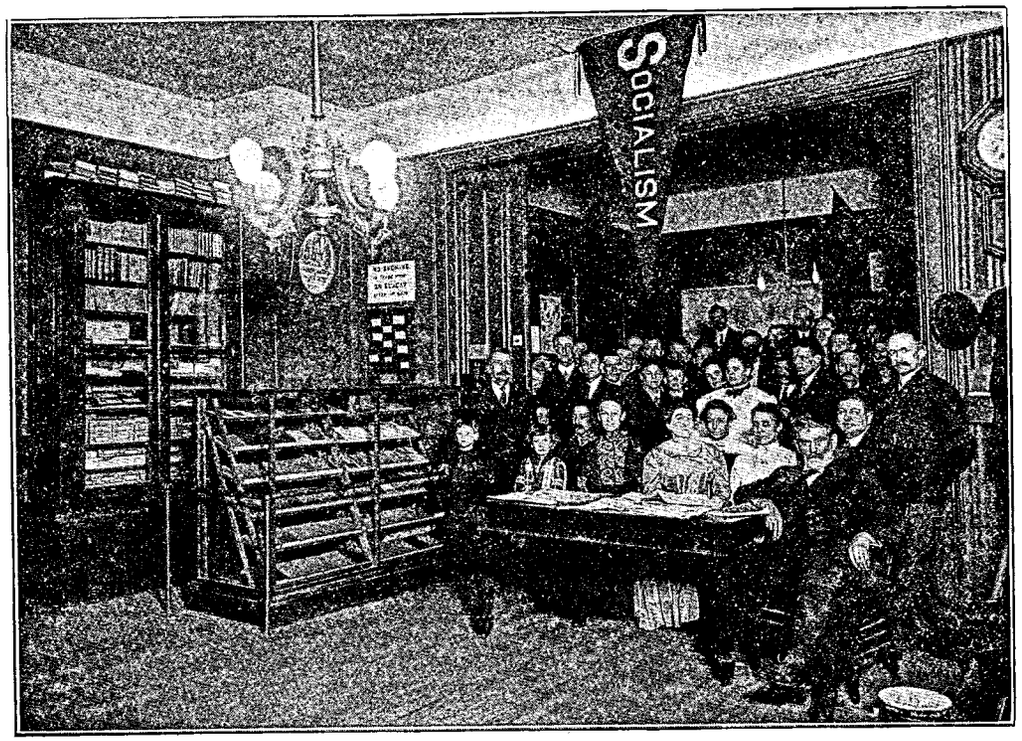
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NEWS AND VIEWS



HEADQUARTERS—KANSAS CITY, MO.

The Socialist Club of Kansas City, Mo., has a right to be proud of its open headquarters at 1400 Grand ave. For years the comrades met once a week in small halls in different parts of the city. But now they have a home of their own where visiting comrades will always find a warm welcome.

We miss the faces of many of the older comrades who in the early days fought the battles of the young organization when it meant something more than paying dues once a month to be known as a Socialist. However, we recognize Comrade Atkins, sitting at the right of the table, as one of the old guard. He writes, "We now carry about $250.00 worth of books at wholesale, mostly your publication." And after all is said and done, the most valuable work a Socialist organization can accomplish is the circulation of sound, scientific Socialist literature.

From Florence, Italy.—Let me congratulate you on the success of the REVIEW, or rather upon the vitality and the true devotion to the working class that have brought about that success.

Haywood has been with me on a visit of a few days this week and will carry to you my greetings. My health is abominable, but my hope for humanity is great. I mean by this my hope that the workers of the world, the ones who really make the world, will take the world into their own hands, and have no farther use for parasites like myself.—GEORGE D. HERRON.

Tom Lewis in Jail. Just as the REVIEW goes to press, word comes over the wire that Tom Lewis has been arrested and thrown into jail. We have to confess that we almost expected this. Almost every week we get stirring letters from Tom or some other comrade, telling us of the splendid work the comrades have been doing in Portland. Lately they have started a campaign for an 8 hour work day. Some members of the I. W. W., many Socialists and members of the A. F. of L. decided it was time to demand an eight hour day. Night after night the crowds of workingmen and women have increased at Socialist headquarters until the Portland friends have been compelled to engage Moose Hall, which seats 1,000 people. Before long the crowds that packed their way in numbered 1,200 or 1,300. The working class in Portland is back of Tom Lewis and the local comrades. There is not one of them who has not listened to the Whirlwind Soap-boxer of the Pacific, or some other soap-boxer who knew how to hand out the straight goods. On December 15th, Com-

rade Lewis wrote to us "the workers are commencing to realize that we are peddling the right goods. We are doing fine work in spite of the slump being felt here more every day. We took in 39 new members last Tuesday. There are a lot of people here out of work. Often as many as 40 sleep in our headquarters every night, out of reach of the Bulls. We will soon be starting open air meetings—and then we will want to take 1,000 REVIEWS a month." Under date of Jan. 4th he wrote, "It looks as though there would be a free speech fight on here." We guess the straight talk Tom and the Portland comrades were giving the working class got under the collars of the employers and we have no doubt that they are behind the move for the suppression of free speech in Portland. Hope to have more news on this fight for the March REVIEW.

The Revolution in Mexico. An American in Mexico who for obvious reasons can not publish his name writes us as follows:

"Received your note asking for information about the fighting, and really, beyond a few bits of local color, cannot tell anything much about it. We are not in a country of free press. "El Norte" licks the revolutionadios with tremendous slaughter every day. The betting in Chihuahua favors the capture of the city within a week in which case there will be hell to pay and lots of fun for us and not quite so much for some others. We know so much. The hospital and barracks in town are insufficient to care for the wounded, the last outfit being placed in the brewery. The insurrectos have massacred two trainloads of troops, and another outfit which left Montezuma has never been heard from. The cemetery is lined with trenches, not graves. Madera is shut off the line, they have blown up bridges and track and cut the telegraph wires that way. Navarro is surrounded by insurrectos who are concentrating their forces. The only thing of which we are certain is that there is one hell of a fight going on near Mal Paso and Pedernales. The insurrectos cornered Navarro in a mountain pass, and shot his outfit nearly to pieces, wiping out two regiments. Then reinforcements for the federals arrived from Sonora and occupied the passes with the rebels between two fires. The insurrectos promptly performed that trick known as adding 18 and 5, and when the government troops advanced to attack they found nothing. The rebels fortified another position nearby and mined the place with concealed wires. Then a feint brought on an attack in which they allowed themselves to be dislodged and promptly touched off their mines, eliminating 6,000 government soldiers from further consideration. That is our last news. The federals are mostly convicts and have no love for their cause, many are fighting in government uniforms on the insurrection side. The federals must stay massed for fear of mutiny and desertion, and when they separate, the train scrap shows what happens. A train load of 4,000 troops left Chihuahua two weeks ago. (Engineer and fireman got $1,000 each for the trip but both were shot. Also soldiers were beaten on to the train with sword backs and cowed by officers' revolvers.) They had a machine gun mounted on a flat car ahead of the engine. The revoltosos used brains and stopped them in a cut where they could not use the guns and shot all but four.

"General Navarro sent two hundred cavalry to help. The cavalry never got there—caught in a canon and exterminated. Then while the insurrectos felt like it, they turned on Navarro and killed a great number of his men. They are expert marksmen and pick off the officers, Navarro and his officers going in uniform of private soldiers. After all this roughhouse the rebels courteously permitted the captured train to come back to Chihuahua with the wounded.

At present nobody knows what is going on. There were a couple of fights in Chihuahua and nobody can find out what about or whether between rurales and insurrectos or simply rioting. The whole outfit of peons, etc., by far the majority, are Maderisto at heart, and there are spies of both sides everywhere.

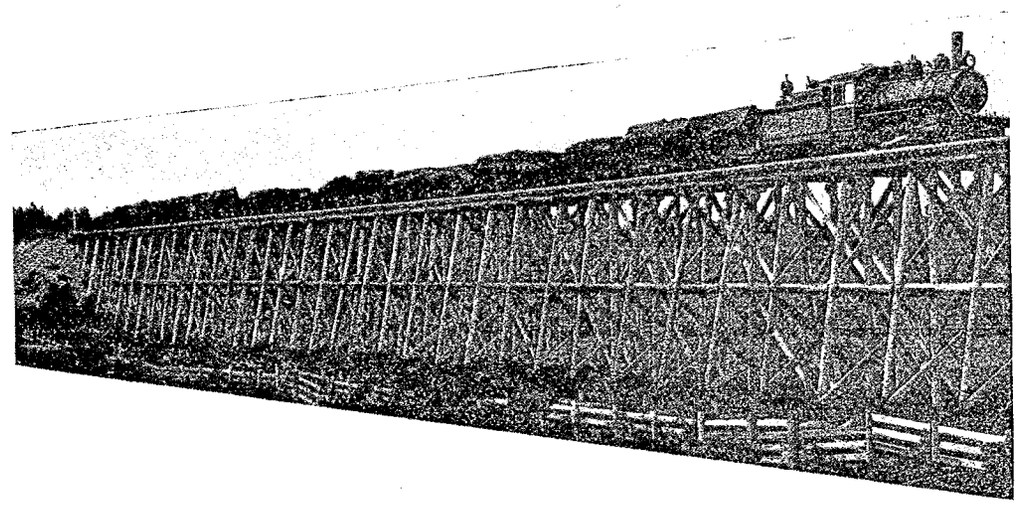
"We Gringos simply stay out of what is none of our affair. We hope it is settled soon because it is hurting business. Otherwise we watch this scrap with rather warm interest, discount rumors 90 per cent until proven, and keep our opinion as to the right or wrong to ourselves. One thing is sure—if the insurrectos take this state they will have to fight all Mexico, in which game they stand as much chance as a snowball in hell. There are gallant fighters on both sides and it is pitiable, as in our own civil war, for men of one blood to fly at each others' throats and waste lives that the Republic could use. Both sides are right as they see it and the war is simply fratricidal. These people are all right and much misjudged in the States. They are pitiably poor, but kind-hearted and well-intentioned."

In the California Redwood District.—Here in Humboldt County, California, we are in the heart of the redwood district. Eureka is the county seat of Humboldt, and at its feet are the waters of the Pacific.

The Socialist Party here elected a police judge, but we have no chance in Korbel, Samoa or Scotia. In Scotia there are 2,000 on the pay roll and only 100 votes.

Three corporations pretty nearly own the county. Each one literally carries Korbel, Samoa or Scotia in its respective pocket. The Pacific Lumber Co. owns large sawmills in Scotia, many loggng camps; they own the streets, the company store, barber shop, bank, reading room, three hotels, two churches and two company preachers, who probably think the Company is their God.

Humboldt County is a good apple country, and the company boarding houses serve apple sauce morning, noon and night. Everything is saturated with the Company.

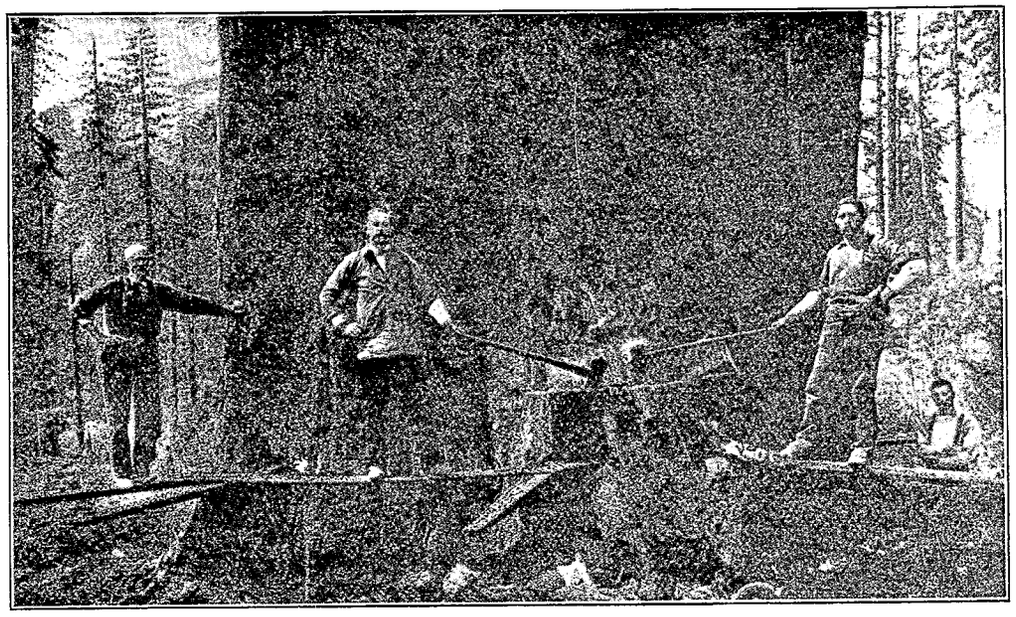


A LONG TRAIN.

Just now there are five hundred empty houses in Eureka and the Company is flooding the country with American hobos and "foreign" workingmen. The old residents are leaving. A new railroad is to be built and thousands of tramping workingmen will be shipped in here.

But there is Hope, for the I. W. W. is here doing things. Branching out from Spokane and Duluth, it is spreading all over this country and growing like mushrooms.

The boys like the International Socialist Review. They are a fine bunch of revolutionists. At our last meeting we decided to order 20 copies each month and to take up Mrs. Marcy's Study Course. All Hail to the Review!—From John P., Eureka, Cal.



CUTTERS AT WORK.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

What We Did in 1910.—Our book sales and receipts from the REVIEW during 1910 amounted to $48,249.42 during 1910 as compared with $32,908.74 during 1909, a gain of nearly fifty per cent. And this ratio does not fully represent the increase in the quantity of Socialist literature circulated, since most of it has been put out at lower prices than previously, so that the quantity of our output has at least doubled within a year. Our sales as a whole have been made at prices that barely covered the cost of printing and the necessary running expenses, including wages, postage, advertising, rent, interest, insurance and taxes. The slight excess of receipts over expenditures has been charged up to depreciation. We have, however, during 1910, increased our capital stock from $31,290 to $35,750, and have reduced our indebtedness by a corresponding amount. Our total debt is now less than the average receipts for two months, and if we were making profits it would be a simple thing to wipe it out from our ordinary receipts during 1911. But as we believe we can accomplish more for the working class movement by selling literature at cost, and as even a small debt is a hindrance and a danger, we want to raise the amount from the sale of stock this year.

Socialist Partners Wanted.—The publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is now owned by 2,200 Socialist Party Locals and party members, most of whom hold just one share each. About 1,400 shares of $10.00 each are still unsold. The sale of these would clear off every dollar of debt and would give us enough working capital to double our output of literature again during 1911.

No Dividends Promised.—No dividends have ever been paid by this publishing house and none are promised. It will be the policy of the present officers, so long as they are in control, to use all the resources of the publishing house in the most effective possible way to strengthen the movement of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism. It is altogether likely that when the capital stock of $50,000 is fully subscribed the income from the REVIEW and book sales will more than cover expenses, and that the stock will become increasingly valuable. Whether dividends shall be declared in future or not will be for the directors elected each year to decide. These directors will be elected by the stockholders, and it is a matter of vital importance that the stock be held by comrades in full sympathy with the aims of the publishing house.

ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization

One American and only one is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is **Lewis H. Morgan,** the author of this book. He was the pioneer writer on the subject. His conclusions have been fully sustained by later investigators.

This work contains a full and clear explanation of many vitally important facts, without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It shows that the successive marriage customs that have arisen have corresponded to certain definite industrial conditions. The author shows that it is industrial changes that alter the relations of the sexes, and that these changes are still going on. He shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which reformers have wailed in vain. And he points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

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The holder of a fully-paid share of stock in the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company can during the year 1911 buy the same at the following rates:

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Ten-Cent Books: 100 by express collect, $4.00; if prepaid, $5.00. Smaller lots if sent collect 5c each; if prepaid, 6c each. These prices do NOT apply to "Merrie England" nor to "What's So and What Isn't." These are $5.00 a hundred collect, $7.50 prepaid; in smaller lots 5c collect or 8c prepaid.

All Other Books: Forty per cent discount when sent prepaid, that is, 60c for a dollar book and others in proportion. Fifty per cent discount when sent collect. For $10.00 sent at one time for books to go in one package we will send prepaid books to the amount of $20.00 at retail, and more at the same rate.

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We do not sell books of other publishers at any price.

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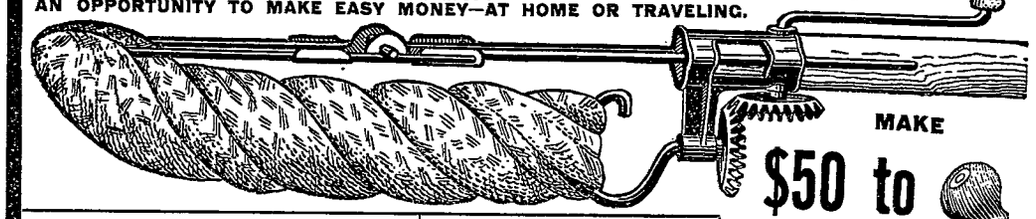
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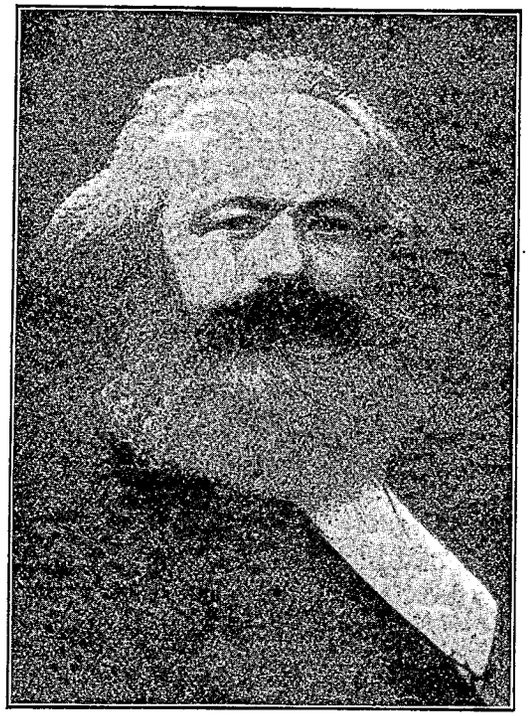
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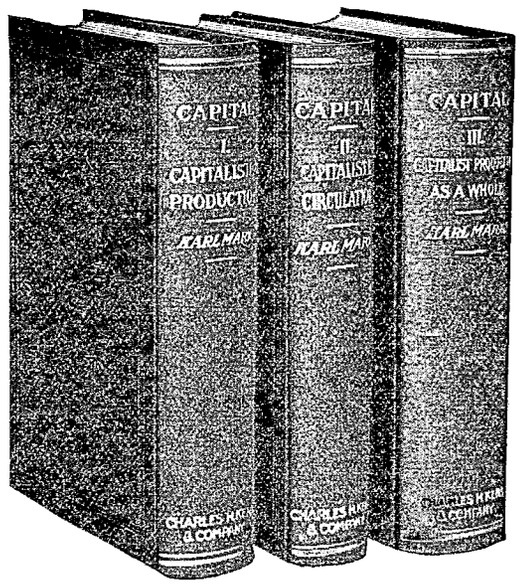


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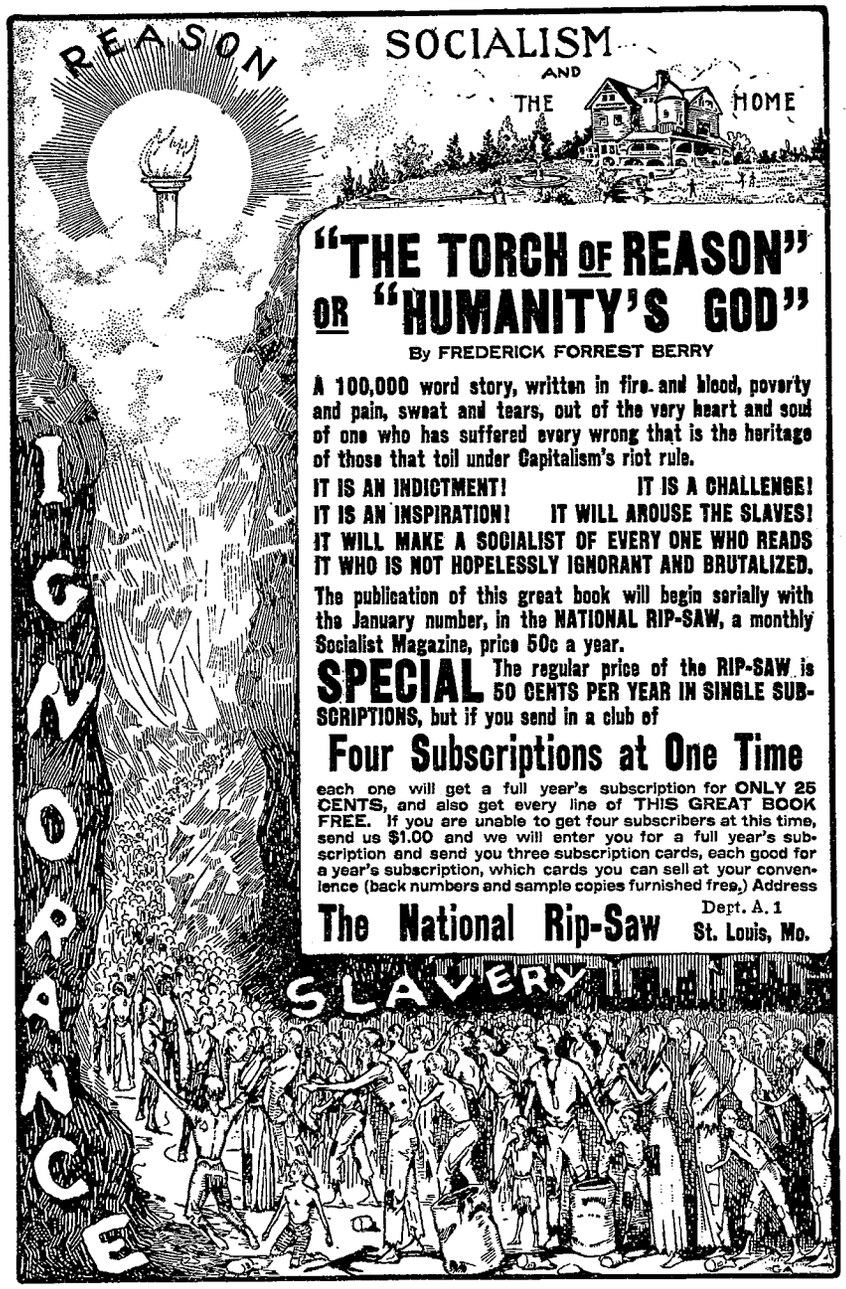


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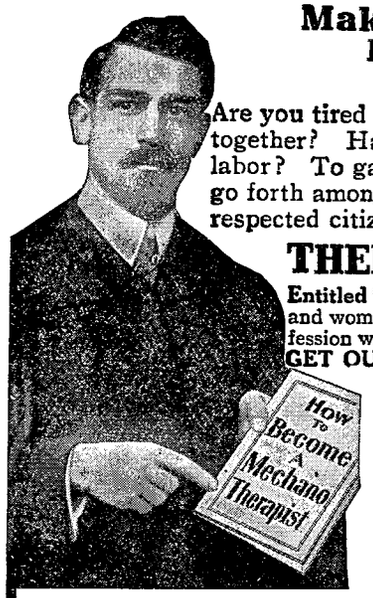
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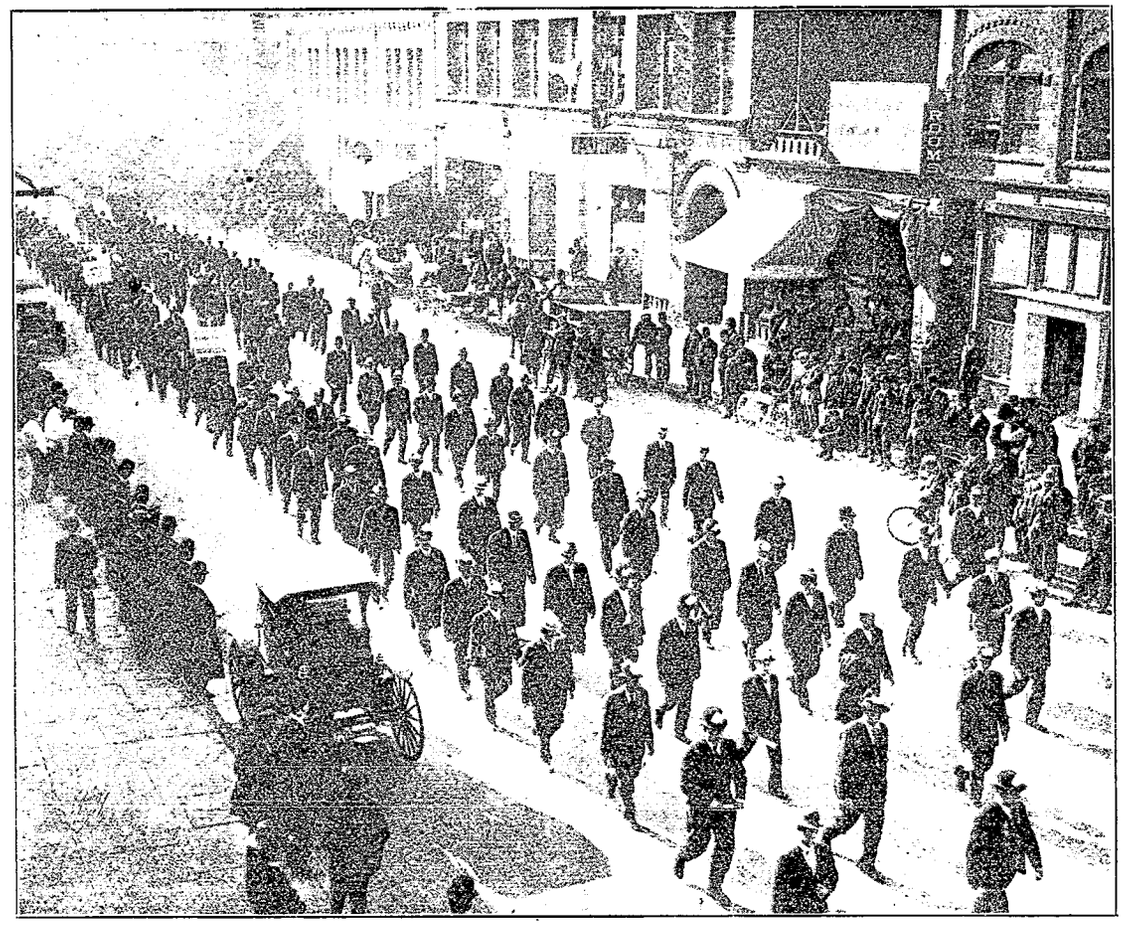
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The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class



Ten Thousand Denver Toilers Protest Against Government by Injunction

IN PRISON WITH GUSTAVE HERVE

BY WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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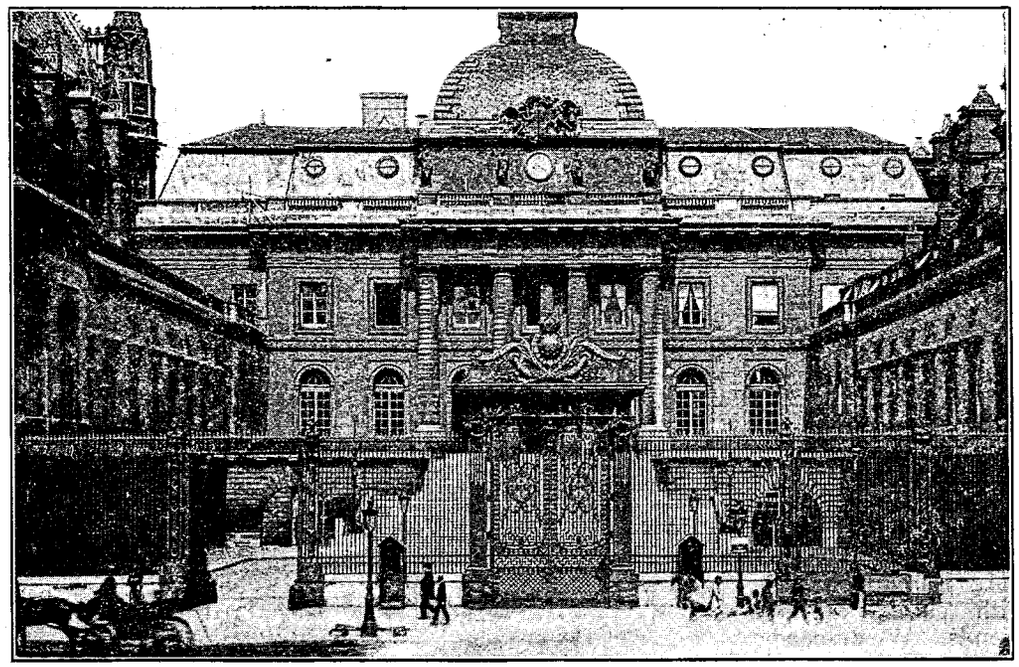
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI MARCH, 1911 No. 9



PALAIS DE LA JUSTICE—WHERE HERVÉ WAS CONVICTED.

IN PRISON WITH HERVÉ

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE gloomiest spot I saw in Paris was the Prison of the Saint. It was there I met Gustave Hervé, editor of *La Guerre Sociale,* author of "My Country Right or Wrong." To meet Hervé and other advanced thinkers was my principal mission in France.

Access to the prison where the doughty champion of labor is confined, was gained with little more trouble or red tape than necessary to visit a jail in this country. On my return from Italy, Comrade Charles Marck, treasurer of the Confederation of Labor, met me at the depot. We went direct to the Palace of Justice, and got the needed passes to the prison from the judge of instruction. We drove direct to jail. The approach to one of these institutions has a most depressing and indescribable effect even upon a visitor.

There is a vise-like grip on one's heart and soul; the blood runs thin and hot; the brain strains and thumps. Life's purpose seems narrowed and squeezed to the size and shape of the confines of gray stone walls. All jails have a tinge of the same atmosphere, the odor of despair, of dying hope. Some characters grow strong amid the ashes of life, in musty cells, where daylight casts but checkered shadows. There they are whitened and annealed.



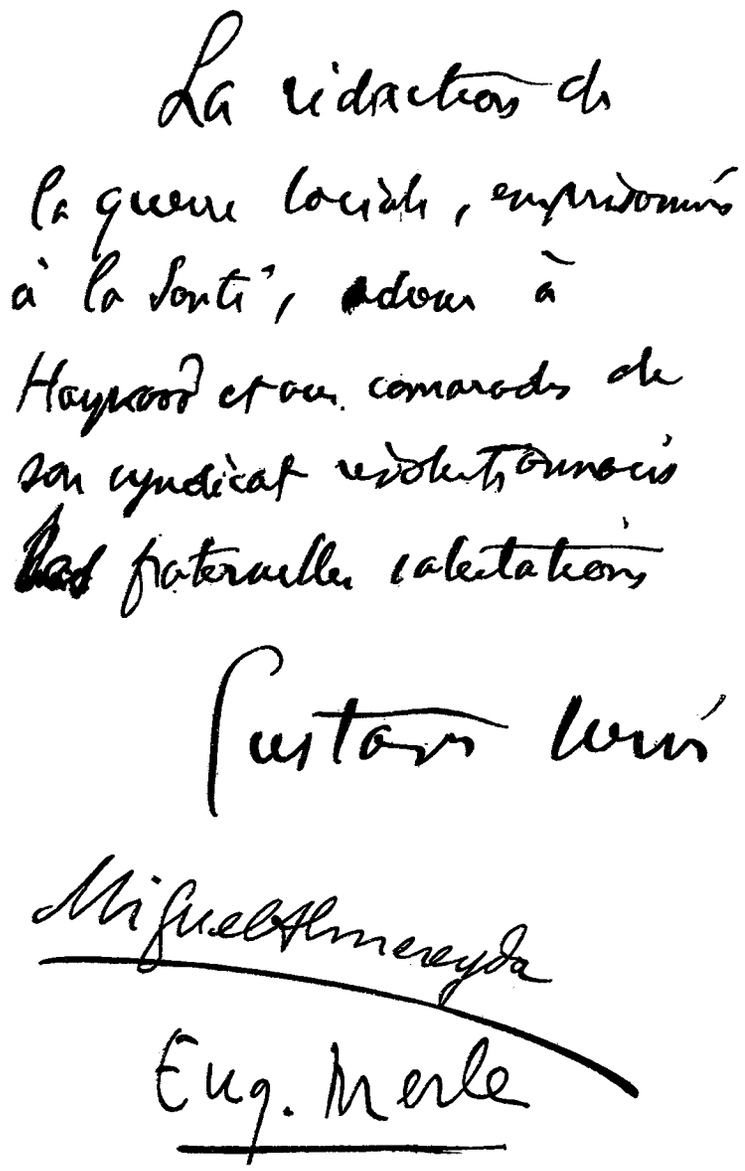
CHARLES MARCK, TREASURER OF THE CONFEDERATION OF LABOR.

We reached the portals of the prison. Comrade Marck, a frequent visitor, was recognized by the guard; a few words were exchanged and our passes deposited with a recording clerk. We were then guided along corridors, passing through many steel doors, and at last were ushered into an open court, down a stairway into a place that looked like a bear-pit. There were our comrades, with some visiting friends. We descended the stairs and I was introduced to Hervé, to Almeyrade and Merle, his associate editors, likewise political offenders, who are serving terms of six months each for supporting the general railway strike in the columns of *La Guerre Sociale*. I met their friends. Again I shook hands with Comrade Hervé, a warm, strong hand clasp. I seemed to have long known him, to have known him well. It was good to meet him. He is strong, stockily built, with a fine head firmly set on broad shoulders; his big, splendid blue-gray eyes brightened and glinted as his face beamed with smiles.

Through the medium of Comrade Marck, who despises his once enforced military service, and said, "The Army is the School of Crime," acting as interpreter, we discussed many things. The anarchist school of thought was spoken of. Comrade Hervé said: "I am not an anarchist; I am a revolutionary Socialist. As such I regard the organization of the working class on the economic field of first importance." Next to building and strengthening the syndicalist movement it is Hervé's purpose to weaken the government of France and all governments through an anti-military campaign. This he carries on vigorously and relentlessly in the columns of his paper. In this work he is ably supported by the *Voice of the People*, the official organ of the General Confederation of Labor.

Hervé told of many instances where the anti-military propaganda had gained a foothold and bright "red" spots were discernible in the army. One company that had trampled the flag of capitalism in the mire; another company, to show their contempt for discipline, marched with guns upside down.

We spoke of the world-wide movement, the success of the general strike wherever inaugurated. As the time was drawing near to end my visit, I asked our comrades for a word of greeting to their fellow workers in America. They gave me the following message with the assurance that the French revolutionists will carry on an uncompromising fight to ultimate victory, in spite of standing armies, capitalist courts, and prison bars:



(Translation.)

The editors of La Guerre Sociale, imprisoned in "la Sainte," address to Haywood and his comrades of the revolutionary union their fraternal greetings.

GUSTAVE HERVE,
MIGUEL ALMEREYDA,
EUG. MERLE.

I was introduced to many other political prisoners. There are several hundred of them in this Prison of the Saint—members of the building trades and electrical workers, who went on strike in sympathy with the railway employes.

I secured for publication the article for publishing which in *La Guerre Sociale*

Hervé was convicted and sentenced to serve four years in prison. It will be of interest to readers of THE REVIEW.

* * *

The Example of the Apache.

I am going to scandalize the respectable men and the imbeciles again.

Do you know that that Apache, who has just killed the policeman Deray, does not lack a certain beauty, a certain grandeur?

He *is* an Apache; that is understood; that is, an unfortunate who at nineteen years of age picked pockets—perhaps when he was out of a job; prison commenced for him at his adolescence; the Bat 'd 'af has finished him. Coming from there and returning to Paris, he lived on the thin edge of being caught, ever dragging his police record like a ball and chain.

One fine day the stupid asses—keepers of the "morals"—arrested him under the charge of special vagabondage, sentenced him to prison for three months and to banishment for five years.

For the Apache was everything one could wish, except a keeper of women!

Can the "morals" have deceived themselves? That is possible.

Have they lied, given false witness in order to revenge themselves on the woman whom they found with our man? That is probable. Most of the stupid asses of "morals" combine that honorable profession with those of keeping women, and they do not recoil from making a false oath to get rid of a rival.

The Apache served out his prison term. He got out the middle of last December.

Once free he had only one idea: vengeance.

He had no weapons; to provide them he worked night and day at his business of making shoes, with feverish haste, accumulating bit by bit his wages. That was his midnight supper.

When he had a hundred francs he went and bought a good revolver; made himself a queer sort of a cuirasse of leather covered with steel points; he sharpened two of his shoemakers' knives, and thus armed from head to foot and wrapped in a cloak, he started out on his search for the two policemen who had been the cause of his conviction.

One knows the rest and the masterly way in which he received the two plain clothes men who attempted to arrest him.

I do not ask the Monthyon prize for that Apache.

But it seems to me that in our century of willess and flabby beings, that Apache has given a fine lesson of energy, of perseverence and courage to the crowd of respectable people. To us revolutionists ourselves, he has set a fine example.

Every day there are respectable working men who are the victims of police brutalities, * * * of undeserved convictions, of gross miscarriages of justice. Have you ever heard that one of these avenged himself?

There are among us militants who have been insulted, slapped, knocked about in the police stations by the Cossacks of the Republic. Have you ever heard that a single one of them, with the tenacity of that Apache, passed his days and nights in thinking out his revenge, in hunting down his insulters and persecutors?

Every day magistrates, with unspeakable levity, lack of conscience and ferocity pronounced sentences with a light heart, with their legs crossed; bring ruin, sorrow and dishonor to families. Have you ever heard of a single one of these victims who has avenged himself?

Ha! Respectable people! Give to that Apache the half of your virtue and ask him in exchange a quarter of his energy and his courage.

GUSTAVE HERVE.

* * *

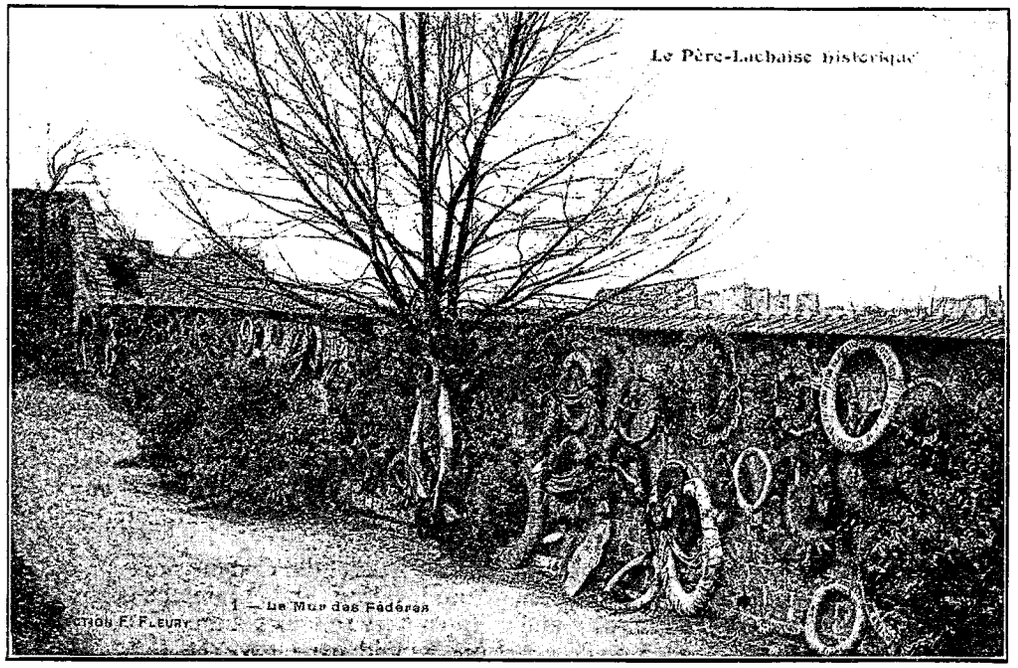
The massive doors were grating heavily on their hinges.

We must go! Hervé must stay! Steel bars and doors and damp gray stone walls will be his abode for nearly four long years. During those long, weary days and nights in prison he will be spurring the working class on to industrial liberty, that the sons and daughters of La Belle France and of the world may enjoy a little more bright sunshine and blue sky.

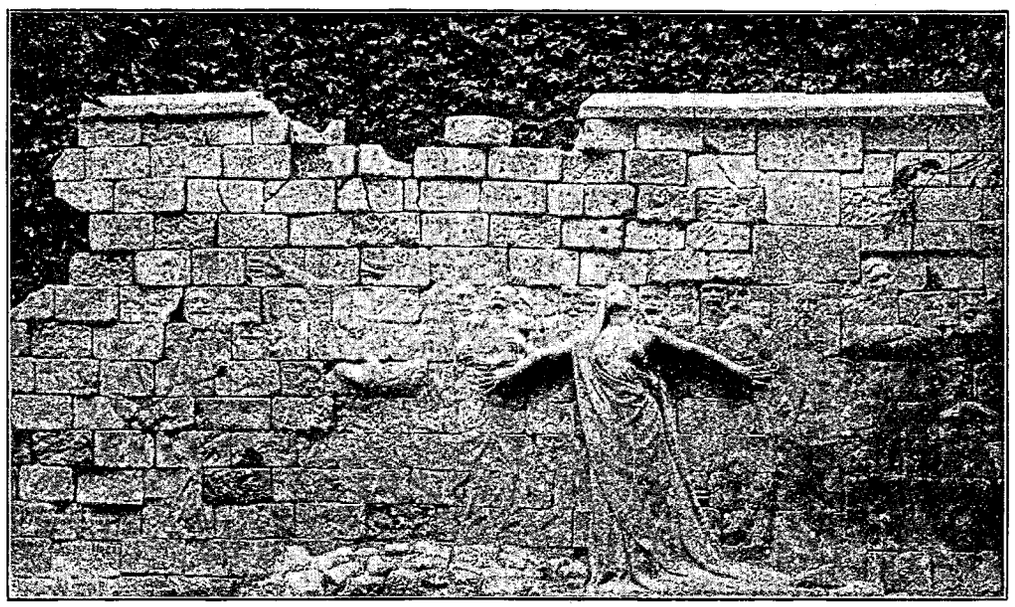
And for this Hervé is willing to die in a dungeon if need be.

THE PARIS COMMUNE

IN MEMORIAM



WALL AGAINST WHICH THE COMMUNISTS WERE LINED UP TO BE SHOT DECORATED EACH ANNIVERSARY BY THE WORKERS OF FRANCE.



MONUMENT TO THE COMMUNARDS—SQUARE DU PERE-LACHAISE, PARIS.

FLASHES FROM CHINA

BY

A SOCIALIST SAILOR

DEAR COMRADES: I am sending you copies of a Chinese Socialist daily paper, called *The Common People*. It is published in Canton, China, and copies are given me by Mr. Lo Sun.

Mr. Lo Sun is the editor of the *Liberty News*, published in Chinese at Honolulu. He is also author of the volume, "*Humanity*," which will reach you with this mail. I shall also enclose a copy of *The Liberty News*.

If you are able to secure the services of a Chinese interpreter, you will be able to judge from these just how much truth there is in this talk about the Orientals being BACKWARD races.

Local Honolulu is translating your Center Shot leaflets into the Chinese language and carrying on propaganda in that manner. Mr. Lo Sun and Comrade Sun Foo of the Socialist party (a reporter for the *Liberty News*), are translating and printing in Chinese, portions of "The Communist Manifesto," "Principles of Scientific Socialism," and standard works.



EDITOR, LO SUN.

At present the *Liberty News* is waging an apparently successful battle with the Chinese consul. Because of "The Revolutionary Party in Hawaii" (Chinese) the consul reported to Pekin that all the Chinese in Hawaii were revolutionists This made things very unpleasant for relatives of Hawaiian Chinese in China. According to Chinese law, or what they call law, the relatives, even to the cousins, of the guilty party may be punished, their property confiscated and even capital punishment inflicted.

At present it looks as though the Chinese paper would win, which will mean much for the future of revolutionary ideas here.

Mr. Keefe, the Commissioner General of Immigration and Labor, has just been down here to look around. From his talk, one would expect to see Hawaii "Americanized." But what that means is hard to tell.

Our masters are having a hard time now. We hear much about it. There are now steel mills in China, you know. So the American capitalists want protection. Hawaii must be fortified. It will then be a fist to shake at Japan. Millions and millions of dollars are now being spent to fortify Hawaii—for the benefit of American capitalism. They want to Americanize the island so that capital will have patriotic fools who will shoulder guns and fight for the masters.

In future, the word is passed around, fewer Orientals and Filippinos are to be admitted. Europe is to be scoured for depressed workers who will be ignorant enough to fight when commanded, and hungry enough to work for slave wages. The claim is made that the Orientals prove too aggressive. Capital always chooses the docile slave.

Here the game is complicated, as elsewhere. Big capital is fighting bigger capital, while the army and navy parasites are wriggling between. The greater part

of the Hawaiian population is unable to vote, but they are not without the spirit of fight for all that.

We shall soon see whose interests are strongest in Honolulu. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association; the Beet Sugar people; the Steel and Shipping interests; the Military circle—all are strong. All have representatives. But find out who is most interested in having a patriotic class of workers, who will fight for capital, and you will know who want to Americanize Hawaii.

You can file this in the waste-paper basket without hurting the feelings of one who won't shoulder a gun for capitalism.

THE JAPANESE REVOLUTIONISTS

(The following article from Japan reaches us just as the Review goes to press. The manuscript was unsigned, and fortunately escaped government censorship.)

IT IS now eight months since the first Japanese was arrested of those tried and now awaiting a verdict. It is claimed by the nobility that these men and the one woman plotted against the life of the Emperor. Some have already received sentences of imprisonment while others are still awaiting trial in the jails of the country.

In the beginning over one hundred men and women were arrested, but I shall tell only the few facts I have been able to learn of twenty-six comrades. Nobody has been allowed to visit these men or the woman under any pretext whatsoever. No communications were allowed sent to them. They were permitted no messages to their friends. Everything was utterly secret. The newspapers in Japan dare not mention the trial nor the causes that led to it.

These comrades were tried under the 73rd clause of the Japanese criminal law, charged with the highest charge of conspiracy, because directed against the Imperial personages. Under this law it is not at all necessary to prove a plot or an ACT. He is condemned who conceives the thought or INTENTION, in his own MIND, against the Emperor.

All the comrades had regular and honorable occupations. All were extremely intelligent. Among them was a Buddist priest, a doctor of medicine, journalists, printers, iron workers, farmers—all were highly respected by their associates. Three comrades had been in America and Europe and spoke and wrote several languages. All were expressed Socialists, though some preferred to be called Kropotkin communists. We, of Japan, have been forbidden to DISCUSS the trial or the fate of our friends, so that still another difficulty is added to our efforts to get news of them. However, I am certain some of these comrades opposed parliamentary action and advocated direct action. But that does not matter. Some of us will always differ on points of tactics. Sufficient it is that twenty-six Socialist comrades were tried, according to the Japanese farce, in total darkness.

The Trial.

Dr. Kotoku and the other comrades were under the shadow of death from the beginning. To be accused of conspiracy against the Emperor is almost the same as the death sentence. I tried, with other comrades, to gain permission to attend the trial, but we were all refused. Upon one day, 150 persons were admitted to the court rooms. At least this was the report, but we found that these were detectives used to give the trial a semblance of fairness.

It was the splendid activities of our foreign comrades that caused the Imperial government to relent in severity a little. Only because of pressure from WITHOUT was the government made to feel how the civilized world looked upon secret trials of men of learning. Then a few relatives were admitted to speak to their loved ones, but always under strict guard, so that no word about the charges against them could be spoken.

Kotoku's mother was at last permitted to see him. She was sixty years of age. Like a Roman mother she met him, full of words of love and courage, and then, straight and unbent, she left him to re-

turn to her home in the Tosa Island. Shortly afterward, we heard of her tragical death. While we cannot be certain, we have taken it as a brave suicide. We believe she took her own life to give courage to her son, that he might face the end, undaunted, like a man.

We know and have known of the splendid way the American comrades arose at the time of need to help your comrades—Haywood and Pettibone. This we longed to do for our own comrades but we were not strong enough yet to dare it. It is still a crime in Japan to help a man accused of crime.

Okumiya, one of the twenty-six, an old liberal, a revolutionist who worked with us only a few months ago, was among the last arrested. His wife was very ill and died during his incarceration, in extreme poverty. Nobody was allowed to aid her.

The Japanese government reports to the outside world that she is not persecuting radical, liberal men and women, nor Socialists. This is utterly untrue. We Socialists know well what persecution means. Not long ago, we formed educational clubs, whereby we hoped to get the working men and women to THINKING. Even our little clubs were stopped, while last month the Skakai Shimbau was suppressed merely because we REPORTED the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen. It is because of the steady persecution of Socialists that occassionally men feel driven to other methods.

Many of us are being driven from good positions and forced to do meaner work, but we are keeping on. In November we held thirteen meetings, speaking on Socialist questions. We were forced to avoid all mention of strikes, trade unions, Socialism, etc. It is curious that we are usually permitted to criticize the existing government and their bad policies freely, but if we speak against the capitalists, advocate trade unionism or Socialism, our meetings are instantly stopped.

Still in December we held meetings. We have one planned for tonight and another for tomorrow night. At these meetings we charge 5 cents American money, to cover expenses. From 50 to 500 people usually attend.

Almost every known Socialist in the Empire is called upon twice daily by detectives, and is so closely watched that it is almost impossible to accomplish anything. Six years ago the government declared there were 3,000 Socialists in Japan. It now declares there are 210,000, over 2,000 constantly under police or detective surveillance.

This is a terrible struggle. Our comrades have been convicted of conspiracy. They are doomed. We cannot lift our hands to save them. But all know that where one bearer of the torch of liberty is cut down a hundred others will rise to take his place. Capitalism is breeding Socialists as fast as capitalism herself grows. We are still working for emancipation. We shall not stop till we have found it.





AT THE WARPING MACHINE.

CHILD SLAVES OF THE COTTON MILLS

BY

CARRIE W. ALLEN

THE shrill scream of the factory whistle smites the chill morning air at the dawn of each new day, and obedient to its hideous call, a ghostly array of anæmic children, rudely awakened from sleep, gulp down a bit of food and stumble sleepily to the factory door.

This pitiful multitude of children, whose days are completely swallowed by the cotton mills, keep up their incessant dance from one spindle to another, or from one loom to another, dizzily watching the ten, twelve or fifteen shuttles play hide and seek among the labyrinth of threads.

So much has been written about these youngest victims of capitalist greed, the children of the cotton mills, that were we not misery hardened, were we not blinded by brutal toil, long ago an awakened working class would have united to wipe this inquity out.

And yet, the workers are not to blame that the forced struggle for existence has limited their vision and stupefied their imagination.

One little child set in the midst of a crowd, because in his person misery is visualized, makes a more eloquent appeal than the story of all the thousands of children whose lives are crushed by the cruel millstones of industry.

While the laws of most of the northern states place the legal working age of a child at fourteen, the last Senate report on Women and Children Wage Earners in the Cotton Industry shows that 34.8 per cent of the factories investigated in New England employed children under the legal age.

In at least four of the New England states, tiny children, frail and undeveloped, are on the pay-rolls of the cotton mills, some of them apparently not more than eight years of age.

An effort is always made to shift the responsibility of these little ones from the shoulders of the employer of their labor to the parents of the children. "We cannot help it if the parents tell us the children are older than they are," say the manufacturers. "We are in business, first of all, to make money."

That is the key to the situation. The manufacturers are in business to make money. As the children are cheap, and more profit may be squeezed out of their labor, they are claimed by the mill.

Many people excuse the indifference of the manufacturer on the ground that many of the children are foreigners, as though it were less a crime to injure a child of foreign parents than one of native blood. A child is a child, regardless of color or race.

In the Southern cotton mills, where more terrible wrongs are perpetrated against the children than in any other part of the country, this excuse cannot be offered, for the children are, without exception, American. The people of the mill villages are the purest American blood that we have, many families having come from the mountains of Tennessee and the Carolinas.

From time to time, smooth-tongued agents are sent into these regions to scatter cleverly worded dodgers about, and to visit the hill people in their homes, for the purpose of finding fresh material as grist for the remorseless mill.

Frequently the agent finds a large family living in a wretched shack of one or two rooms, dragging out a meager existence on a worn-out patch of ground, scarcely knowing the color of a dollar, and with no advantages of any sort for their children.

It is not a difficult matter to convince the father of the advantages to be gained by a move to the mill village. The family have nothing to lose and everything to gain. It will cost them nothing, for the money will be advanced to move them all. Work will be given to all of the family, and even the little ones will be able to earn from fifty cents to a dollar a day.

Or, if the children wish to go to school, and this appeals most strongly to the mother, the children will have a chance for a good education, and all the other advantages her bare life has so cruelly lacked.

A chance of an education for her girls. A chance in life for her boys. In addition to this, the dollar-earning capacity of the group during the months of vacation makes an eloquent appeal to the parents, who have only known privation throughout their barren lives. The tickets are sent, and the family, with hearts full of expectant hope, move as soon as possible to the hideous mill town.

When the father enters the mill he is obliged to make affidavit as to the ages of his children, and they are greedily watched, the mill owner regarding them as perfectly legitimate grist for his mill. Apropos of the claim that the mill owners are not to blame, the government investigators into the conditions of the children in the cotton mills make some very incriminating statements.

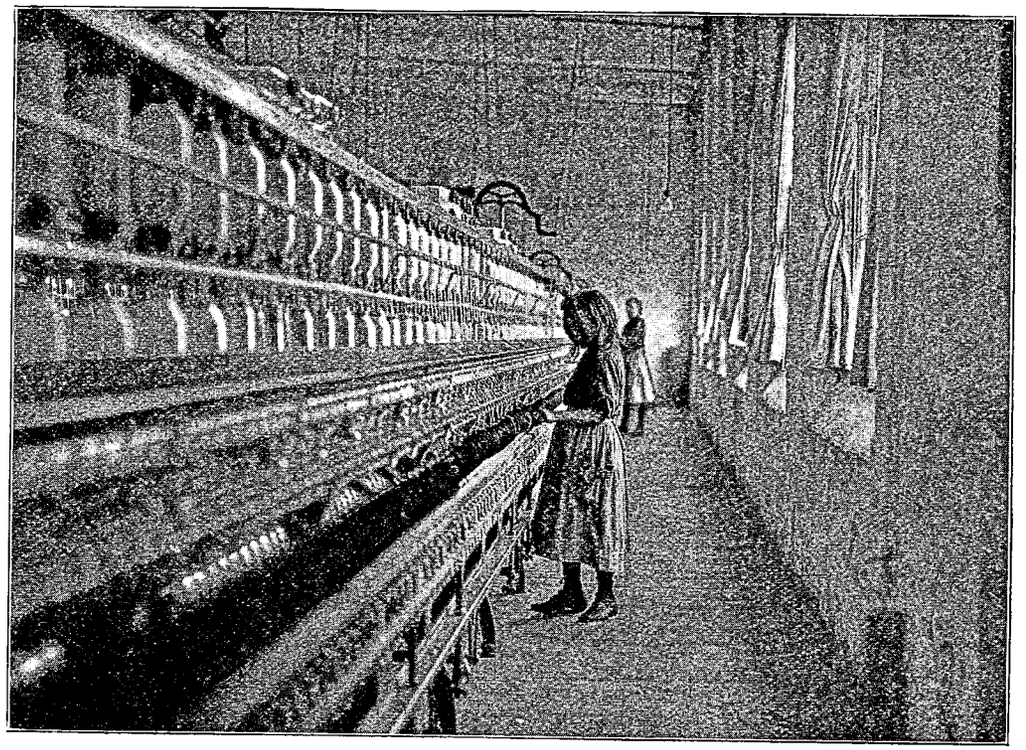
When the children are not forthcoming, the mill superintendents frequently go into the homes of the mill workers, demanding that children of nine and ten be sent into the mill, threatening the father with discharge and the family with eviction in case the children are withheld.

"They just keep at a person until they have to let them work, whether they want to or not. I don't want them to know I've got another gal, or they'd have her right in that mill," said a South Carolina woman, speaking of her little girl of nine.

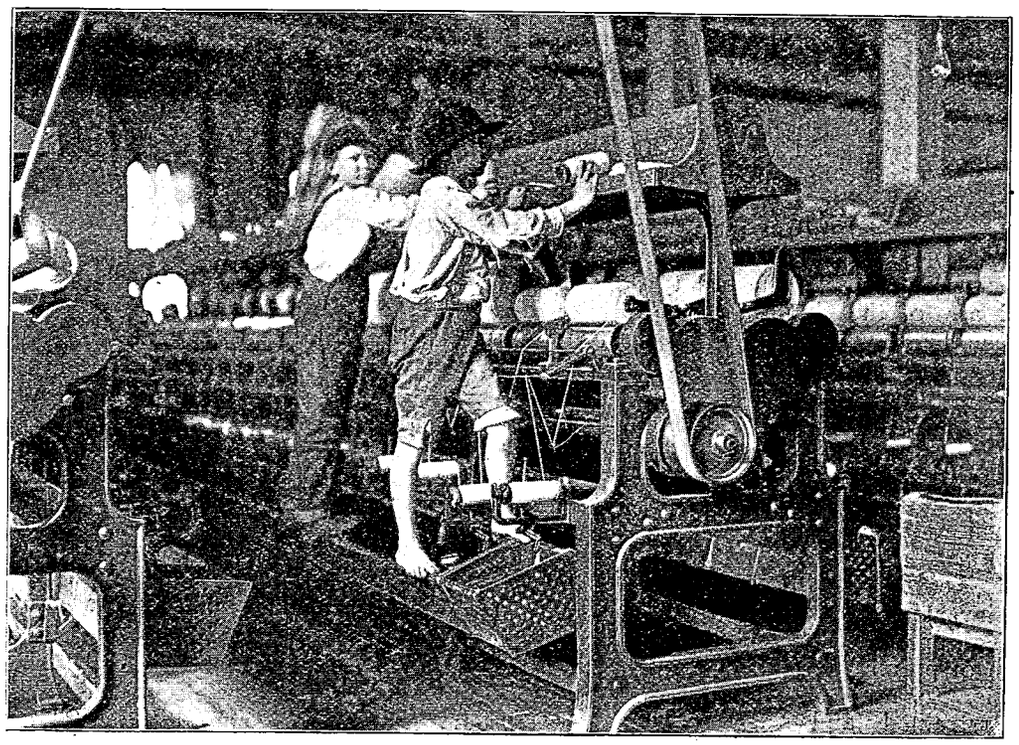
A mother in North Carolina pleaded with the mill superintendent not to compel her to take her two boys, eleven and fourteen, from school, but decided to do as she was told when her husband was threatened with the loss of a job.

When the government investigator went to the mills, as happens with all inspectors, an alarm was given, an the children sent home or hidden in waste boxes or closets. In one of the North Carolina mills the superintendent was boasting, "We haven't got a lot of babies in our mills," when his attention was called to a tiny girl of six who was trying to reach the frames.

The very little ones are not usually on the pay-rolls of the mills, the pittance earned by the little one going into the pay envelope of the mother or an older child. In some of the mills, children were found of not more than ten years of age, who were compelled to work an additional number of hours during the day, after working twelve weary hours during the night, one particular child of ten kept steadily at her task on several occasions for a stretch of twenty-four hours.



MOTHERS OF THE FUTURE.



TOO SMALL TO REACH.

The Senate report already quoted gives this verbatim statement from one of the federal agents concerning a mill in North Carolina:

"The mill employs many children, and the smallest I have seen working in any mills. I asked five exceptionally small ones how old each was and each answered, 'I don't know.' These children, the superintendent says, work from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. * * * I know, beyond a reasonable doubt, that there are ten or twelve children under twelve years of age working in the mill, seven or eight of them at night.

"One of the children is an emaciated little elf fifty inches high, and weighing perhaps forty-eight pounds, who works from 6 at night till 6 in the morning, and who is so tiny that she has to climb upon the spinning frame to reach the top row of spindles."

Instances might be multiplied of the criminally long hours these little victims are imprisoned in the mills, no sound reaching them except the racking whirr of the machinery, no air reaching their choked lungs except the fluff laden air of the dusty factory.

Is it any wonder that these poor little over-wrought beings under continuous nervous strain, frequently have their fingers and hands caught in the cruel cogs, which lacerate and tear and frequently cripple them? One hundred and twenty-two mills reported 1,241 accidents for a year, and it is known that these figures are only partial, as mill owners only report accidents when forced to do so.

Many of the children insist that they prefer night work, as the threads run so much smoother, and do not so frequently break. This saves them from the "reproof" of the overseer, and the fine that is docked from their slender pay when anything goes wrong with the work. Poor care-laden little ones, terrorized into such a condition of mind that they really prefer the fatiguing night work.

Not content with the profits which may be sweated out of the children, an additional pressure upon them by the system of premiums which is used in many mills. The tired children are already overstrained and their endurance stretched to the breaking point. It is pernicious to drive them to further exertion to add a pitiful sum to the niggardly wage.

The real object of premiums is to increase the production of the worker in order to increase the profits of the mill owner. For instance, a premium of fifty cents a week is paid to weavers who tend their looms during the lunch hour. Spoolers who spool ten boxes of cotton yarn a day are paid the price of a box, nine cents extra, and for spooling fifteen boxes a premium of eighteen cents is given. Pennies in premiums for the life energy of the children; dollars in profits for the pockets of the masters!

The home life of the mill children is barren and desolate, especially for the ones who keep up their goblin dance from one spindle to another all through the long weary hours of the night, and jaded and wan come creeping home in the gruesome dawn.

We need not wonder that the overstrained, undeveloped little ones have so little vital resistance that they early fall victims of disease. The anæmic condition of the blood, the nerve-racking strain of the work, and the dust laden atmosphere close every avenue of health, and dropsy, tuberculosis and other wasting diseases claim many of the children of the cotton mills.

One of the gravest indictments of the wretched industrial chaos under which we live is the inhuman treatment meted out to the children of the nation. Every advance of modern machinery means that more and more of these helpless little ones are caught between the upper and nether millstones, and remorselessly ground into profits.

It is impossible for a nation to thrive that grinds up and destroys its children. The boys and girls are the nation's greatest asset; they are the nation of tomorrow, and the sooner we wake up and put an end to the hideous wrongs daily heaped upon the children of the working class, the better for the race.

At the dawn of each new day, a gaunt army of half awakened children are swallowed up by the hideous cotton mills, and at night, weary and wan and joyless, they are spewed forth again. Spindles must be kept running, profits must be made, even though pale-faced children droop and wither and die.

A LIVING PROTEST

BY

W. D. H.



REAR ROW—BEN HICKS, MONROE HICKS, JESS KOENIG, GEO. DONALD, JOHN DONALD, R. DONALD.
MIDDLE ROW—CECIL REESE, DUNCAN STUBBS, R. McBIRNIE, FRANK BALEK, JOE FISK, E. L. DOYLE.
LOWER ROW—GEORGE PANSKY, WM. SNOW, FRED GRAYSON, WM. WOODHEAD.

This picture was taken in Denver County Jail where Pettibone, Moyer and Haywood were confined previous to being taken to the penitentiary in Idaho. The men occupy the same corridor where Haywood's cell was located.

FEBRUARY the second was a memorable day in Denver, Colorado. Government by injunction received a jolt in the solar plexus that if followed up by a united working class will put the courts out of business.

Ten thousand men and women unionists and Socialists paraded the streets of the Queen City of the Plains, demanding that government by injunction be abolished. They marched in fours and sixes to the capital building. When the Socialist section arrived at the law factory, their band started up the Marseillaise, every red, big and little, singing the battle song of all nations.

From the capital building the parade marched to the city auditorium, where a monster protest meeting was held. Judge Greeley W. Whitford was damned and denounced for sending sixteen coal miners, members of the U. M. W. A., to jail for a term of one year for the alleged violation of an injunction issued by him. The injunction was one of the blanket style that covers everything and everybody. Prohibi-

ted one from breathing in the vicinity of the coal company's property or looking at one of their strike-breaking pets that they have imported from West Virginia.

The protest meeting was surcharged with revolt, but the dynamic force struck a lightning rod. There was a conservative element on the committee of arrangements who wanted the meeting to be dignified and respectable. Their feelings were badly jarred when the crowd refused to listen to the Hon. ex-Gov. Charles T. Thomas, a friend of labor (?), and called loudly for other speakers.

Resolutions were introduced condemning Whitford, adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

"Whereas, Judge Greeley W. Whitford, of the district court has seen fit to throw into jail and sentence to one year in prison, without due process of law, sixteen union coal miners for an alleged contempt of the said court, this judge acting not only as a judge, but prosecutor and jury as well, thereby eliminating a constitutional right that our forefathers fought, bled and died to protect; and

"Whereas, We realize the fact that judges are nothing more than human, like the rest of us, and should be notified that the created man never became greater than the creator, and, further, under our form of government, those who derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and we realize that no judge is infallible, but is liable to err and make mistakes; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the Colorado Anti-injunction league, condemn such decision as unjust, unreasonable and most outrageous, and we deplore the fact that the state has within its borders, and most especially upon the judicial bench, clothed with power and authority, such a merciless expounder of justice, whose actions on the bench and elsewhere have a tendency to bring the judiciary beneath the contempt of the people, and be it further

"Resolved, That we realize the fact that decisions of this kind are calculated to bring our courts into ill repute and the disrespect of our best and most law-abiding citizens. We understand that the courts of law can no longer be recognized as temples of justice when such outrages are perpetrated within their walls by some chattels who happen to be sitting on the judicial bench and acting in the name of law and order. Let us remember and never forget that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' Therefore, the workers should awaken to their power and strength, rise up in their might and dethrone this autocrat who poses and parades in the guise of truth, virtue and justice. Let us unfurl our banner to the breeze of industrial liberty, thereby proving to the world that we are the worthy sons of a noble sire. And be it further

"Resolved, That we consider it an unpardonable crime in the sight of Almighty God to sit idly by and accept unquestionably the official actions and decisions of judges who assume that they are too sacred to be criticised, when it is plain for all to see—even the blind—that their decisions are most corrupt, unjust, dishonest and disgraceful to the high office to which they have been elevated. This office should be held most sacred and the law administered in the fear of all wise and ever seeing God, to all alike, whether they be rich or poor."



A BUNCH OF "LIVE ONES."

MORGAN MUZZLES THE MAGAZINES

BY

JACK BRITT GEARITY

MORGAN is gobbling up the big magazines.

Muckraking must stop, attacks on business must cease, radical writers must be silenced, and the people must not know what the big capitalists are doing. This is the latest decree of Wall street, and lieutenants of J. Pierpont Morgan are launching a gigantic magazine trust to gobble up all magazines whose editorial policy cannot be controlled through their advertising columns. The directing head of the new combination is Thomas W. Lamont, a member of the banking firm of J. P. Morgan and company, who has quietly been buying stock in various magazines and publishing houses for a long time.

The first magazine to fall into the clutches of the new trust is the American Magazine, which a few months ago suppressed John Kenneth Turner's series of brilliant articles on "Barbarous Mexico." John S. Phillips is the editor-in-chief of this magazine, and he will retain that position under the trust.

The actual buyer of the American Magazine was the Crowell Publishing Company, publishers of the Woman's Home Companion and Farm and Fireside, of which Lamont is the leading figure.

A furore was created a few years ago when the American Magazine passed into the hands of the muckrakers with a great blare of trumpets, and the announcement that it was to be a free forum for the presentation of radical and progressive thought. The men and women of its staff announced that they were tired of dictation, that they wanted perfect freedom of expression, and that they had joined hands in controlling the American Magazine to that end.

The group of writers who, under the leadership of Mr. Phillips, made the American Magazine one of the leading monthly periodicals of the country, are: Lincoln Steffens, Peter Finley Dunne (Mr. Dooley), Ray Stannard Baker, Ida Tarbell and William Allen White. They are all under contract to the magazine, and when Morgan's lieutenants bought the American Magazine they also bought the services of these writers.

It has been boldly announced that these writers are free to write anything they please, and that may be true, but there is a big difference between writing freely and getting the thing published. There's the editorial blue pencil to be taken into account.

A well known magazine writer told me last fall when a fight was on in the board of directors of Success Magazine, that a storm was brewing in the magazine world, that the editors of various magazines did not know what was coming, but were fearful of what was ahead of them.

The fight against muckraking and radicalism in the columns of Success Magazine was led by a republican politician from some obscure town in the upper part of New York. Samuel W. Merwin, editor, and David Evans, business manager, both of whom were stockholders in the magazine, were ousted from their positions as a result of that fight.

But Merwin, who published special articles and stories from the pens of Ernest Poole, Leroy Scott and men of that type, is a fighter. Accordingly he and Evans set to work to organize a new magazine, the National Post, to be run along the lines Merwin had pursued with Success Magazine.

The first week in February offers were made by the Crowell Publishing Company for the Success Magazine, but before the deal could be finished John Wanamaker and Gifford Pinchot grabbed the magazine for the spread of Insurgency. Merwin and Evans are to be connected once again with Success, and the National Post will not see the light of day.

The recent apology to the Standard Oil Company from Hampton's Magazine and Cleveland Moffett for an article in the February number of that magazine is also an illustration of the fact that a general campaign is on to suppress all criticism

of the corrupt and dirty work of the big capitalists.

Writing on the fight against adulterated food in Philadelphia, under the title, "Cassidy and the Food Poisoners," Moffett charged that the Standard Oil had sold poisoned glucose for the manufacture of cheap candies. In support of his statement he quoted the Philadelphia North American, a Wanamaker newspaper. That paper had, with scare heads, scorching editorials and bitter cartoons, flayed the Standard.

Immediately upon the appearance of the February number of Hampton's Magazine on the news stands, a lawyer for the Standard Oil demanded a retraction, and both the writer and the magazine crawled by making a public apology. None of the Philadelphia papers which scored the Standard Oil were forced to apologize, however.

Morgan's grip on the publishing business is already staggering. He controls the Harper Brothers publishing house, which publishes three very widely read magazines. Harper's Magazine is reputed to have a little more than 100,000 circulation; Harper's Weekly, about 100,000; Harper's Bazaar, a woman's magazine, is said to have 200,000 subscribers.

One of the leading figures in the Harper house is William Dean Howells, dean of American letters, who has a contract with the house for everything he writes. He's very radical, but one would hardly think so from most of his writings in the Harper publications.

The Woman's Home Companion, which Lamont controls, boasts a circulation of 850,000 copies a month. Farm and Fireside, another Lamont directed publication, claims a circulation of 500,000 copies a month.

Then, too, through that intimate relation among gentlemen on the board of directors of various corporations, Morgan is enabled to practically control the Associated Sunday magazines, with a circulation of a million copies weekly.

Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan's chief lieutenant in the work of organizing the publishing trust, is a former Wall street newspaper reporter. Morgan took him into his banking business as a partner because of his knowledge of the publishing business, it is said, when he planned to silence the criticism of capital by the magazines. Lamont had made money and was a stockholder in the Crowell Publishing Company and in Duffield & Company, book publishers, when Morgan picked him up.

The Crowell Publishing Company, which appears to be the buying agency for the new trust, has made offers to buy out a number of magazines, and several deals are now pending, it is said. The aim of the new combination is to corner the old magazines, those which have a reputation for honesty and a big following.

It is reported that Frank A. Munsey, publisher of a chain of magazines, is willing to sell out to the new combine. Munsey, who is a friend of George W. Perkins, of profit-sharing fame, is reported to have made a fortune out of a stock pool manipulated by Perkins recently.

Few, if any, of the big magazines are free from some kind of connection with Wall street. Even the Outlook, of which T. R. is associate word-spinner, is connected with the Street through Standard Oil. One of the most prominent stockholders in Dr. Abbott's ancient Outlook is James Stillman, of the National City Bank of New York, a well known Standard Oil man.

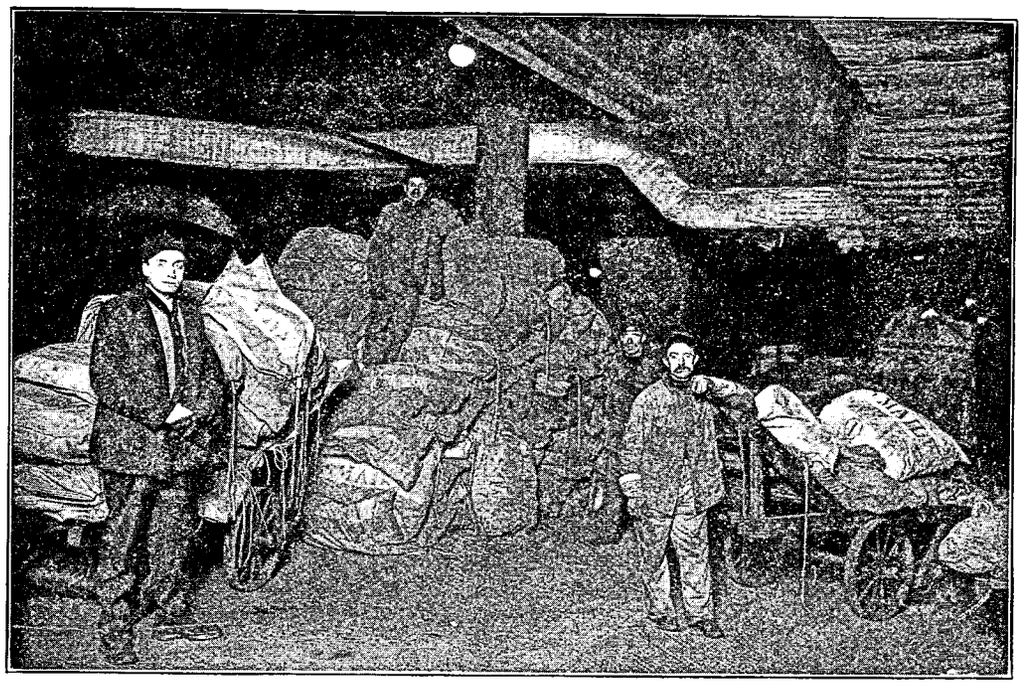
The fight for complete control of all the big magazines by Morgan and his clique is on, and the triumph of the new trust is now only a matter of a few months, perhaps even weeks. With unlimited capital behind it, and controlling through Morgan much profitable advertising, the trust will be in a position to force the so-called independent magazines to sell out or be crushed out of existence.

Morgan is the king of finance. Muckraking must be stopped. Radical writers must be silenced. The doings of the big capitalists must not be heralded abroad in the land. This is the dictum of Morgan, and so far as the capitalist magazines are concerned, in the end, it will be obeyed.

GAGGING THE POSTAL EMPLOYES

BY

ONE OF THEM



—*Courtesy of Harpoon.*

PILES OF UNROUTED MAIL, PITTSBURG, PA., DEC. 23RD.

EXECUTIVE ORDER.

All officers and employes of the United States of every description, serving in or under any of the executive departments, and whether so serving, in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden, either directly or indirectly, individually or through association, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the government service.

IT will not take a man with a particularly active mind to grasp the significance of the above executive order. The purpose is, of course, to gag the men in the railway mail service, and the postal employes so that it will be possible to cut down the working force, increase our work and lengthen our hours of labor, and to make sure, at the same time that we wage-slaves are scared into utter silence in the face of such oppression.

Fortunately all postal employes, on entering the service, are required to take oath "to uphold and defend the constitution of the United States." Now, the constitution specifically states, "that congress shall pass NO LAWS abridging the rights of FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS; the right to peacable assemblage, nor THE RIGHT TO PETITION OUR GOVERNMENT FOR REDRESS OF WRONGS."

If the transportation industry were organized, or if even the "Intelligence Department" of that industry were organized, it would take in the mail service; the telegraph and telephone employes,

and there would be no need for this article, for our "organized economic power" would CONSTITUTE AND GUARANTEE our "rights."

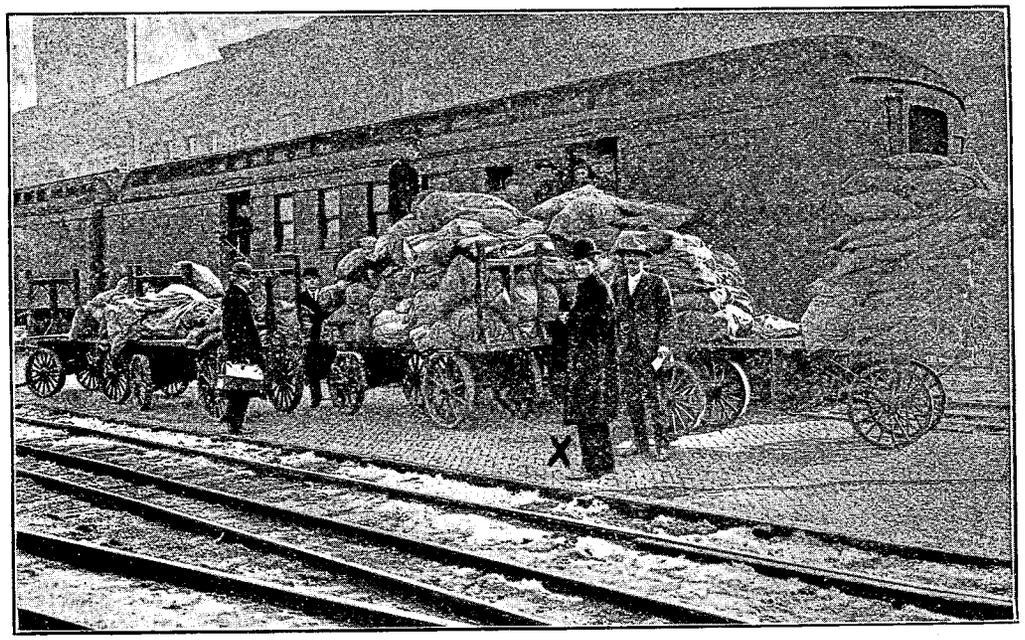
But we are not so organized. We have "sick and benefit" societies that act in accord with the Hon. Postmaster General and his department. These "crafts" are called "Railway Mail Clerks," "The United National Association of Post-office Clerks," and an "Association of Letter Carriers," and because these "crafts" are not militant nor "independent of the Powers that Make their organization a necessity," we have no means of acting as a UNIT in the defense of the constitution and our rights as citizens.

Having sworn, however, to defend the constitution, and having no further course left me, silence would mean perjury. Besides self-preservation is the first law of nature, so I take this opportunity to pray for pardon for my tardiness in this matter and to make good my oath.

Perhaps you all know something of the great, silent and rather secret fight the postal employes are now making to prevent their workday being lengthened beyond human endurance and to prevent their forces being cut down in the face of a steadily increasing amount of mail to handle. Just here we want to say a word about Urban A. Walter, editor of the *Harpoon*, published in Denver, Colo., and the splendid work being done by his paper for the postal employes. We are indebted to him for a constant campaign of publicity that is going to help us a whole lot in letting the public know how "Hitchcock's Post-office Economy" is demoralizing the whole service.

Human strength can only go so far. Beyond that we overworked men are unable to accomplish the double tasks Hitchcock's economy methods are trying to put upon us.

From all over the country complaints from the "business interests" are pouring into the office of the *Harpoon* and politicians heed the business man. Among others Pittsburg reports that stacks upon stacks of unrouted mail have been dumped into Pittsburg. This mail should have been separated and forwarded to destination, but, as is now the case in almost every state in the Union, mail is often sent West, or East UNSORTED, merely to be gotten out of the way, till it finally



—*Courtesy of Harpoon.*

UNROUTED MAIL, DENVER, DEC. 24TH, 1910.

may land in some obscure office where the clerks resort it and forward to original destination.

"Do you know, Mr. Hitchcock, there are 14,000 dissatisfied men in the railway service"? Mr. Canfield, president of the clerks' organization, had said while conferring with department officials at Washington early in December.

"Very well; we can get 14,000 better men"! came the reply. Think of it. With work piling up; with the force cut down, this is Hitchcock's answer to the MEN BEHIND THE ENGINE. The men who are distributing mail today. And last year there were 31 men in the railway mail service KILLED; 100 maimed and 617 injured, chiefly because the railroads are not compelled to supply steel mail cars.

To quote from the *Harpoon*:

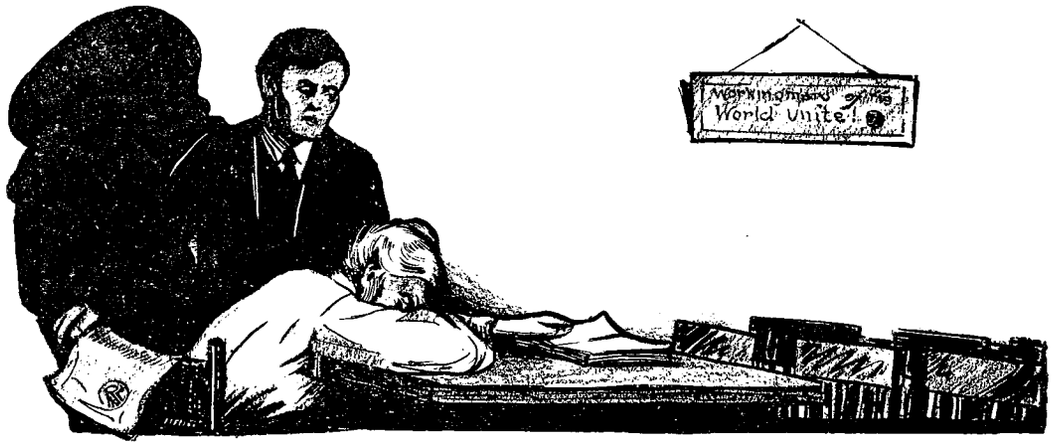
"Even in cases where clerks are killed or injured on duty, orders direct division superintendents to take ADVANTAGE of VACANCIES so caused by imposing duties of injured clerks ON REMAINING MEN.

"IN DEFIANCE OF LAW, Hitchcock permitted a new all-pine car to be placed in service on the Norfolk & Western July 30, 1910. Four clerks MET DEATH in that car on Christmas Eve."

Now listen, you fellow mail clerks. The RAILROADS are howling for LOANS from the Government today. They are demanding higher RATES all along the line. The Government REPRESENTS THEIR INTERESTS; NOT YOURS and MINE. You can see it if you have half the natural allotment of brains. We are GAGGED. The railroads are *represented*. They will get what they want at OUR EXPENSE.

We have to do something about it. In the first place, we have to remember that the Socialist party is the only party that represents the WORKERS. We must help it and thus help ourselves. But we do not need to wait till election. We can keep up this publicity campaign and above ALL, we can ORGANIZE. We MUST organize in ONE BIG UNION and then we will be in a position to stop BEGGING. Paste that in your hat and talk it over with the clerk next you. We cannot expect the representatives of CAPITAL to help US, because no man can serve capital and labor at the same time. Let us help ourselves.





ONE WOMAN—A TRUE STORY

By

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS

WITHOUT realizing that they were making a sort of admission in contradiction of the Socialist Party boast that its "campaign never ceases," the host of Socialist voters in the little manufacturing town of Weston had come to talk of the approaching "campaign rally" to be addressed by a noted speaker as "The last meeting of the campaign," and they seemed to look beyond it only to the "tremendous vote" which was going to result from the "great activity" of the past two months. With a sense of eager delight, they were looking forward to the final orgy of emotional enthusiasm.

With the arrival of the speaker, one day in advance of the meeting date and looking forward to his first day of rest on the tour, the enthusiasts redoubled their efforts to arouse interest throughout the town, spurred on by the fact that the final rallies of the Republican and Democratic parties were to be held in Weston on the same night.

The speaker was met at the boat and hurried to headquarters for a conference with the "campaign committee."

"Is it true," he asked, looking about wonderingly at the many eager faces in the room, "that you have no local here?"

From a dozen men at once came a vocal volley of confused explanation. There had been a good local, but it had gone to pieces. They were going to reorganize two months ago, but before they got around to it they were too busy with the campaign. Anyway, there were a lot of good Socialists there, and they had a fighting chance to carry the town—and so on, with much detailed account of how this old Republican and that dyed-in-the-wool Democrat were going to vote the straight Socialist ticket, the first time they ever cast a Socialist vote in their lives.

"But there should be a local," declared the speaker.

"Oh! we'll start it up as soon as the campaign is over," cried several persons in the room.

"If the campaign ever is over there'll be no locals at all, nor any purpose in their existence," said the speaker. "We'll organize tomorrow night, at the close of the rally, and plan to carry on the campaign."

II.

At the close of an hour's talk the speaker, having set the crowd cheering with a word picture of the proletarian revolution triumphant and the era of production for use begun, paused for the applause to die away and the collection to be taken up; then he said:

"Comrades and Friends: One stage of our perpetual campaign ends tonight. Its

result in the vote cast for our principles and candidates tomorrow may mean much in encouraging the party workers to renewed effort. If it does not mean that it does not mean much, though it doubtless will have the effect of setting people thinking and of causing the old party officials to be a little more careful in what they do where any special interest of the wage workers is involved. Let us be prepared to take up the work on Wednesday; let us have the machinery to work with. As Socialists we are believers in machinery, in organized effort, and we know that only through organized effort can we hope to accomplish anything of great importance. We must reorganize Local Weston tonight, to exist and work actively for the revolution day by day, month by month, year by year, until the fight be won."

There was some snappy but scattering applause, while the audience began rising by ones and twos, then in little bunches, and finally in a mass, as flocks of frightened wild fowl rise from the marshes at some alarm. In a minute more the bulk of the audience was moving toward the door. For those who were leaving the last thrills of political enthusiasm for that year had been experienced, and for them the campaign was at an end.

The speaker waited until all was quiet once more, making no effort to catch and hold the interest of those who chose to go. He smiled with gratification when he saw that nearly a hundred men and women had remained. It was more than he had looked for.

Carefully he went over the ground he had to cover, showing by many illustrations as well as through the presentation of facts the strength and effectiveness of organized effort and the weakness of mere emotional enthusiasm in occasional bursts. He spoke of the reactionary effects which follow emotional campaigning, and the means which must be taken to meet the condition and make use of the momentum gained in the exciting pre-election weeks to carry on the perpetual campaign.

"In a place like Weston," he went on, "where we let our hopes run high for the election while we let the party organization sink out of existence, the disappointment we shall feel when we find, as I am afraid we shall, that we have no more than doubled our vote, instead of carrying the town, will be most dangerous. Let each be resolved, then, to do his or her part, no matter who else may fail."

It was a silent and solemn little audience that faced him when he finished his preliminary address and called upon his hearers to come up and sign application cards, but in the end forty-seven responded to the call.

III.

On Thursday night, two days after election, thirty-one of the forty-seven members of the reorganized local gathered at the meeting place and told each other mournfully that the sixty per cent increase in the vote over that of two years before was "a splendid showing," and that next time they surely would carry the district and elect their candidate to the legislature. They elected officers of the local, selecting one of the women comrades as recording secretary "because she would have more time to attend to the work and was willing to accept." They talked of what might be done if only such and such favorable conditions existed, considered a motion to put an active organizer in the field, and laid it over to the next meeting; discussed a suggestion to have a speaker from outside come to deliver a propaganda address once or twice a month, and decided it would be hard to get out a crowd "so soon after election." Then they talked over a suggestion made by the speaker who had organized the local, that house-to-house loaning of books and pamphlets, to be exchanged weekly, be undertaken, and decided that it would be a good thing if it could be done. At 10 o'clock, with eighteen members still present, they adjourned.

On the following Thursday seventeen members came to the meeting place, first and last, but the largest number in attendance at any one time was nine, only two more than the designated legal quorum. The secretary, a gray-haired woman with keen, earnest eyes, watched and listened wistfully while the proceedings dragged along. Unable to bear it any longer she arose at length, trembling with dread of helplessness, and for the first time in her life tried to address a meeting. She did it blunderingly, and twice fell painfully silent, while the hearts of the handful of

listeners ached for her. She managed to make a motion, however, that a committee of three be elected to take pamphlets from house to house, leaving them to be called for and exchanged for others wherever anybody would promise to read them. The motion was carried, and three of the young men in the meeting elected. The secretary was authorized to obtain a supply of suitable literature.

Two members of the committee on literature distribution and four other members of the local, including the secretary, appeared at the next meeting, which was adjourned for lack of a quorum after the secretary had reported that the pamphlets ordered had not arrived, and urged that the elected members of the committee come to the meeting a week later, when she believed the literature would have arrived.

The following meeting was attended by one of the committee members—a young machinist—and the secretary. The pamphlets had come, and the young man was given a supply. Then the "meeting" was adjourned, though the secretary sat for a long time in the deserted room, thinking, wondering if there could be any use in keeping on. She remembered a bill for the rent of the hall for the coming month, which she had received that day, and thought over the improbability of there being any quorum meeting to authorize its payment and the fact that there was no money in the treasury to pay it anyhow. This was the end, then, clearly. It was quite simple. She had done her best, but what some of the Socialists had said on many occasions in the past—that there was no use in trying to keep a local going in Weston—doubtless was true after all.

Still she sat there, thinking, while the heavy minutes crept away in the silence of the deserted meeting room.

"*Let each be resolved to do his or her part, no matter who else may fail,*" she murmured. Then she went home.

The young machinist, leaving the meeting place early in the evening with the bundle of pamphlets under his arm, felt increasing diffidence as he glanced at the lighted windows he was passing. Twice he paused, at points several blocks apart, after walking a long way in his indecision, but then went on. He tried to satisfy himself that it would be better to begin his work in the daytime, some Sunday, and had all but succeeded when a sudden sense of shame and cowardice drove him precipitately through the nearest gate. Plunging up to the house, in fear of the task before him and greater fear of failing, he knocked on the door, and in another moment found himself haltingly explaining his errand to a shirt-sleeved man whom he remembered having met in the saloons down-town on several occasions.

"Socialism, eh"? responded the man. "I never took much stock in it and don't know much about it. I guess, maybe, it would be a good thing if it could ever get anywhere. Oh, sure, I'll read the stuff if you want to leave it."

Greatly encouraged, the committee worker went up to the next house. A woman, answering his knock, sniffed indignantly at the word Socialism, and seemed inclined to close the door, when a man came up behind her, asked what was up, growled at the visitor, saying Socialists were fools and could waste their own time if they wanted to, but not his, and closed the door. The committeeman was covered with a cold sweat of rage and humiliation and, leaving the rest of the pamphlets in his lodgings as he passed them, went to spend the rest of the evening in the saloons. He did not come to the next meeting of the local. Only one member was there, in fact—the secretary. She had paid another month's rent herself. For an hour she sat reading, thinking, wondering again if there could be any possible use in her coming there another night.

"There may be some of them here next Thursday night," she told herself as she turned out the lights. "I'd hate to have them disappointed if they should come. I'll come again."

IV.

The "reorganized" local was four months old, and for three months only one member had known that on Thursday nights the door stood open, the lights turned on, and that in the minute book there was an entry for every meeting night of all that time, even the night of the big storm, and all entries the same:

"No meeting for lack of quorum."

On the first Thursday of the fifth month the secretary, after a long struggle with her dying hopes and longings, decided to give up the useless labor. Many times she had thought of it before, as she had thought of other things and decided against them. She had contemplated going to each member of the local with a plea to come to the meetings, but her heart had failed her. She could not bear to put herself in the position of trying to shame anyone into doing what she felt that all would be more than glad to do for the movement if only they could get started right.

Now, at last, she had decided to give up. There seemed to be nothing else to do. All her own money was gone, and to pay another month's rent for the room which served as a meeting hall she must obtain money from her husband, who was not enthusiastic over Socialism and less inclined to approve of her weekly pilgrimages.

As 8 o'clock drew near she felt her heart sinking. She pictured to herself some comrade coming to the locked door of the darkened room and turning away. She could not bear it. Once more she would go.

Throwing a shawl over her head she ran to the darkened business block where the meetings had been held and hurriedly climbed the stairs, in fear that someone might have got there already and found the hall locked.

No one was there. She turned on the lights and began her lonely vigil, grieving the while over the sense that this time, certainly must be the last. So, grieving, she fell asleep, dreaming of the prophetic pictures of a sane social and economic existence for the human race, and the passing of all the black horror of the capitalist system. In her dream she heard, faintly and from far away, the march of the workers, banded together at last to win the world from the despoilers for their own. The dream-sounds of footfalls awoke her, and she sat up, startled, filled for a moment with bewildered joy. Then the lingering illusions of the dream faded from her mind, passing away with the wraiths of all her dead hopes.

With a sob she arose to turn out the lights for the last time, and then paused, her heart beating wildly, as she heard the sound of many footsteps on the stairs.

V

It was a chance meeting in a saloon down-town that Thursday that helped to make a little history for the organized Socialist movement in Weston. The young machinist who nearly four months before had grown quickly discouraged over the duties he had assumed met the one man who had accepted a pamphlet from him. When the hellos had been said and a beer or two drunk together, the question was asked:

"Did you read that pamphlet I left with you?"

"Did I"? was the response. "Well, I guess yes, and then waited a month for you to show up with more. After that I sent for some that were advertised in that one. Say, there was a fellow next door to me—I s'pose it was you tackled him—worked in the same shop with me, and he was grouchy as hell and down on Socialism, he was. I tried to make him read the pamphlets, but for a long time it was no go. Used to make him fighting mad for me to speak of Socialism, and he said he chucked one sucker out that came to his house one night with such stuff. Well, after a lot of talk I got him reading, and now he's red hot for it."

The machinist hung his head. "Come on," he said after a moment. "This is meeting night of the local. I wonder if there's anybody there!"

Having a presentiment that he would find no one, he left the new convert at the bottom of the stairs while he went up to see. From the head of the stairway he saw the light and tiptoed forward. With his heart in his throat he went up to the sleeping secretary. Her record-book lay open on the table, and he read the last entry, "No meeting for lack of quorum," and then, turning back the pages, the other entries, all the same.

"All by herself, by God"! he whispered, awestruck.

Softly he made his way out of the room, frantically trying to think of names of party members and remember where they lived. To the man waiting at the bottom of the stairs he told enough to send him hurrying to get the formerly recalcitrant neighbor, while he himself sped on his

own errand from house to house in different parts of town.

Five of the old members he found, enough, with himself and the secretary, to make a quorum, and waited for no more, but rushed back to the hall with the men he had gathered, arriving, as it happened, just in time. The two non-members were waiting, and together the eight men went up to the meeting.

They pretended to believe the secretary was really laughing as she bent over her record book, and they argued with each other on chance subjects, quite out of order and with much noise, until she raised a beaming face to look over the meeting.

"Anything special to come before us tonight, Comrade Secretary"? asked the young machinist, who had been selected as chairman.

"This is the night set for election of officers," she answered in a tone as matter-of-fact as she could make it.

So they re-elected the secretary, in spite of her protests, took a collection and paid the back rent, admitted two applicants for membership, increasing the number of members present to nine, and these nine they divided up into six working committees to get things done.

All that happened quite a while ago, but every one of the two hundred and seventeen members of Local Weston knows the leading facts. There never has been a no-quorum night since then.



FIRST SINGING OF THE MARSEILLAISE BY ROUGET DE LISLE.

THE WORK OF MAXIMILIAN LUCE

BY

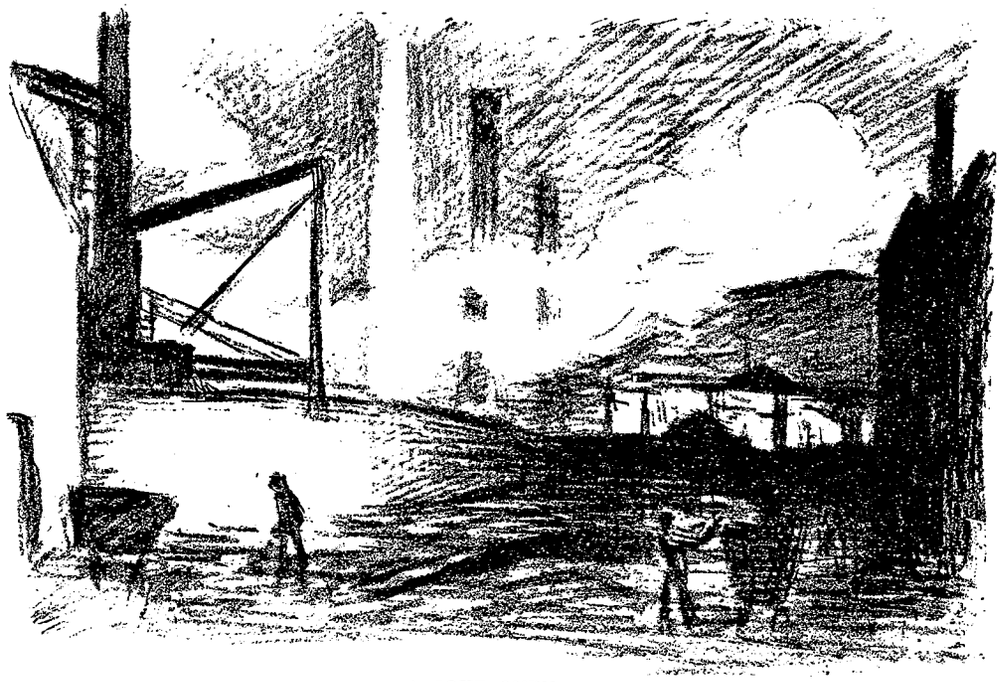
ARISTIDE PRATELLE



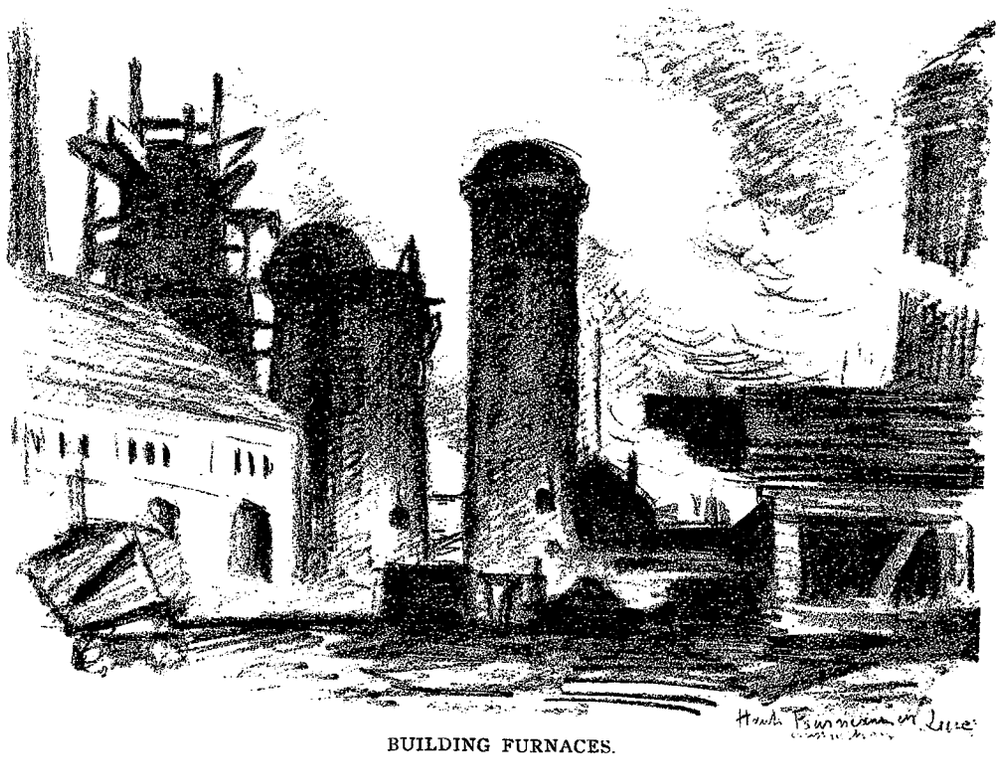
MAXIMILIAN LUCE.

CAPITALISM is doomed. Grounded on mere brute force, on the authority of man upon man; reeking with selfishness and greed, showing only to our conscious eyes a disgusting spectacle of plunder and assassination, rapid or slow, ferocity and cowardice, capitalism is doomed to perish in a good deal less time than has been necessary for it to reach its prime. It is doomed to die of violent death, not only because, in accordance with a well-known economic principle, it carries in its own bosom the very evil that will destroy it, but also, and over all, because the humanity of tomorrow, free-minded and freedom-loving will no longer endure the heavy burden of wage-slavery on its shoulders.

Look at these pictures. And tell me what a lesson they will teach to the rising generations, to these healthy, wise, fraternal generations which will be no longer the slaves of the machines. Indeed, they will put before their eyes some strange sights, quite uncommon to them, some weird life—scenes never to be found by them in their ambience; they will give them insight into the past which will fill them with the greatest astonishment; they will tell them a tale which mere words are powerless to convey, a tale of bondage and tyranny, a tale of deprivation of all these joys which make life worthy to be lived. Here the very features of capitalism are seen in their glaring contrasts. Like as many mushrooms, ugly wooden and brick buildings, geometrical derricks, heavy furnaces, lofty chimney-stacks, have sprung up from vast areas of land which are no longer green and flowing. Here, the polluted waters are no longer lively with silvery fish. Here the atmosphere, darkened with soot and smoke, is no longer bracing and sweet-smelling. Capitalism is not good to breathe. Indeed, if such a nightmare were to survive only one or two centuries more, our humanity would certainly evolve into quite another animal species, with all the germs of decreptitude and death running into its veins. With no more air to breathe, pure water to drink and good food to eat, it would rapidly pass away, victim of its own folly. Then, away with Capitalism, away with Greed and Authority, if we want to go on living!



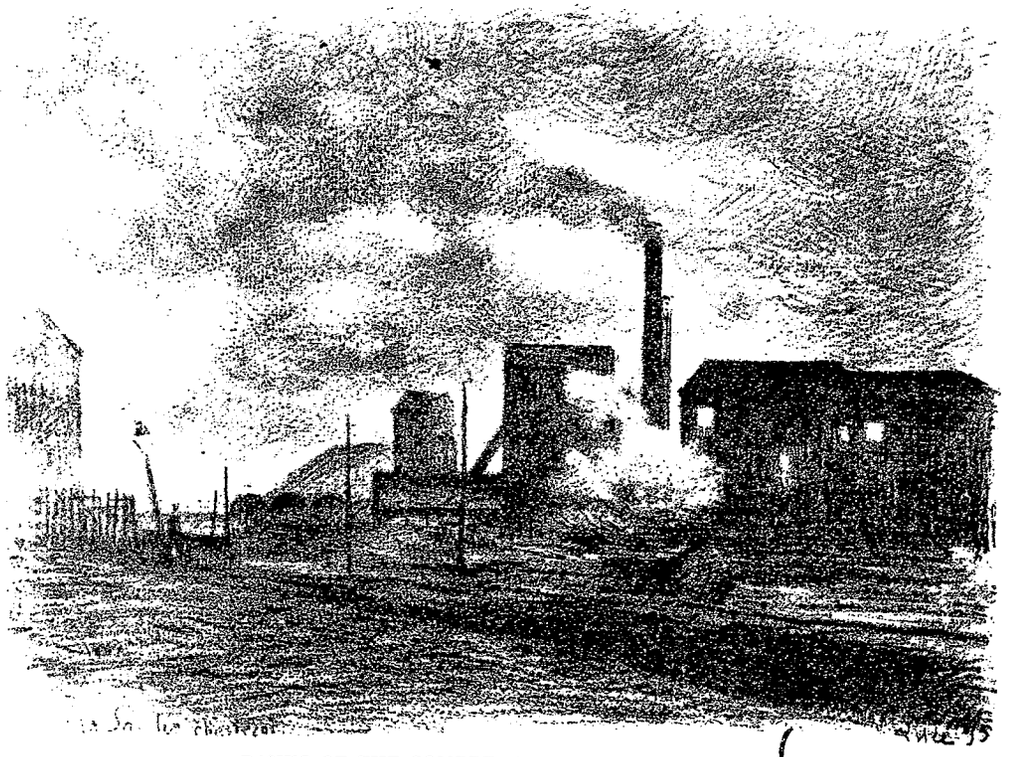
A COKE OVEN.



BUILDING FURNACES.



A BRICK OVEN.



BANKS OF THE SOMBRE, CHARLEROI, BELGIUM.

It is the magic pencil of the draughtsman, which, better than any other artist, can find beauty in the life of these industrial lives of the present day, in these hells created by man, from which beauty seemed to have been banished once for all. Since many years, with his usual passion and perseverance, our good friend and comrade Maximilian Luce has steadily noted for the future generations the pitiful landscapes of our industrial cities, during that period of realism in which we life. Here is a series of first-rate black and white sketches which will show to our American comrades how sincere is the artistic skill of Luce. As can be seen, Luce excels in dealing with "the turmoil of the countries of fire and coal" in giving us a glimpse of the activity of the producers of wealth, in mills, factories and workshops. No doubt his sketches of



A WORKINGMAN.



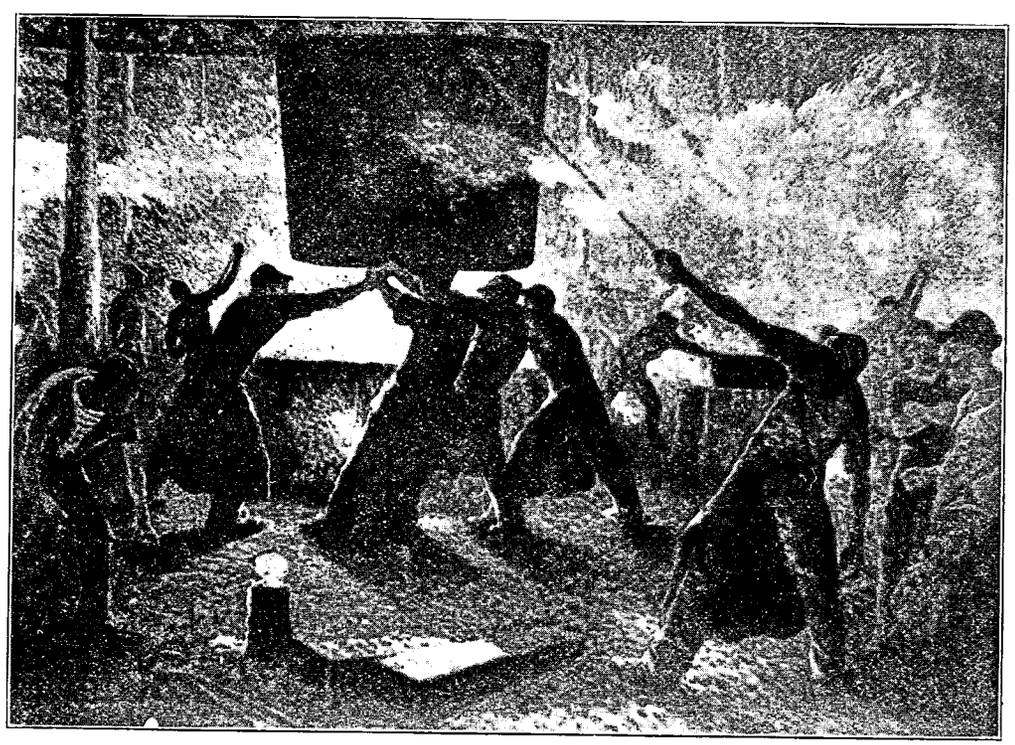
A WORKINGMAN.

furnaces and coke-ovens can hold comparison with the best pencil-productions of Constantin Mennier. No doubt that his admirable, astonishing drawing: "rapping melted steel" shows us a group of human bodies as beautiful and impressing as Rembrandt's "Night-watch."

But, it is in the various attitudes of his workingmen, either at work, in their rhythmical motions, or at rest, when standing erect or sitting to eat a meal, that the art of Luce seems to reach the acme of its simple grandeur, nobleness and harmony. Indeed, these are exquisite documents on the sheves of capitalism which the generations of today will bequeath to their descendants. To our eyes, these drawings have the serene majesty of Greek Art. But, better than Greek Art, these durable, definitive sketches of our era of transition fill our hearts with endless hopes in the future progress of the human race!



A WORKINGMAN.



RAPPING MOLTEN STEEL.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM
AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

V. Low Prices and More About Profits

WE know that strength to work, or labor-power is a commodity. The value of a commodity is determined by the necessary social labor time contained in it.

If it takes three hours of social labor to produce the necessities of life for you one day, the value of your labor-power one day will be three hours of necessary social labor.

Figure A will represent the value of your labor power, because 3 hours of social labor are contained in the necessities of life which will support you one day.

Let Figure C represent your product for one day. It contains 9 hours of labor-time. The capitalist who employs you will need to return to you sufficient value to enable you to pay for A (or the cost of living).

Figure B is equal to A because it contains 3 hours of labor. It represents the value returned to you by the boss in the shape of gold or wages.

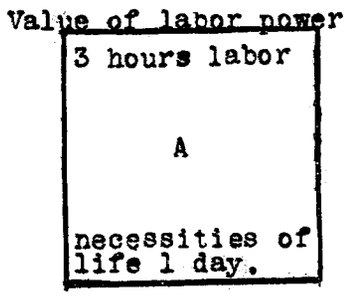
We know that A is equal to B. And we know that C contains three times the value of A or B. We know also that the capitalist is constantly trying to prolong C into TEN or even ELEVEN hours, and that capitalists cut wages whenever and wherever possible. It is only by constant struggle that the working class has been able to maintain its position, to secure a, perhaps nominal, increase in wages, or a shorter workday.

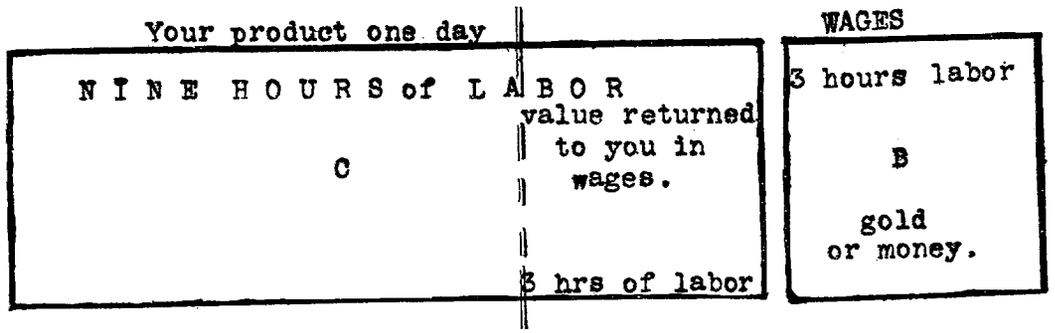
It is self-evident that if you secure more wages (B) there will be less of the value of your product (C) remaining for the capitalist employing you, just as a reduction in wages leaves more surplus value for him.

An increase in the length of your workday (C) to ten hours will leave 7 hours of unpaid labor instead of SIX. A shorter workday will leave less surplus value for the capitalist.

Reformers believe that if we could decrease the cost of living we would better our condition. They think if A (the cost of living) were lowered, we could save a part of our wages (B). Of course, the value of our labor-power falls with a decrease in the value of the necessities of life, but they imagine we might be able to lower the cost of living without suffering a corresponding decrease in wages.

Personally, you know if your landlord should cut your rent down one-half next





month, you would have more money left to spend for other things. Personally, you know if your brother offered to board you at half the regular rate, you could save a still larger sum of money next month. This is true of your individual case.

But we are not talking about individual cases, though we use concrete examples for the sake of making things clear. We are asking if LOW PRICES would benefit the wage-working CLASS.

We will suppose an extreme example in order to illustrate our explanation. Suppose the city of Chicago should buy up all the houses, flats and cottages that rent to the working CLASS here, and suppose this city should cut rents down one-half. Suppose that Chicago had municipal ownership and it was possible for the city to reduce the cost of living here 50 per cent. What we want to consider is—would the reduction benefit the working CLASS or that part of the capitalist CLASS not directly engaged in producing the necessities of life?

When the cost of living is greatly reduced at any given city, workingmen and women flock to that point to sell their labor-power. They believe that if they can get jobs where it costs less to LIVE, they will be able to save money and, perhaps, finally climb into the capitalist class themselves.

But note what happens. There is an immediate influx of workers into the city of low prices. The competition AMONG WORKERS for jobs becomes more keen at once, and it is always keen. Capitalists purchase labor-power at the lowest price. Men and women offer to sell their labor-power at a lower and still lower price till wages again fall to the cost of living. In a very short time these workers will find that they have gained nothing.

Take the examples of A, B and C. When the cost of living (A) is cut in half, the competition, among the sellers of labor-power, reduces wages (B) accordingly. If your capitalist employer is a steel manufacturer, will he be able to appropriate MORE or LESS of the value of your product?

Capitalists rarely start industrial enterprises in Alaska because the cost of living (or value of labor-power) is so extremely high in the far north that there is very little surplus value left for them there.

The value of a commodity is determined by the average social labor contained in it. The Alaska steel manufacturer would have to compete in a world market just as the Bethlehem and Gary mills compete, and it is NECESSARY social labor only that makes value.

Reports are coming from Gautemala of cotton manufacturers who are locating and establishing cotton mills there. The natives of Central America can live on very low wages. Almost all natives in Gautemala build and own their own thatched huts. The climate is warm and artificial heat is never needed. Nobody requires steam heat or base-burners. A cotton shirts and cotton trousers clothe a man as well as his neighbors, so that the cost of clothing is a very negligible quantity. Bread fruit and bananas grow wild, and 10 or 12 cents a day will keep a native in comfort. A recent magazine article, which dwelt upon the advantages to capital in Central America, reports that the Gautemala natives receive, on the average, 9, 10 or 12 cents a day.

If the Central American natives were driven to toil as fiercely as are we of the states, Gautemala would be a heaven for capitalists. But it is still possible for them to live without much labor. When, however, the capitalists gain control of the land, so that the natives will be FORCED to sell their LABOR-POWER in order to LIVE, more exploiters of labor will turn toward the land where the cost of living is almost nothing (labor-power of little value), and where they will be able to appropriate a still larger portion of unpaid labor.

From no angle can we find where low prices will benefit the working CLASS for any appreciable length of time, because the struggle for jobs soon brings wages down to just about enough to live on.

Questions.

The workingmen and women of Belgium have long labored to reduce the cost of living in Belgium. They have formed co-operatives and we learn that they actually HAVE been able to lower the prices on the necessities of life. If we had list prices of groceries in Belgium, we would probably be amazed at the differ-

ence in their prices and in ours. And still only recently a Belgian Socialist wrote us that his country was still the Heaven for capitalists and the hell for workingmen and women.

Will wages in Belgium be as high as they are in Colorado or in Ohio? Why not? Are the Belgium comrades any better off than we are?

If every workingman owned his own home in Indianapolis or in Salt Lake City, would this tend to INCREASE or to DECREASE wages there? Explain why.

Why do the owners of factories usually build them in small towns? Why are there so few factories in New York and Chicago?

Is the wage-worker exploited of his product at the mine or factory or is he CHEATED when he spends his wages for the necessities of life?

Before you reply to the above question, reply to the following:

What determines the value of your labor-power? What determines the value of any commodity?

Does A (the cost of living) have anything to do with the amount of B (wages) you will receive?

If B (wages) are not equal in value to A (the cost of living) will this mean that you HAVE NOT RECEIVED the value of your labor-power, or will it mean that the grocer and butcher, and clothier are cheating you?

If wages (B) are reduced will your employer be able to appropriate more surplus value?

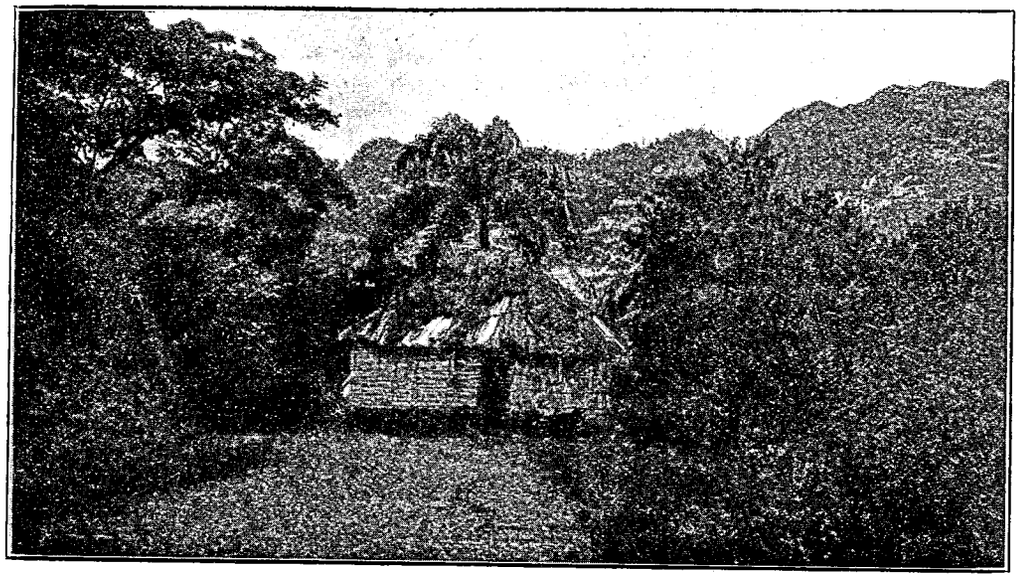
Owing to the improved methods of production the necessities of life are slowly decreasing in value. A contains less labor; is less valuable. Gold also is decreasing in value, contains less social labor. What would be the natural explanation of the fact that gold today exchanges for FEWER commodities than it did five years ago? Which would you expect to have decreased most in value—gold or the necessities of life?

If the value of the necessities of life decreased FASTER than the value of gold decreased would prices of the necessities fall? In this case B would be of more value than A. Would wages continue to be of more value than A for very long?

Would general co-operatives for reducing the cost of living in America benefit the working class? Or would they tend to reduce wages? Why?

Will we have to exclude the natives of Central America from the United States in order to prevent them from competing with us to sell their labor-power? Or are they already taking jobs from American cotton workers even though working in Guatemala? Explain.

(In Lesson VI we shall take up high prices and monopoly prices. This is such a big subject that we do not wish to start it in this very short lesson. But we will be glad if the study classes will read Chapter III, page 106 (of the new Kerr edition) of Socialism, Utopian and Scientific for what Frederick Engels has to say about *panics*. We shall discuss panics later and the classes may as well be taking up this subject themselves. Read on through page 116. Pages 115 and 116 contain the best short explanation of panics that was ever written. If you happen to have copies of the old edition, read Chapter III.)



PORTO RICO

BY

LEAH GAY

IT is raining from an insignificant cloud in a sky of polished turquoise. Drenched bees cling to the points of waxy leaves, drugged by the scent of white lilies that lie choked in the embrace of a slender vine bearing sprays of coral-pink blossoms. A mocking bird is amusing himself up in the palm tree that shades my balcony; behind me in the living room of our tiny house, the girls are tying up gifts in regulation holly ribbon brought down from the States in September. Behind us the mountains look like lengths of stiff, changeable purple-and-green velvet, crushed along the horizon. In front of us, the sea, irritated by the unwelcome caresses of the trade winds, curls up long, frothy waves on the beach.

And this is Porto Rico, on the day before Christmas.

One of the girls shouts and I look up to see a pathetic little procession pass. I watch it until it is lost in a turn of the village street. A boy, perhaps nine years old, maybe fifteen, is carrying on his head a small coffin. The lad wears a man's canvas coat and a pair of short, tight trousers; nothing else. The coffin is made on the lines of those that used to haunt our childish dreams, and it is covered with sky-blue cambric, fastened with brass tacks.

One end of the coffin lid is fast, the other slides back and forth over the opening that it was intended to cover; and an ill-made wreath of double, orange-colored hybiscus flowers fastened to the free end of the top, sweeps rythmically across the narrow shoulders of the youthful pall-bearer. It requires little imagination for one who has lived a few months in Porto Rico to fancy the pitiable finery that hides the wasted limbs and the tiny, ghostly face open to the rain and the smiling heavens.

A man and a handful of children drag along behind the boy; and you may be sure that not one of these young ones is a girl. "El Costumbre" forbids that a woman follow a corpse.

These children are all clad, after some fashion or the other, but they went about stark naked until they were three years old. And more than half of the little humans that are born die before they have worn a garment. Those that persist, fade, dwindle and after the impetus of infantile lustiness is spent, become easy prey to tropical anemia—that you in the States know as hookworm.

There can be little question but that the inability of Porto Ricans to resist disease—their physical degeneracy—is due to centuries of Spanish misrule. Everywhere one is appalled at the multiple effects of generations of ignorance and insufficient nutrition. All along the splendid military roads that vein the island, built in the time of Ponce de Leon and maintained through the years at no one knows what cost of blood and tears, there sit the bloated, pallid, dull-eyed creatures that live by the atius tossed to them alike from Spanish "coches" with clanging bells and from the screaming, careening, malodorous American automobiles.

It is significant that these hookworm victims come from the lowest class of natives, the "hombres"—a word used as you use "hand" in the States. The hombre is invariably bare-footed; he is small of stature, lean and he moves as if he were tired—as if his mother and his father and his forebears, centuries back, were tired. And I feel sure that they were tired. It makes me tired to attempt to compute the depth that has yawned since the day that Columbus discovered this smiling island, between those that have piped and those that have danced.

And the wonder is that those worn-out, wasted ones—the hombres—have, in spite of all the conditions that have worked against them, retained the sensitive, temperamental values that characterize not only themselves but the two classes above them. That is to say, that to be a Porto Rican, without respect to class, is to be amiable, gay, fond of color, music, singing and dancing; and it is to be generous with a fine unconscious grace.

But the clever hand of civilization has not yet manipulated the hombre into a wage-slave. A sewing girl will contract for one-half day's service—not an hour more. If she sews in the forenoon, she may wish to sew in the afternoon; maybe not. The wives of American capitalists, wishing to get all the summer clothing made here at the wage of fifty cents the day, fume and fuss over their inability to buy such labor by the week and the month. Finally they are obliged to grow philosophical and they explain to a newcomer that you must get done what you can. "For these people are all alike," they assert.

The manager of the dinkey railway running between Rio Piedras and Cuaguas has been obliged to import Irish laborers from New York because he cannot induce hombres to work for two consecutive days. What's the use? The hombre needs no fire, the clothes question is negliable; he can live on beans and rice; bananas grow wild and what he euphoniously calls "leche de mi madre" (mother's milk), sugar cane, grows on every hil. That these hills and what they produce are owned by American capital does not deter him from helping himself—until he is caught in the act.

For domestic servants—cooks, gardeners, nurses and coachmen—the capitalist must send to St. Thomas or St. Kitts—to any of the islands about here where England, France or Denmark has spent centuries in making good wage slaves out of the children of black kings.

I have said that Porto Ricans are generous; and we find this love of sharing does not depend on whether the possessor of the commodity to be shared has superfluity. I have seen a poor vegetable vendor require his well-to-do patrons to wait until he has hunted out pennies to give to a professional beggar that came every day. I have yet to see a person asking alms turned away empty-handed from the poorest hut. Sometimes it is a bit of squash, sometimes it is a handful of rice that is offered, but the donation is made cheerfully, and it is received with unvarying blessings.

Half a dozen poor families here in the village are giving lodging and food—rice, beans and codfish at the best—to the poor relatives that come from the interior of the island to our better schools. This kindness is not extended grudgingly and there is no thought of recompense; it is considered an honor to be asked to share.

The houses in which this poorest class lives are one-roomed affairs, set up on the

tron-like, twisted trunks of mangrove trees, some four or five feet above the ground. This living on stilts is to save them from damp, from ants and fleas. There are also scorpions and centipedes, but the bite of neither is serious. Harmless lizards, from two to twelve inches long, run everywhere; they chase insects —mosquitoes and spiders—over one's mosquito net so often that one soon forgets that they are reptiles.

There are no flies and there is nothing dangerous on the island—except poverty.

The roofs of the hombres' houses are thatched with sugar cane leaves. The sides are made of braided palm fronds of interwoven banana leaves and sometimes of wood; rarely (and this is great good fortune for the possessor) of corrugated iron. Cooking is done out in the open on a charcoal brazier and water is got from springs and old Spanish wells that have picturesque stone curbs. What clothing is not bleaching on the nearest shrubs is on the backs of the family. A poor quality of aerated bread, if this family can afford bread, is bought from the nearest panoderia, a primitive bakery.

The only means of sanitation provided indoors or out is a goat. And even a goat has its limitations. Hence the malodors so persistent that the sweetness of waxy, perfumed blossoms by the million only serve to sicken one. These are smells of garlic and of rank spices; and then there are unnameable smells.

But garments are beautifully white, owing to the natural bleaching process of many showers and continual, fierce sunshine all day long. And there is little dirt as we know dirt, due to the fact that there is little true soil compared with the quantities of sand, and because practically nothing besides charcoal—made from the wood of rose-apple trees—is used for fuel.

No house in Porto Rico is too mean to harbor some sort of a musical instrument. Squaking graphophones assail one on lonely roads from out the doors of mere huts. Flutes and violins are common. There is a crude sort of guitar, and every boy knows how to make a musical instrument out of a gourd. Native music is weird, tragic, fascinating, "Borinquen" (Pearl of the Sea), the title of the national air, so called because this is the Indian name for Porto Rico, goes through one as would the cry of some collective creature, protesting against annihilation.

This music is Indian, first of all; but it shows Spanish, Arabic and African influences. In fact, it is only very recently that the American drum has replaced the tom-tom. And there still persists in Santurce a modification of the bailebumba, a pure negro dance brought from Africa by the slaves who, escaping by the way of the Windward Island, found asylum for hundreds of years on Borinquen.

It stopped raining half an hour ago and the heat is quivering over the dried roadway. As I write these words, a suggestion of what awaits the baile-bumba and all that is attractive because of its outlandishness, in Porto Rico, flashes, shrieking, past me. This is the automobile of an American who owns a hundred acres of pineapples and a thousand acres of sugar cane.

One sees in the man in the back seat of this machine the irresistible force that shall grind to a pale unanimity care-free hombre, traditional middle-class Porto Rican and the proud families that still boast of the grandeur that was Spain's.

This one thing, American capital, that has brought about the public school system of the island, will in one generation more force the hombre to sell himself by the month for life. His wife will have a sewing machine, his boys will demand bicycles and his daughters will weep for a piano.

The conservative merchant of today will be forced to make certain concessions of his commercial dignity to attract to himself a sufficient measure of the trade that is not big enough to go around. And the proudest Don Senor will swallow his traditions and accept patronage from the hands of the new ruling class, in the placing of his sons.

Already on this little scrap of earth—sun-bathed, wind-kissed, instinct with superstitition and poetry, the tragic processes of civilization have begun. Soon this dreamy Borinquen must become conscious of the travail attending the development of her resources and the resultant exploitation of her humankind. And she must go through her appointed labors, until at last, for very agony, she

will waken in the gold of the new dawn—to a realization of her place and part in the universal brotherhood of peoples.

And may the good genii that, through centuries of Spanish oppression, have preserved to Borniquen her laughter, her ready tears and her open hand, cover these graces with triple-plate asbestos to save them in the fire of her epoch of capitalistic purgatory.

THE SEAL HUNTERS

BY

R. PAGE LINCOLN

EARLY spring on the bleak, far-stretching shores of Newfoundland, witnesses in the neighborhood of a hundred or more staunchen vessels steaming out of the eastern harbors fully manned by a joyous crowd of rough and ready individuals, heading for the sealing grounds that lie to the northward. As an industry this pursuit is filled with a great deal of danger and excitement, yet those that ship out on these vessels have grown up to a task-trying life and are best fitted for this perilous calling.

Accidents there are at times galore, but it is by far safer now than it was in the past when sailing vessels had to be relied upon solely to carry them over the gigantic waves and through the dangerous floating islands of icebergs that often beset the path of the ships. In the days of long ago every contrivance that would bear a sail was rigged out with one and sent to the ice-floes to bring in the costly pelts that go to make the "elect" snug and warm. It is safe to say that in those times over half of the people of New Foundland were at sea. It was a common occurrence that vessels which set out in the business never returned. Gray-bearded old-timers will often draw together a crowd of young adventurers, and during the long winter evenings, spin their yarns of the sorrow they had known or witnessed.

Seal fishing in the past was worked under rather crude methods, one of the most advanced steps of the time was to capture the seals by aid of heavy woven nets, which were stretched across channels known to be used by the seals in their swimming from place to place. The most hazardous manner was to sail out in small skiffs and shoot the creatures when they came up on the ice-pans. Records show that as far back as 1795, 5,000 seals, on the average, constituted the yearly catch under the old methods. Later, when the large sailing vessels came into use, the industry took a sudden leap and thereafter progressed gradually, each year's catch mounted to a high and still higher figure, until in 1839, records show a catch of 700,000 seals for that season.

Eventually steam took the place of the sail and the ships that set out for the sealing grounds at the present day are models of security and completeness, the sealers finding a great deal of pleasure in making a trip of this kind, while in the past it was a continual drudgery from early morn till evening with not one spark of joy to ease the every-day routine. Utterly worn out after the day's toil the sealers would seek their bunks at an early hour and then tumble out in the morning for a renewal of the past days work. Hence it was rather monotonous. Now, with the labors considerably lightened and various forms of amusement at hand to occupy their spare hours, the time passes faster and the few hours before bedtime are a joy to the men.

The seal hunter cuts rather a queer figure in his heavy blue shirt, his big trousers and the tough seal-skin boots, all of which are for the most part fashioned by the man himself to suit his fancy. The hunter takes every care that he shall not freeze, hence he is warmly clad at all times.

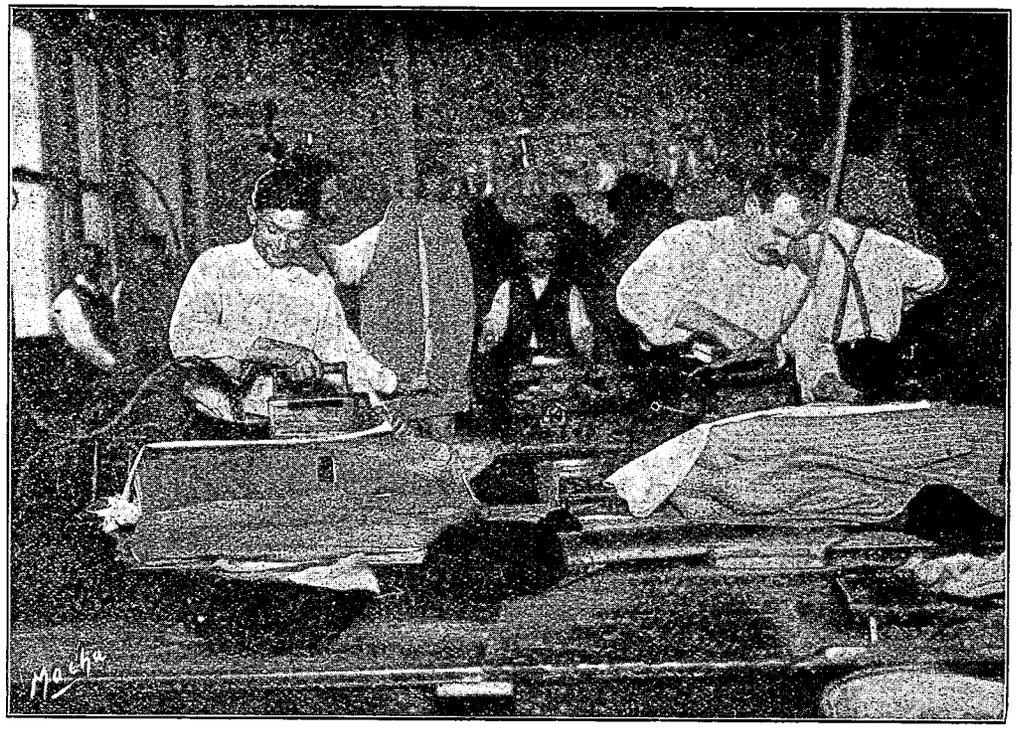
Seen on the ice they are an odd-appearing crowd, all wearing blue-colored spectacles, each armed with a "spike" tipped pole and each bearing a long knife in his belt. The seal is killed with the "spike" and the pelt is removed by aid of the sheath knife—the method being very simple in procedure.

At some time in the early autumn the great army of seals start out on their trip southward. They are divided into two groups, one coming from the shores of Greenland and the other coming from the extreme end of Labrador. In the southermost portion of Labrador they meet and thence proceed southward, assembling about the first week in December off the shores of Newfoundland. Here they gradually turn their course and once again swim northward, their destination being the breeding grounds, or the "whelping ice," as it is termed by the hunters. This is sometimes very hard to find. It takes a man with keen foresight, judgment and observation to locate these grounds and the captain is usually the man to rely upon. Close watch is constantly kept with the telescopes throughout the day and every precaution is taken that the herd shall not escape detection. The further north the boat proceeds the more icebergs are encountered and then the crew is called out to chop a channel. It is in these attempts that lives are often lost.

When the herd is located by the man at the telescope the news is spread and there is great rejoicing among the men, especially if no other boat of the sealing fleet is about to share the good luck. Immediately the boat is brought to; the men arm themselves and scatter through the herd and then begins the slaughter. The male seals generally put up a stout resistance and have to be shot, for Nature has so provided them that their heads are invulnerable to blows of the ordinary pole. Blows only anger them the more. The female will protect her off-spring to the end, and, unlike the males, they are easily killed by a rap on the head.

Thus, with great labor the entire herd is gradually surrounded and in due time killed off, after which the operation of removing the hides takes place. Thereafter the pelts are stored in the hold of the ship, and when all is safe and sound, and weather favorable, they set out on the return trip loaded down with the spoils. Sometimes a herd of seals will number as high as thirty thousand, and if one boat's crew can gather these it may be seen that a neat profit is realized. The crew, it should be stated, are pardners in the deal and receive a good share of the profits, hence there is always good feeling among them.

At the end of the voyage the pelts are marketed at St. Johns, where they are prepared for export. Here the oil is extracted and the fat reduced.



BACK TO WORK.

THE GARMENT WORKERS STRIKE LOST

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

BY

ROBERT DVORAK

(EX-REPORTER OF THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST.)

HAVING written the very first account of the great Garment Worker's strike in the *Chicago Daily Socialist* and having worked with the strikers by day and night throughout the sixteen weeks of their marvelous struggle, I will now attempt to depict the many events that led to defeat as briefly as possible.

None who witnessed the wholesale and enthusiastic walkout of the tailors felt for even a moment that it might end disastrously.

The strikers were keyed to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and resistance. Eighteen of the largest halls in Chicago were packed daily—some even twice daily—and speakers in every language counselled and spurred the thousands to action.

In spite of the first serious misstep of the union leaders, that of making the "closed shop" a battle cry, and later ridiculing it, I felt that the victory of the strikers was inevitable. The "closed shop" error, I thought, would be dropped if satisfactory terms were presented.

When I entered the strike field as a reporter for the *Chicago Daily Socialist* I had no idea as to what tactics would be

pursued by the union leaders. I figured that only such steps as would lead to the earliest and best settlement would be taken from day to day. But imagine my surprise when about the fourth week of the great strike I discovered that no thought whatever had entered the minds of the "far seeing" and "competent" officials to call a general strike of all the tailors in Chicago, in spite of the unanimous demand for such a call.

Without delay I went to Robert Noren, president of the district council of the United Garment Workers of Chicago, who was handling the strike in President Rickert's absence, and inquired whether or not he intended making an official call for a general strike. He grunted an evasive answer. I grew angry then and told him that I would put a call in the *Daily Socialist* in the name of the strikers unless he issued an official one. He then told me that one would be made the following day.

The next day I rushed to his office again and he handed me a call signed by him and others of the organizers. Imagine my surprise, however, when on reading the call I discovered that it affected all but the garment workers working in the union shops. I drew Noren's attention to this and he told me that they could not conscientiously call a strike in the shops where they had signed contracts with the proprietors. This was the second and most serious misstep, for the strikers were already complaining that garments for the strike bound houses were being made in the union shops.

There were about 18,000 garment workers on strike before the call for the general strike. Inside of a week this number was swelled to 45,000. This great exodus was brought on because 50,000 copies of the *Daily Socialist* containing the call were distributed by the strikers throughout the city and in front of the unfair concerns' doors.

Enthused by the response to the call, the strikers began to demand that engineers, teamsters, elevator conductors, electricians and janitors, employed in the strike bound shops, be called out. Noren was in favor of this step and I began to voice it in the *Daily Socialist* in spite of the ridicule of Editor Engdahl.

The cry for a general tie-up of all the garment shops in Chicago was at its highest pitch when the first peace offer of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, signed by President Rickert, was presented to the strikers and indignantly condemned by them at all the halls.

Then began the attempt to demoralize the strikers and force them to accept the agreement. Benefit money was held back for various reasons and great crowds of indignant men and women gathered in front of the union headquarters at 275 La Salle street. These were each time dispersed by the police, amid the clicks of cameras manipulated by capitalist press representatives.

Up to this time the distribution of strike benefits was left in the hands of Miss Jennie Flint, treasurer of the United Garment Workers' district council, who in spite of all her natural coolness of head was almost prostrated with fatigue and the excitement reigning at the office each day. She was forced to sit back to back with Noren, the hot-tempered gentleman who shouted and cursed at the little men and women who dared to approach him for information or aid.

It happened on several occasions that Miss Flint was late in coming to the office. The strikers came on the appointed time for their benefits, and the door would be shut in their faces. Noren would curse and roar and capitalist press reporters would be on hand inquiring loudly if the funds had given out or if Miss Flint had absconded with the money. This was done within the hearing of the strikers and pandemonium was the result.

Until the time of the Rickert agreement the Chicago Federation of Labor officials positively refused to take a hand in the strike in spite of the many suggestions made to this effect. There was a personal animosity between the officials and Noren of almost six years' standing.

Following the excitement brought on by the unfortunate Rickert agreement, a committee of the strikers appealed to the delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor in meeting assembled and then it was that the Women's Trade Union League and the Central Labor body took an active part in the struggle.

The Women's Trade Union League, headed by Mrs. Robins, took upon itself the distribution of aid. Three commissary stores were established, meal tickets good at several restaurants were passed out and coal checks were issued.

This work was carried on in a fairly creditable manner until the slightly remodeled Rickert agreement was brought to life again and presented to the strikers by Mrs. Robins and President Fitzpatrick with an endorsement from the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Mayor Busse aldermanic committee.

Upon receiving a very indignant reception from the strikers, Fitzpatrick and Mrs. Robins grew very indignant and determined to push the agreement over, claiming that only a few hot headed agitators were causing the rejection.

Right here the real end of the strike grew visible. Orders were sent to the various hall chairmen to allow none but those speakers armed with credentials signed by Mrs. Robins or Fitzpatrick the floor, and a statement was issued broadcast that the agreement would not be considered turned down until another vote was taken.

In the *Daily Socialist* I stated that the cutters' meeting at Federation hall had accepted the agreement with the proviso that a similar action would be taken by the other strikers. Then when I witnessed the disfavor with which it was received at the other halls, I wrote that the cutters had turned it down also. In this report I was strengthened by the telephone message sent me by a United Press reporter who stated that it had been turned down by the majority of the cutters at a later meeting.

I did not know that I had committed an unpardonable crime until the next day, when Raymond Robins, who had some interest in the *Daily Socialist*, called me up and indignantly demanded why I had written that the strikers were not in favor of the agreement. I told him that I had reported only what had actually occurred, and he called me a liar.

Then upon cooling off slightly, he began to argue by telling me that the strikers were in a desperate condition and that the funds of the Federation were not large enough to continue the strike with the present number of dependents, and that I was inhuman in furthering their insane determination to stay on strike. He stated further that the cry for a closed shop was bosh and that the agreement was a good one.

I told Robins that I was not reporting news of the strike to suit the whims or desires of the Chicago Federation of Labor or the Woman's Trade Union League, but for the workers involved in the strike, and that their decisions were the law which would govern my reports of the strike. Robins then began to bluster about losing the good will and favor as well as the support of organized labor, including that of his wife and himself. I informed him then that this was not my concern, but that of the Board of Directors, but that as far as I was concerned the good will of the 45,000 strikers was of more value to me than that of a hundred Federations of Labor and Robins families.

J. O. Bentall, States Secretary of the Socialist Party and a member of the Board of Directors of the *Daily Socialist,* was next appealed to by Robins and given the same ultimatum tendered him by me.

The following day I was visited by Miss Pischel, a Socialist woman who had secured work with the Woman's Trade Union League during the strike. She began to upbraid me for sticking with the stupid strikers, who knew not what was best for them. She was soon followed by a Socialist named Esdorn, who declared that the strikers had not turned down the agreement, and that I had lied deliberately in order to satisfy a personal ambition. Bentall and I took Esdorn to a meeting of strikers in the Young People's Socialist League hall, and upon hearing the sentiment of the strikers regarding the agreement he said no more and disappeared.

Failing in inducing me to write to suit the taste of the union leaders, the emisaries of the Federation of Labor and the Woman's Trade Union League took the last step. Miss Pischel, Eleanora Pease and C. M. Madsen, all of them Socialists, closely allied with the Federation through various positions, wrote letters to the Board of Directors demanding my dismissal. They claimed that by my reports I had angered union officials and undone the good work of

many comrades who were endeavoring to prove to the organized world that the *Daily Socialist* was its friend.

As a result of the letters I was called before the board the following Thursday. There the letters were read and I was told to prepare an answer for the next meeting. The unique part of the letters was the fact that they all read alike and began by a statement that the writer had heard I had written certain things. Evidently none of the writers had read the reports in the *Daily Socialist.* Instead of charging me, as they had when they had visited me, the writers based their attack mainly upon a story I had written in the January issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

When I appeared before the Board of Directors for the second time I had a complete statement of the work I had done on the strike and a declaration of my principles, in which I stated that as long as I reported the strike I would do it with a view to satisfying the strikers, in compliance with the national platform of the Socialist Party, and would not muzzle things to suit the Chicago Federation of Labor or any of its subordinate organizations, which were rife with internal squabbles, especially when these were condemned by the strikers at every hall meeting.

Prof. Kennedy, a member of the Board of Directors, arose with a motion that I be dismissed, as I was temperamentally unfit to work on the *Daily Socialist* as a reporter. There was no second to his motion and dissension arose among the Board of Directors. Kennedy then declared he would have to leave the meeting, as he had an appointment elsewhere. He was followed by George Koop and by Axel Gustafson. There was some more haranguing, and then Barney Berlyn arose with a motion that the matter be left for settlement with J. O. Bentall, Carl Strover and Business Manager Stangland. Thomas J. Morgan, the seventh member of the board, was not present.

The three deserted officials of the *Daily Socialist* argued my case for over an hour, Bentall would not stand for my being dismissed or even taken off the strike, and Strover held that I could not stay as the strike reporter. Finally I was asked to choose some other position on the paper. I was determined to see the strike through for many reasons and refused to accept any other position. As a result I did not report for other work.

Previous to the second board meeting William D. Haywood had arrived in Chicago upon the request of the strikers, who wanted him to speak at the hall meetings. On the Sunday following the first meeting of the board Haywood spoke to over 6,000 strikers in Pilsen Park. Fitzpatrick, Emmet C. Flood and a number of the union organizers were present. The audience would not listen to these until they had heard Haywood and cheered him for almost ten minutes. Fitzpatrick followed Haywood and opposed him on many points.

Haywood's declaration that a general strike of all the tailors, including those in the union shops and other mechanics working in the strike-bound houses, ought to be called, was greeted with deafening cries of approval.

When I wrote the story for the *Daily Socialist* on Monday, Editor Engdahl cut out all reference to Haywood's speech and his future meetings. I objected, and was told that he was running the editorial end of the paper. There was no gainsaying this and I had to be satisfied, but I told him that if it were not for the fact that my case was coming up before the board the following Thursday I would quit right away, as I had no desire to work on a muzzled paper. The next morning I found a new man at my desk.

The third meeting of the board over my case was held earlier than usual, and when I appeared at a quarter to seven o'clock my case had been disposed of. When the fourth meeting took place I asked to see the minutes of the previous session regarding my case and found the following:

"In view of the fact that the strike is practically settled, and the fact that Dvorak has not appeared for work, it is the sense of this board that he has resigned."

As some of the biggest conflicts of the strike took place since the previous meeting of the board, Thomas J. Morgan, who was not present at the fourth meeting, made a written motion that my case be

re-opened. Gustafson pushed the motion, but the board would not agree. Then I asked point blank why it was that the board desired to have me taken off the strike. After some hesitation I was told that I had antagonized the Federation of Labor by what I had written, and that for the well being of the paper it was best that I be removed. I then told the board that if such was the case I had no desire to work for the *Daily Socialist,* as I never would twist facts to suit the "Labor Body."

After having had the agreement printed in five different languages the union organizers had the leaflets handed out at the halls preliminary to taking a vote. Four days elapsed before any step was begun towards taking a vote on the agreement, and when the time finally arrived the floors of the halls were strewn with the leaflets bearing the agreement torn into shreds. This show of anger and indignation on the part of the strikers frightened the organizers and no vote was taken. Instead, however, the peace offer was dropped temporarily.

I was not reporting the strike at this time, and no mention of the agreements being torn up was made in the *Chicago Daily Socialist,* but there were hints of the strikers looking upon the agreement with more favor.

About this time the strikers who were disgusted with the tactics of the union leaders almost a month back decided to take things into their own hands. They called a conference of the Bohemian, Polish, Slovak and Lithuanian strikers. This conference decided, since the union leadears were bent on offering only worthless agreements, that the strikers frame demands of their own and present these to the officials of the various strike-bound houses. The demands framed and accepted by over 18,000 strikers are as follows:

"All former employes to be reinstated in their former places of employment.

"All grievances of employes shall be presented to the representatives of the firms by committees representing the employes of each shop where such grievances may arise. Any adjustment of such grievances must be ratified by the employes of such shops. Parties not interested in the controversies shall not interfere except by mutual consent of the employes and employers.

"Fifty (50) hours shall constitute a week's work. Nine hours shall constitute a day's work except Saturday, when work shall be confined to five hours.

"All workers, without exception, shall be granted an increase of 15 per cent in wages as compared to wages paid prior to the strike. Piece work shall be abolished wherever agreed upon between committees provided for in Section 2 of these propositions.

"No employe shall be compelled, under any pretext, whatever, to sign individual agreements waiving any rights to the price established by the wage scale."

As soon as the Federation of Labor officials got wind of the strikers' action they molded the last link of the chain of despicable tactics. They decided to end the strike under any circumstances and forthwith, according to strikers who were present, packed Hod Carriers' hall one Saturday afternoon with 1,500 or more tailors employed in the newly signed label shops. With these recruits, who were getting a half holiday, present in the hall another vote was taken and the strike at Hart, Schaffner & Marx declared off.

Thousands of the angry strikers rushed to their halls on Sunday in order to protest against the action taken, but found these locked. On the doors were cards declaring that the hall was closed by the order of the United Garment Workers' Union and the Chicago Federation of Labor. Only the halls in which the Bohemian strikers met were open, and these, located on the southwest side of the city, were crowded to suffocation with protesting strikers.

The reason that these halls, National, Pilsen Park, Sokol Chicago, Krizek's and Radouse's, were not closed was because neither the Federation or the United Garment Workers' organization had paid for them. They were managed by the Bohemian strikers independent of the union from the very beginning. The Bohemian strikers had received but very few dollars from the Federation because they had conducted their own relief and collection work in their own division. They had received only insults and slurs at the union headquarters, both from Noren and Fitzpatrick, as happened to Alberta Hnetynka, secretary of the Bohemian strikers, and James Balvin, president of the same organization.

Monday morning, following the ending of the strike at Hart, Schaffner & Marx's, strike pickets who went to the shops were confronted with a more than redoubled cordon of police. The reinforcement had been asked by the union leaders, who wished those of the returning employes to be guarded against the pickets. Only several hundred of the strikers went back to work Monday, and many of these went to the strike headquarters that evening complaining of the sneer directed against them by the scabs, with whom they were forced to work side by side. At the end of ten days, when, according to the agreement tendered by Hart, Schaffner & Marx, all of the old employes were to be accepted, several thousand were still refused work, and it took the personal demand of the union leaders to get many back to work in the various Hart shops.

The firm of Kuppenheimer, when confronted with a committee bearing the demands of the strike conference, declared through Mr. Rose that these were agreeable. Again, upon hearing of the step taken, the union leaders took a radical step and informed the strike conference that if they carried out their intention they would be an outlawed body as far as present organized labor was concerned.

The new threat of the Federation was considered by the strike conference, and it was decided that as the backbone of the strike had been broken when the Hart, Schaffner & Marx strikers returned to work, there was but little use in trying to rectify the harm done. The strikers were disgusted and were returning to work in large numbers, and before a week had elapsed only 500 of the 6,000 Bohemian strikers showed up at the meeting..

All of the strikers realized that they had been duped, and they had no desire to wait for another of the so-called victories. They went back to work, but they had learned the great lesson that everything bearing the name "union" did not mean solidification of the workers' ranks. They realized that solidarity could not exist in an organization that was split up into unions each scabbing on the other in time of strike in spite of the fact that they performed the same work. They realized that united action could not exist where the great body is chopped up into atoms widely separated and separately governed.

At all of the meetings held daily during the sixteen weeks of the strike the tailors condemned the Chicago Federation of Labor, which allowed union men and women to scab on the rest of their brothers and sisters for twenty-five cents a week, just because an agreement had been signed with the garment boss. They unanimously applauded the Industrial plan of organization as explained by Industrial speakers. They went back to work losers, the majority of them for much less wages than had been received before, but victors because of the great knowledge gained during the strike.

The great garment workers' strike is at an end. The workers have gone back to the shops, although hundreds of them may never get work in the shops, but the doubts in the minds of the strikers can never be hushed.

Where did the fifty-cent pieces collected from about 35,000 strikers as initiation fees go to?

Was Arkin, the professional bailer, employed in the strike, being paid $3 for every one of the 850 or more strikers arrested? If he was, why was he when most of the bailing could have been taken care of by volunteers, as was the case with Mr. Tyl, who bailed out a large number of Bohemian strikers?

Why were there five or more paid lawyers hired to defend the strikers when a large number of Socialist attorneys volunteered their services free of charge?

How much were these lawyers paid?

Why was it that when Anna Kral and myself were arrested and tried before a jury Attorney Sonsteby and ex-Judge Herely spent over a whole day of their most valuable time in the court room, when Sam Block, a Socialist lawyer, was present and would have taken care of the case, which was dropped after a five-minute hearing given the policeman who arrested us?

Regarding the question of whether or not the strike was sold out I have only this to say: In my first story published in the January issue of the SOCIALIST REVIEW, I depicted the terrific competitive battle raging between the association of tailor bosses and the renegade firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx. I pointed out

in the story that the weakest would soon give in to the strikers as soon as the busy season began. Hart, Schaffner & Marx capitulated the minute it offered the first peace terms. If the screws would have been tightened on Hart, Schaffner & Marx harder than ever at this time by the Socialist press and the union leaders, the firm would have given in on terms much more favorable to the strikers.

Instead of tightening the screws, however, Mrs. Robins and her colleagues did everything in their power to discourage the striker and encourage the renegade firm. Mrs. Robins, for instance, gave capitalist press reporters column stories telling of the awful conditions in the ranks of the struggling tailors. She told vivid tales of the acute suffering among the men and women and of the lack of funds in the treasury of the league.

The strikers objected to these stories at every hall meeting, and in one even passed resolutions condemning the news items. When these resolutions were given to me by a committee from Washes' hall, Mrs. Robins grew very indignant and forbade the publication of the grievance.

Just previous to the tricky acceptance of the last agreement, the Chicago Federation and the Woman's Trade Union League shut up the commissary stations. This came as a hint of what was to happen if the strikers persisted in refusing the agreement. After the acceptance, the commissary stations remained closed for fear that some of the Hart-Schaffner people might not return to work.

All of the efforts of the strikers after once Hart, Schaffner & Marx offered peace terms were directed towards ending the strike with that concern. The firm was encouraged in every way to hold out and the strikers demoralized and condemned for daring to resist. It looked to me as if Hart, Schaffner & Marx had told the officials that if they helped it to settle the strike before the busy season advanced it would in turn help the strikers defeat the association. That I was not mistaken in this theory was proved when after the Hart, Schaffner & Marx people returned to work the organizers told the strikers to stick because even the efforts of Hart, Schaffner & Marx would be directed against the brutal Association. This was the policy that defeated the strikers.

The business men who gave from 10 to 25 per cent of their daily profits deserve great credit. The Women's Socialist Agitation League, the members of which worked like Trojans on the special strike edition, under the direction of Mrs. Nellie G. Zeh, deserve honorable mention, as do the citizens who took the children of the strikers into their own homes in order to relieve the hardships of the heroic fighters. Then there are the grocers, butchers, shoemakers, bakers, druggists and milkmen who gave freely of their stock; the physicians, dentists, actors, musicians, barbers and occulists who donated their services throughout the strike; the landlord and hall owners who gave their property free during the struggle, and the proprietors of theaters and nickelodeons who gave benefit performances.

Of the unions affiliated with the Federation the greatest credit falls to the United Mine Workers in Illinois, who, in spite of the fact that they had just ended a serious fight of their own donated great sums to the garment strikers. The Bakers, Brewers and Ladies' Tailors also gave considerable sums, as did the Arbeiter Kranken and Sterbe Kasse.

As I said before, the strike was lost as far as material gains are concerned, but it was an education which in the end, after all, is even better than a gain of a few cents. The strikers have come nearer to gaining a closed shop in reality than if they had it guaranteed on paper. They have learned that a closed shop exists as soon as the workers learn the lesson of solidarity and unity of action.

The one great proof that the strikers have learned this lesson lies in the fact that meetings independent of the Federation or the Garment Workers' Union have been held twice weekly since the ending of the strike, and speakers urge the tailors to study class solidarity. The meetings have been well attended, the halls being just as full as at any time of the strike. The tailors are studying and when another strike does come another story will be written.

THE HAYWOOD MEETINGS

LAST month between dates William D. Haywood, made a flying trip to his home in Colorado, but stopped off to lecture at Longmont and spoke also in Denver. We quote from a letter from comrades in Longmont, Colo. Longmont is a town of 500 inhabitants, but the comrades sent out word to the striking miners in the neighborhood and crammed the theater at the Haywood meeting on February 1st. "The Haywood meeting was a great success. Hide-bound republicans and rock-ribbed democrats were held by the eloquence of the man who is a living incarnation of the Social Revolution. Capitalism, in its death throes, is strangling all business in this town and there are many out of work. But we had a splendid crowd and everybody is enthusiastic over the meeting. When the strike is over, we want Haywood again sure. Everybody likes the REVIEW too, and we are going to try to get the short-time subscribers to become permanent. The REVIEW is the very best fighting ammunition.—Robert Knight."

DENVER writes: We only had eight days to get up our Haywood meeting for Feb. 7th, but we sold MORE than the requisite number of tickets and we turned no wage workers away because of lack of the price of admission. Striking miners, machinists and pressmen availed themselves of our offer of free admission and the audience was almost entirely proletarian. It was a workers' meeting in every respect. Members of the I. W. W., the S. L. P. and the Socialist Party worked side by side to make it a success and the cheers nearly raised the roof when our chairman introduced the "Original Undesirable Citizen."

For an hour and a half the crowd sat enraptured. I never saw any speaker hold his audience as Haywood does. The interest was intense. He said much about the old craft union methods of failure but thrilled every heart with his conclusion; "Now for the remedy!" One by one he dealt with proposed methods for obtaining possession of the industries. Confiscation by law, competition, purchase, pension and conversion of the capitalists, one and all fell before his sweeping criticism and the real remedy was laid bare before the audience. The following resolutions were passed and the meeting closed amid cheers and great enthusiasm:

WHEREAS, Ben Hicks, Monroe Hicks, Jesse Koenig, Geo. Donald, John Donald, Richard Donald, Cecil Reese, Duncan Stobs, Robt. McBirnie, Frank Balck, Joe Fisk, E. L. Doyle, Geo. Pansky, Wm. Snow, Fred Grayson and William Woodhead, members of the United Mine Workers of America, are imprisoned in the county jail, each being under 12 months' sentence for the alleged violation of an injunction issued by Judge Greeley W. Whitford; and

* * *

WHEREAS, The liberty of these men is sacrificed in the interests of the working class; and believing that an injury to one of our class is an injury to all; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That we place ourselves in defiance of judge made laws by urging workingmen to refuse employment where the United Mine Workers or others are on strike to improve their standard of living; and call upon them to organize industrially and dispossess the capitalist class of the resources of the earth and thus abolish judgeships; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we demand that Governor John Shafroth use his executive authority immediately to release the imprisoned men from jail; and further we call the Governor's attention to the fact that, in Colorado, men have been imprisoned as a military necessity, and men can be released from prison by virtue of a similar order.

Adopted unanimously by 1,000 wage-workers at massmeeting held in Social Turner Hall, Denver, Colorado, on Tuesday, February 7, 1911. W. C. SMITH,
Chairman.

KNIGHTSVILLE and BRAZIL, Ind., write: "The Haywood meeting was a grand success.

Comrade Haywood will speak in Gloucester, Mass., on March 2; Haverhill, March 3; Philadelphia, March 12; Piqua, Ohio, March 26; Muscatine, Iowa, March 28; Rock Island, Ill., March 30; Warren, Ohio, April 2; East Liverpool, April 9; Bellaire, Ohio, April 16; Dayton, Ohio, April 23; Cleveland, Ohio, April 30.

EDITORIAL

Comrade Maurer's First Bill. Comrade James H. Maurer, the first Socialist elected to the Pennsylvania legislature, made no mistake in his choice of the first bill to introduce. He might have introduced a bill to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth on the first day of April. But he had too much sense of humor. He might have started with a bill for old age pensions, or state ownership of some industry. But he had too much sense of proportion. The bill he first introduced was a bill to repeal the law creating the army of mounted policemen which the capitalists call the State Constabulary, and which the wageworkers call the Cossacks. This bill may or may not pass, but in either case it will help unite the working class of Pennsylvania, it will open people's eyes to the real difference between the Socialist Party and the capitalist party, and it will show the wage-workers of the United States that the Socialist Party is their party and can do certain definite and important things for them. It is very true that voting alone will not overthrow the capitalists. A strong industrial organization must and will come before the workers can own their tools and their product. But that industrial organization can not grow to full strength if its members are in hourly danger of being imprisoned, maimed or murdered by the armed servants of the capitalist State. Therefore a working class political party has a very necessary function, namely to cripple the capitalist State in its war on organized labor. Maurer's bill is a good beginning. Let us keep up the fight.

The Daily Socialist and the Garment Workers. Comrade Dvorak's story of a strike that failed is full of facts that every active socialist needs to know and to understand. We are giving these facts to the readers of the REVIEW at the risk of being charged with hostility to the management of the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. Such a charge, however, would be wholly untrue. It is because we believe the success of the *Daily Socialist* is of the utmost importance to the Socialist Party and the entire socialist movement of the United States, and because we think that success is being delayed and imperiled by the tactics the paper has hitherto adopted, that we are outspoken in our criticism. On the motives of the directors and the managing editors of the *Daily* we have no reflections to make. They are working for the interests of the working class as they see them. The trouble is that they fail to distinguish between two things that are unlike. The interests of the wage-workers of Chicago are one thing. The interests of the craft union officials of Chicago are a very different thing. The craft unions are a survival from a former industrial stage when they arose and when they were of use to their members. They have become useless to their members, but very useful to their officers. These officers almost invariably receive more pay for less work than the rank and file of the membership, the people who pay their salaries. They have also constant opportunity to get money "on the side" from rival employers who want to manipulate the action of the unions for their own benefit. And there are plenty of ugly rumors indicating that the officials do not miss all these opportunities. Most important of all, the craft unions were started on the false assumption that the interests of employers and wage-workers are identical. This theory still looks right to the officials. It no longer looks right to the men that pay the dues. Probably a majority of the Socialist Party members in Chicago, and of the city readers of the *Daily*, are members of the unions affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. But right here is the fallacy in which the directors of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* have been entangled from the start. It does not at all follow that because a man pays dues to a union he approves the policy of its officials. More likely he endures its grumblingly because he does not clearly see just how a different policy would work out.

The Paper With a Muzzle. In their mistaken idea that the success of the *Daily* depends on the favor of union officials rather than on the enthusiasm of the wage workers of Chicago, the directors and editors have persistently excluded nearly every important item of news bearing on the propaganda of industrial unionism. Some instances of this are related in Robert Dvorak's article. Another notable case was the speech of Debs at Riverview Park last fall, the substance of which we published in the November REVIEW. This speech was reported in the *Daily* on the day following its delivery, but nearly all the vital and important passages were "blue-penciled." Again, on December 10, the *Daily* published an appeal from Debs in behalf of the garment workers, but the editors cut it almost beyond recognition, as will be seen by comparison with page 394 of the January REVIEW.

Why? Because the rank and file of the craft unions ARE becoming interested in the propaganda of industrial unionism. If they had read Debs' words in the *Daily Socialist*, they might have agitated in their unions for radical changes which would have imperiled the fat jobs of the officials. And so the officials would have been angry with the *Daily Socialist*. That would have been terrible! . . . But don't you see, Comrade Directors, that in the city of Chicago there are but a FEW union officials, while there are MANY wage-workers? Let the Officials go, and talk to the wage-workers. You have been giving them just the same sort of labor news that Hearst gives them. They compare the two, they recognize the fact that they are alike; they also recognize the fact that Hearst gives them six or eight extra pages of sporting news and sensations, which you can't afford to give them. Next time they buy the American.

The Way to Win. Take the muzzle off. Print the real news about the unions, the things the other papers refuse to print. Get into the fight of the wage-worker. The union officials will soon begin to love the *Daily* as much as the Devil is popularly supposed to love holy water, but they will keep on buying copies to see what you have to say; now as a matter of fact they don't buy them because they KNOW what you will say. And the million wage-workers in and around Chicago, the people who are languidly indifferent to a spineless, muzzled *Daily*, will wake up and stand by you when you wake up and stand by them. It's worth trying even if it meant a loss. But it doesn't. You have been losing ever since you started. The *Daily* has been kept alive by the gifts and loans of a few hundred devoted enthusiasts who could ill afford to give or lend. The *Appeal to Reason* is an aggressive, fighting paper, and it has a circulation of half a million. The *New York Call* was at the last gasp a few months ago. It threw off its muzzle and it is out of danger and in a fair way to become a great power. The REVIEW languished seven years, then it came out squarely for a revolutionary party and revolutionary unionism, and the tide turned. Its paid circulation and its fighting strength are today more than twelve times what they were when the change was made. The tactics that have brought success to us will bring success to you. And not only to the *Daily* but to the Socialist Party in Chicago.

The Class Struggle in California. The REVIEW always allows its department editors full scope for the expression of opinion. Occasionally, however, it becomes necessary for the editor to note his dissent from an opinion expressed in a department, and this is the case with Comrade Hayes' opening paragraphs in this month's *World of Labor*. Mayor McCarthy of San Francisco does not in any sense represent the revolutionary movement of the working class. He represents the craft unions of San Francisco in their attempt to exclude all but a select aristocracy of wage-workers from employment in their respective crafts. Their aim is not the overthrow of capitalism, but the perpetuation of privilege. Between such an organization and revolutionary Socialism no alliance is possible. Our San Francisco comrades have kept clear of it in the past and we trust that they will continue to do so in future.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Japan in the Spotlight.—Something over a year ago Spain won an unenviable distinction in the eyes of the civilized world. The Spanish government put to death a peaceable citizen whose chief interest in life was the founding and directing of schools. In the course of the year that has passed Spain has been marked with an eternal brand of shame and the murdered educator has been added to the world's pantheon of martyrs.

And now it is Japan. The government of the mikado appears before the world audience as candidate for dishonor. Spain will have to look to her laurels. Some weeks ago the news flashed round the globe that twenty-two "anarchists" had been taken red-handed in a plot to asassinate the mikado. They were, of course, arrested and held in confinement. The papers were allowed to publish nothing with regard to them except what was given out by the government.

Only one of these twenty-two was known to the outside world. This one was Doctor Kotoku, scholar and journalist. The others represented a wide variety of classes. One was a woman, the wife of Doctor Kotoku. Three were Buddhist priests, three were printers, one was a physician, and seven were peasants. There has been much talk in this country and Europe as to whether or not these persons were Socialists. About most of them, of course, no accurate information is obtainable. Probably they were radicals of various sorts. But as for Doctor Kotoku there can be no doubt. He spent a considerable time in this country some four or five years ago. He left friends here with whom he has had correspondence up to a comparatively recent date. He was a revolutionary Socialist in every sense of the word. The daily press has brought to us the story of his heroic struggles against Japanese militarism. At the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war he was one of the best known and most highly respected journalists in Japan. But he was opposed to the war, and on this account lost his position on a leading daily and was forced to flee to this country for safety. On this side he carried on a revolutionary and anti-military propaganda by means of a Japanese paper which he conducted in San Francisco. As soon as possible he returned to his native land. Since then he has gone on doing what little could be done to rouse the proletariat of Japan.

When he and his companions were captured all the world knew well enough what the result would be. Americans and Europeans might protest to their heart's desire. Japan is far off, and the Japanese government knows its own mind.

The prisoners were tried before an audience of officials and select journalists. The charge was that they had plotted a violent revolution by means of explosives and deadly weapons. They were found guilty. Twelve of them were sentenced to death and the others to imprisonment for life. Mrs. Kotoku was among those selected to the death sentence. On the twenty-fourth of January these twelve were led, one after the other, to a single gallows. The hangman worked a long day that day. It is to be hoped that he was paid for his overtime.

And now that the workers of the world have their gaze centered on Japan it will be worth while to take a good look at this "Yankee-land of the Orient." There has been a deal of nonsense written about the little brown man and his country. Probably no other nation was ever made the subject of such a volume of writing founded on such a slender basis of fact. Back in 1894, when the war against China was brought to a triumphant conclusion, Japan started upon a period of industrial expansion. The world looked on and admired. And then when Russia was sent to the right-about we threw up our hats and hailed Japan as one of the modern nations of the earth. Had she not conquered one of the world powers? What better proof of a high degree of civilization?

In 1907 we were entertained with news of great strikes in the mikado's realm. We saw visions of a great, modern labor movement. In this same year Japan was represented at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. We heard of a Japanese Socialist party, and we rejoiced that the working class of Japan was so soon finding itself and joining in the world-wide struggle for emancipation..

To those of us who were carried away by these reports of Japanese progress the past year has furnished a rude awakening. The only Socialist paper published in the "flowery kingdom" has been finally suppressed. The Socialist "party" of Japan, what there is left of it, is said to be in jail. And now comes this last supreme crime of the Japanese reaction, the judicial murder of Doctor Kotoku and his eleven companions. Could there be a modern industrial system in a land where such things do not lead to revolt? Would any government dare commit such crimes in the face of a modern labor movement?

Very opportunely industrial conditions in Japan have been made the subject of a series of articles published in *Vorwaertes*. A comrade, who writes under the name Chagrin, traveled through the Oriental "Yankee-land," looked into factories and mines, made a search for labor unions and Socialist organizations, and in other ways informed himself carefully of working-class conditions. Anyone who gives his articles a careful reading will not be at a loss to understand how it is the mikado's government is able to ride rough-shod over the Japanese proletariat.

The present industrial and political condition of Japan is the inevitable result of recent Japanese history. Japan has become a bourgeois country without ever having had a bourgeois revolution. In 1853, when our own Commodore Perry appeared in the offing with an American fleet, Japan was a feudal country. The mikado was regarded as the son of God, but the daymios, as the feudal lords were called, had practically independent dominion over the soil. They were supported by the Samurais, or military cast. The condition of the peasants and artisans was miserable beyond words.

Japanese diplomats and educators lecturing in this country are accustomed to tell us that the feudal lords of Japan have given to the world the unique example of a privileged class voluntarily renouncing its privileges. And it is certainly true that soon after Perry's visit to Japan these mighty landowners did put aside any differences which separated them and united in their support of the mikado. This potentate they dragged from a position of comparative obscurity and placed in the position of power which he now holds. What was the reason for this disinterested renunciation of privileges? With oriental astuteness the feudal barons of Japan saw that if they adhered to the old regime their country would suffer the same fate as India and Egypt. They preferred modern nationalism and capitalism to subjugation by an occidental power.

But now the government of Japan had a tremendous task. At one flying leap it must take Japan over the distance covered by western Europe in a period of more than four centuries. Peacefully and quickly it must turn Japan into a capitalist country. There were no capitalists to start a revolution against the old order. There was no call for "liberty, equality, fraternity." There was no development of bourgeois ideals of freedom. But there was great need of factories; there was a great cry for capital. The new imperial government was equal to the occasion. It borrowed capital and started one industry after another. As soon as it had made a success of a particular industry it turned it over to private "enterprise."

This process was begun in the early seventies of the last century. In the course of forty years it has produced contemporary Japanese society. It has given us a modern capitalist people, so far as it is modern at all, and a modern capitalist government, without the traditions which western Europe and America have inherited from the long and eventful period of the bourgeois revolutions. Imagine what England would have become if modern capitalist industry had suddenly been introduced during the reign of Henry VIII!

Now the suddenness of the introduction of capitalism into Japan has necessarily been accompanied by both advantages and disadvantages. The chief disadvan-

tage, naturally, is the lack of skilled workers. There are some 50,000,000 inhabitants in the country. Of these only about 900,000 are industrially employed. The great majority of the people are still peasants with peasant habits and peasant ignorance. As machine workers they are extremely inefficient.

It goes without saying that Japanese labor is of the cheapest. Nearly half of the 900,000 industrial workers are women. Many are children under ten years of age. The hours of labor are usually twelve—often more. The wages range from ten cents to fifty cents a day. The average adult, male worker gets about twenty-five cents.. The standard of living is the lowest. A bellyful of cheap rice and sleeping space on a hard floor are the only real necessaries of a Japanese laborer. Agents sent into the rural districts can pick up at any time droves of recruits from among the starving peasants.

Now this cheapness of labor, while it is in one sense a great advantage to capitalist concerns, is really a hindrance to capitalist development. It tends to prevent the introduction of labor-saving machinery. So in spite of all that has been written about the tremendous advances of Japanese industry, the industrial concerns of the mikado's empire are interesting chiefly to the antiquarian. Most of the factories employ less than fifty workers, and the methods and tools employed are often those long discarded in other countries.

The great advantage enjoyed by the Japanese capitalist is an unlimited supply of docile and unorganized laborers. At the beginning of modern development in Japan there were in existence the survivals of a sort of guild system. But these hindered, rather than aided, the development of a real labor movement. The great, starving peasant population was naturally unorganized to begin with. All the power of the government has been used from the beginning to keep it ignorant and unorganized. We have heard much of Japanese schools. In reality the children of the working class are taught next to nothing. They may learn a few of the characters used in Japanese writing, but never enough for purposes of reading. The only thing that is thoroughly drilled into them is reverence for the mikado's sacred person. All the power of the government is utilized to keep them just where they are.

"Chagrin" had heard tales of a great union of railway engineers. It was said to boast a membership of 7,000. When he came to make a search he could find not so much as a trace of any such organization. In fact, he found only two real, live labor unions in all Japan. They are both local organizations of printers' connected with foreign papers. One of them counts 96 members, the other 220. This is the labor movement of Japan.

Japan, then, is a modern land only in a far-off, Pickwickian sense. In the essentials of a modern industrial society it lags far behind Spain or Russia. It has some modern manufacturing concerns, but the industrial population is only a small minority, and that minority is ages behind similar populations of Europe and America in moral and mental quality. All the conditions for a modern labor movement are lacking. For years to come there can be no such thing.

What we have in Japan is an industrial feudalism which cannot be called "benevolent." The political government is the directing head of the industrial system. It exerts all its power to keep the working class in its present position of ignorance and poverty. Suppose that under these conditions a small group of persons get somehow from the outside world a notion of Socialism or Anarchism. What can they do? What are their chances of carrying on a successful propaganda? The fate of Doctor Kotoku and his clever companions is the answer. There is small hope for Japan until capitalism has developed there a really modern working class.

Germany. The Moabit Riots Before the Courts.—During the months just passed the riots which occurred last fall in connection with a strike at Moabit, a suburb of Berlin, have been before the courts The chancellor of the empire has more than once denounced the Socialists as the persons responsible for these riots. In fact, he was guilty of exactly the same crime as the chief executive of the United States at the time of the Moyer-Haywood trial. He did all in his power to prejudice the courts against the defendants. And now it turns out that the progress of the trials has humiliated the police beyond measure. The police department has been disclosed to the world as the real criminal, the prime minister and his government have lost standing through their attitude, and the case of the Socialists has all the advantage.

The defendants, of course, were persons taken by the police at the time of the riots. In the course of their defense scores of witnesses told of the most shocking deeds of violence committed by the police. One of the judges stated officially that the populace was justified in adopting any means that offered to defend themselves against police attacks. Of course, a goodly number of "rioters" were sentenced, some thirty in all. But most of the sentences were light, and in the public mind the case against the government is overwhelming.

German capitalism has overreached itself. Every effort to fortify its position but reveals its weakness the more unmistakably.

Portugal. Strike of Railway Workers.—On January 15th the strike on the Portuguese railways was declared off, and the men returned to work. In order to bring this about the companies offered substantial concessions. The daily wage of common laborers was raised about ten cents a day. A nine-hour day was agreed to, with a two weeks' vacation on full pay once a year.

The interesting feature of this strike was the unmistakable manner in which it exhibited the opposition of class interests between the working class and the recently triumphant bourgeoisis. The bourgeois leaders were all for the poor people till the young king had been sent about his business. Then, the moment a strike was declared, the troops were called out against the working class, as though this method of procedure were to be taken as a matter of course.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

ON account of the fierce class struggle that is raging on the Pacific coast, an extraordinary political condition has developed in California, and one that will require thorough, cool-headed consideration if a situation is to be avoided by the Socialist party that may prove embarrassing this year and turn out a costly blunder in the future.

There is no need to rehearse here the many incidents that have accompanied the war of extermination that has been waged against the organized workers by the Los Angeles Times, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, the Citizens' Alliance and other organizations of labor-haters, including the politicians in public office, in the last dozen years, and which has become especially intensified during the past year.

Suffice it to say that the labor foes have launched upon a campaign that will not halt until every vestige of organization is obliterated, and, on the other hand, the workers are just as determined to fight to the last ditch to establish their right to combine and have a voice in fixing their working conditions under capitalism.

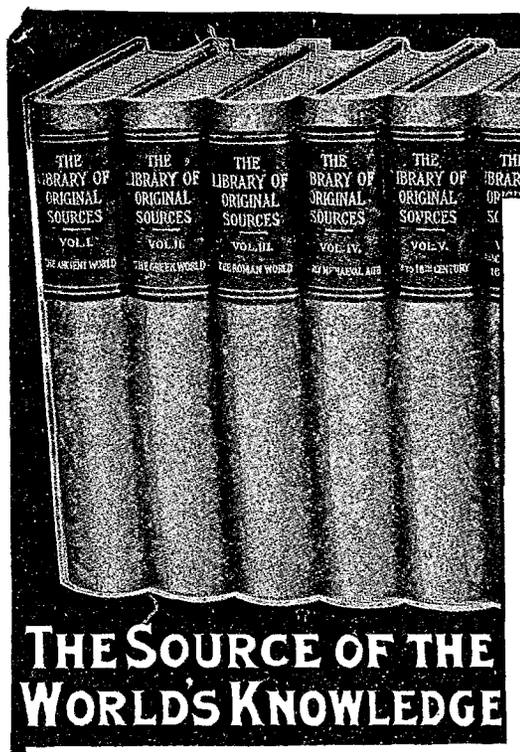
It is generally agreed that among all the industrial centers on the coast San Francisco occupies the best position from a standpoint of labor strategy, while Los Angeles is in the worst possible condition. Say what you will about the Schmitz-Ruef fakirism and corruption and the unclearness and semi-class consciousness of the Union Labor party, it still must be admitted that the conditions of the organized toilers in San Francisco are far superior to those existing anywhere on the continent.

I have never been accused of being a partisan of Mayor McCarthy, having criticized him upon more than one occasion with tongue and pen, but I am compelled to admit that he stood up stalwartly for working-class interests during the past five or six months. When the conspiring capitalists of the coast succeeded in having an anti-picketing law enacted in Los Angeles and threw scores of workers into prison because they insisted upon their rights of free speech and public assemblage, and then when those plotting plutocrats moved upon San Francisco and attempted to kidnap some of the active unionists for the purpose of fastening the Times explosion on them (after the style of the Colorado-Idaho governing criminals), McCarthy said to the human wolves in so many words: "By God, if you harm a hair on those men's heads and take the least illegal steps I will make the Labor Day demonstration look like 15 cents compared to what you will get!" And the men who were marked were not kidnapped or even proceeded against under the law.

Later, when the building contractors conspired to inaugurate a general lockout and attacked several crafts, McCarthy immediately issued orders that every foot of lumber and bit of building material that the city had contracted for must be delivered at once or the contracts would be nullified, and that all temporary sidewalks, sheds, building materials, etc., must be removed from the streets instanter. Of course, these orders could not be complied with on the part of the bosses, and so there was no lockout.

Now, these incidents are fairly well known to the organized workers on the coast who are at present on the firing line and are not so much concerned about the glorious co-operative commonwealth in the future as they are with the immediate bread and butter problem. And they are making comparisons and are everlastingly determined to "take and hold" political power in order to safeguard their industrial interests as far as they understand them.

In other words, from what I am able to gather from the labor publications and personal discussions with Unionists and Socialists, the "immediate demand"—and necessity—now is to capture the policemen's clubs in this year's election, for it makes all the difference in the world who issues orders to the cops. In Los Angeles and many of the smaller cities the unionists and their sympathizers will undoubtedly go along with the Socialist party and probably score some splendid victories if



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—if (that cussed little "if") no mistakes are made in other parts where the S. P. is weak and the aroused union sentiment is strong.

I despise fusion and all that it implies and left the People's party in 1896 when that promising organization stepped backward instead of moving forward. But if I were on the coast I would consider it a pleasure and a duty to endeavor to bring about co-operative action on the part of the Socialist party and organized labor to capture every capitalistic fortress possible this year, no matter what dogmatists on one side or the other might say or do. Some man like Fred Wheeler or Job Harriman or Phil Engle ought to be the next mayor of Los Angeles, and McCarthy looks good enough in San Francisco during this crisis.

Nor is fusion necessary. Let the Union Labor Club and the Socialist party maintain their separate existence in Los Angeles, the Union Labor party and the Socialist party in San Francisco, and the political labor forces in other cities as well. But they can come to a common agreement to co-operate and bring cheer and enthusiasm to the heart of every honest toiler on the Pacific coast. And the Socialist party will not lose by any such agreement, for should any unionist coddle to capitalism where the interests of labor are at stake, he would become a political dead duck, judging from the present temperament in the ranks of the workers.

The California situation is no longer a fight of the printers or metal workers or brewers. It has become a great national contest, and, as Tueitmoe, Wilson and other former conservatives say, the struggle is only beginning—it is revolutionary. In fact, the eyes of the labor world are turned toward the Pacific coast, and the dollars of organized labor are going there to help in the fight. Therefore, it will be good tactics on the part of the national committee of the S. P. to meet the issue in a broad-minded manner and make friends of the struggling, organized workers rather than place the party in a defensive position to explain and apologize for another decade. The S. P. has everything to gain, nothing to lose.

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THAT the National Civic Federation fakirism is drawing to a close is not only demonstrated by the perfunctory session held recently by that peculiar and unnatural organization in New York, but by the widespread opposition that is being manifested among the workers toward the N. C. F.

The New York performance was the same old show, with one feature—the annual smashing of Socialism—promoted as a star attraction. Pretty much the same old stage-strutting on the part of Carnegie, Belmont, Perkins and other union-haters was given full sway, the same old stage hands in the persons of Gompers, Mitchell, Duncan and the rest were there with their white-washing brushes, the same old dinner with the patricians and plebeians prepared to pleasantly and patronizingly pose for pictures for the photographs of the plute papers.

Oh, slush! If I only had time how I would delight to dramatize or burlesque that annual review for the real actor folk. Don't you know it's a great honor for the elite of the men of labor and their wives to sit cheek by jowl with distinguished financiers and their society queens once a year and become doped with delightful dreams, even though one is a decoy duck and the other successful hunters? True enough, the miners of Westmoreland county, Pa., and the cigarmakers of Tampa, Fla., and the garment workers of Chicago, and masses of workers in other parts of the country may be on the verge of starvation, but let these and all their kind march in solemn procession into the sessions and feasts of the Civic Federation and see and hear what is being done—and who is doing them.

Undoubtedly the representatives of labor, in their uncomfortable dress suits, felt just as thoroughly indignant as did the great industrial captains when Senator Cummins told them that if they didn't watch out Karl Marx would catch 'em, but when George Perkins, Morgan's man, came across with his co-operative scheme (under which labor will work and the parasites will shirk, as usual) the dark clouds took on a silver lining, especially when the Rev. J. Wes. Hill and the rest of his clerical bunch who are "next" to the Civic Federation coin nodded amen to George's pretty scheme to do labor or



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anything for it so long as it does not struggle to obtain industrial and political power.

But while this farce was being enacted in New York the members of the greatest labor organization in the country, the United Mine Workers, were thinking over the industrial situation, and when their delegates reached Columbus they were fresh from their own struggling class, from their own isolated and uninviting shacks, and they were in no mood to look complacently upon the New York show.

Twice the National Civic Federation came before the house at the Columubs convention, and each time that humbug organization was denounced by a substantial majority, and had it not been for a few friends who possess exaggerated views of gratitude and fought stubbornly for Mitchell, who was on trial, the vote would have been almost unanimous against the Civic Federation.

This is not hearsay. I happened to be on the spot when the first vote was taken, and heard the expressions of the men from back home, and while they are willing to give Mitchell all the credit that is due him for what he has done for the miners, the men from the poor hovels in the backwoods camps will not stand for any bossism. They dumped Lewis as president in the referendum in the election and they dumped Mitchell as a Civic Federationist, and, aside from union politics, it doesn't require any extraordinary foresight to understand that the miners are moving to the front as the most class-conscious and uncompromising organization in the country.

Death of Comrade Bandlow. Comrades in Cleveland, Ohio, and all over the country have lost an inspiring and faithful worker in the passing of Robert Bandlow. He was one of the friends who make the revolutionary movement the great and growing power it is becoming. Always ready to help, not only by donations but, better still, by working himself, giving his time and strength to every party need, he was a never-failing source of encouragement to those of us who grew weary or discouraged. It is not brilliant leaders, nor geniuses that make the party what it is, but strong, faithful, enduring workers. Comrade Bandlow was one of these who make the movement the greatest thing in the world.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



HOME OF THE FIRST WARD BRANCH, CHICAGO.

Chicago, First Ward. The above picture shows the home of the First Ward Branch of the Socialist Party as it looked on Christmas afternoon when 150 children were given a good time. Every Saturday afternoon the local throws its headquarters open to the children, and no one can foresee the far-reaching results of this part of their work.

The local's hall is 30 by 110 feet, with two committee rooms, also bath room, located at 452 South State, and headquarters are open from 1 to 12 p. m. every day in the week. Space forbids our giving details of all the work the comrades are pushing forward, but sufficient to say they have solved the problem of successfully handling good literature. The result is that their street and indoor meetings are a great success from a propaganda and financial standpoint. The collections and book sales for the month of December amounted to $191.34.

This Branch is made up of proletarians, who are setting a pace that some of the other Chicago branches are finding it hard to follow. Comrade H. Williams is one of the most active members of the branch and is certainly doing effective work, with the assistance of many more of the right kind.

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100 a Month to Electricity Workers. One Local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of San Francisco, take 100 copies of the REVIEW every month. There is nothing the matter with the boys nor with Comrade Bartholomew.

The Second Ward Branch of Denver local S. P., at a regular meeting Sunday, Feb. 5th, adopted a motion to join in a campaign for an eight-hour work day to be inaugurated universally May 1, 1912. The branch instructs its members and speakers to commence at once a vigorous propaganda for the shorter work day.

At the same meeting it was decided to start a Maximum Study Club beginning Feb. 12, using Comrade Mary Marcy's Lessons as text, now running in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

The pressmen employed on the *Republican, News* and *Post* are on strike, all other branches of labor are at work. What's the answer?

New Way to Make Socialists. I will tell you of my new method of getting subscriptions. I put a copy of the REVIEW in my pocket and at the noon hour, when a number of the boys are gathered, I start in and read them an article. Somebody always asks "where did you get that book? I would like to have it. Let's look at the illustrations." Then I tell them they had better take the REVIEW regularly and take a few subscriptions. And I find that every new reader becomes a booster. I think my plan so good that perhaps you would like to tell other comrades about it. Permit me to again remind you that the February REVIEW has established a record of its own.—V. G. Pittman.

Class Struggle Magazine. Comrade Mesnikoff, of Brooklyn, writes us: "I think the reason the REVIEW takes hold of so many people—including myself—is because the Class Struggle is always brought into view. Any magazine without class struggle articles is like a fish without water.

Differs from Old Omar. Comrade Murje, of Michigan, writes that he does not agree with Omar Khayam, about the vintner, but he feels that way about the REVIEW. He says, "I often wonder what you buy one half so precious as the goods you sell." "Some day folks will realize how the REVIEW is trying to keep the Red Flag of revolutionary Socialism nailed to the mast."

Oakland, Calif., is the scene of the latest attempt to destroy the freedom of the press H. C. Tuck, editor of the *World*, was arrested for criminally libeling Captain of Detectives Walter J. Petersen. He has been tried, convicted and sentenced to ninety days' imprisonment.

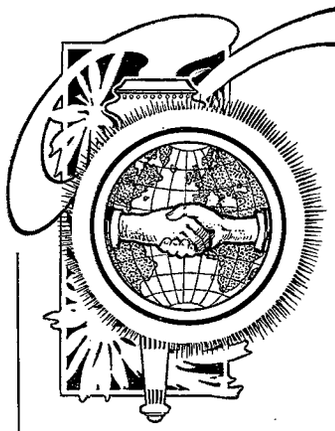
This case is the result of a series of exposures of the high-handed methods of the police department. Oakland police are in the habit of arresting citizens without warrant and keeping them confined for an indefinite time, or until they can manufacture evidence against them. Their names are not entered on the regular book; there is no public record of their imprisonment. The victim is not allowed to see friends or an attorney, or to know the nature of the charge against him. He has simply disappeared; he has been legally kidnapped. These things are all admitted by the police department. Captain Petersen merely denies that he is the keeper of the "small book." Nevertheless, it is well known that he has power to order the release of any prisoner held under the detinue system.

The matter came to a crisis when the *World* published a cartoon showing Captain Petersen, bloody dagger in hand, standing over the dead body of Lizzie Wolgethan, one of the victims of the small book. The girl had been dragged from her bed at night, and was "detained" pending investigation into the cause of a fire in her neighborhood. She was from a good family and her character was unquestioned. At the time of her arrest she was in perfect health. Thirty-six hours afterward she died in jail without medical attendance of any kind. Her death was caused by fright and hysteria. Two detectives testified that they sweated her by Captain Petersen's orders. Captain Petersen denied that he knew she was confined. The jury believed him. Why shouldn't they? He is a teacher in a Methodist Sunday school.

The jury was manifestly a partisan one. The prosecutor would allow no Socialist to sit on the jury, nor would he allow anyone who had ever read the *World* to be impaneled. The case has excited a great deal of local interest. Public sympathy is largely with the Socialists. Oakland is now in the midst of a city campaign, and Captain Petersen has given the party some much needed advertising. Editor Tuck can not be sent to the rock pile, as Captain Petersen desires, for he is totally blind. So far as possible he will continue his work as editor within the jail. The associate editor, W. G. Henry, will fight the police department on the outside, and Tuck will be able to gain much inside information as to the treatment of prisoners, during his three months' term.

The *World* is still unsubdued. The next issue after the conviction of Editor Tuck it reprinted the cartoon that so deeply offended His Holiness, Captain Petersen.

GRACE V. SILVER.



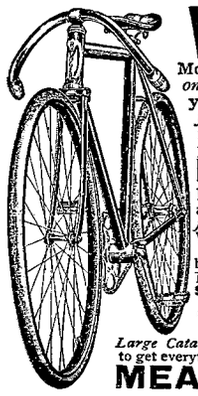
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Socialist Schools at Last. The comrades on the New York Sunday *Call* are to be congratulated upon the splendid work they are doing in the publication of a comprehensive outline for Socialist Teachers, and suggestions for the work. This is a work we have long hoped for and now that it is being accomplished so thoroughly by the New York Sunday *Call* comrades, we take much pleasure in advising our readers where these outlines may be obtained. Regular weekly lessons are given, and the work properly graded for the little tots in the kindergarten to youth and maids of seventeen or eighteen. Every local in the United States ought to take the Sunday *Call* FOR THESE LESSONS alone, if for no other reason, and no Socialist Teacher can afford to plan his or her work without them. The *Call* Lessons are the result of a wide and practical experience. Do not overlook them.

Sends in Twelve. Comrade Baker, of Detroit, sends in check for twelve yearly subscriptions and writes: "We shall all be hustling to make a great success of the Haywood meeting. Send me some more blanks and I will send in another bunch later on."

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Our Study Course in Socialism, the fifth lesson of which appears in this month's issue, has met with a welcome beyond our expectations. The first three issues containing these lessons are entirely sold out, but we have reprinted the lessons in leaflet form, and will mail one set free on request; extra copies 60c per hundred sets. We can still supply a few hundred copies of the February issue, containing Lesson IV, and offer them while they last at 5c each in packages of twenty or more, 6c each in packages of five to twenty, or 10c each in smaller lots. For $3.00 sent at one time, we will mail five copies of the REVIEW one year to any address or to five addresses within the United States, and will include five sets of the first three lessons. A monthly lesson on Socialism will be a permanent feature of the Review, and even the smallest Socialist party local can conduct a successful Study Class with the aid of these lessons.

One Big Union, by William E. Trautmann, just published, is the clearest and completest statement of the principles of Industrial Unionism which has yet appeared in the English language. Its value is greatly increased by a large chart in the front of each book showing the grouping of laborers under an industrial system of organization. Price, 10 cents, $1.00 per dozen, $5.00 per hundred, $45.00 per thousand. These prices will also apply to assorted orders for any of the following books:

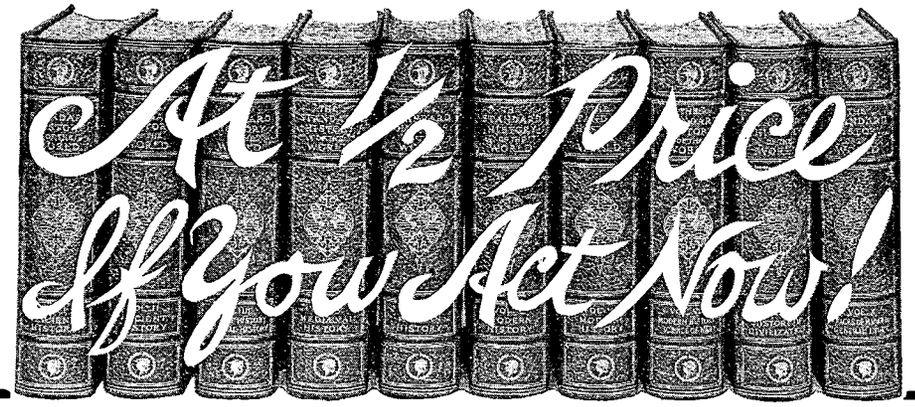
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The Wolves (illustrated). Wason.

The titles just named include all the ten cent books that we can at present supply in quantities, with the exception of Blatchford's "Merrie England," and Work's "What's So and What Isn't," and the best price we can make any one on these two books, expressage included, is $7.50 a hundred. We will for $1.90 mail the REVIEW one year and a sample set of the nineteen books named above.

The Review Lecture Bureau is gradually getting into working order. Four Haywood meetings have been held up to the time of going to press, and each one has been a big success. During March Haywood will be in New York, Massachusetts and vicinity, during April in Ohio, and during May in Illinois and Iowa. You can have a Haywood meeting by guaranteeing to sell 500 three-months' REVIEW subscription cards at 25c each, the cards serving as lecture tickets. Out of the $125 you keep $25 for hall rent, out of the remaining $100 we pay Comrade Haywood for his time and expenses, and we furnish all necessary advertising matter, besides giving you 200 REVIEWS to sell for the benefit of your Local. You can't lose, and the lectures are boosting the circulation of the REVIEW faster than ever.

Frank Bohn's Lectures will start the first of March. You can get one of his dates by guaranteeing the sale of 200 REVIEW cards at 25c each. We furnish printed matter and give you 100 REVIEWS to sell. In either a Haywood or Bohn meeting, if the Local sells more than the guaranteed number of tickets, it keeps half the money on additional tickets sold. Moreover, the Local has the profit on literature sold at the meeting. We can still make a few dates for Bohn in Pennsylvania and Ohio during March and in Michigan and Indiana during April.

Marx's Critique of Political Economy, announced on the cover of last month's REVIEW, is now ready in a most attractive edition at $1.00. This volume contains the best short explanation of Historical Materialism ever published in any language, and it furthermore contains the best Socialist explanation of the currency question. No student of Marx can afford to be without it.



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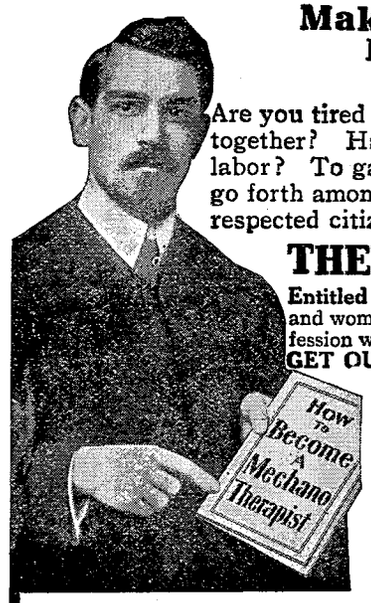
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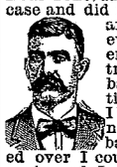
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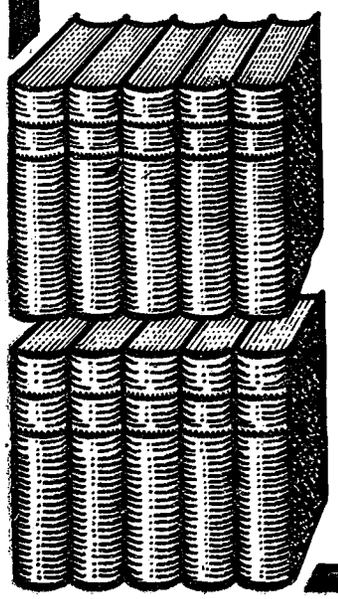
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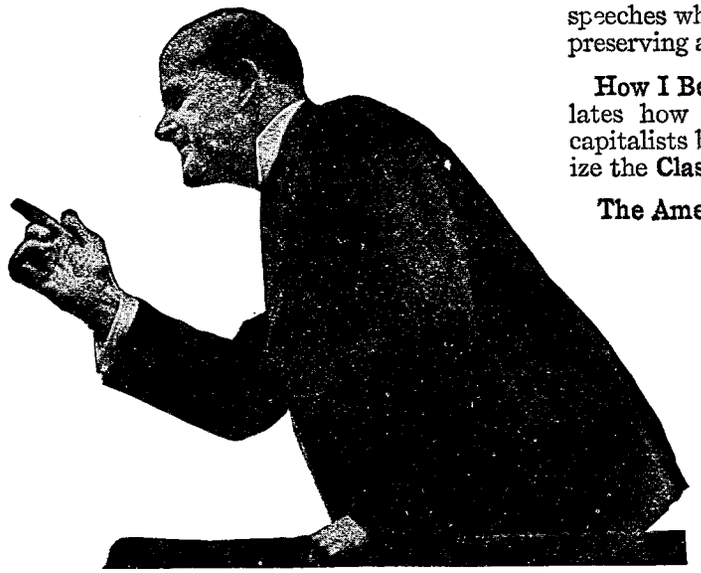
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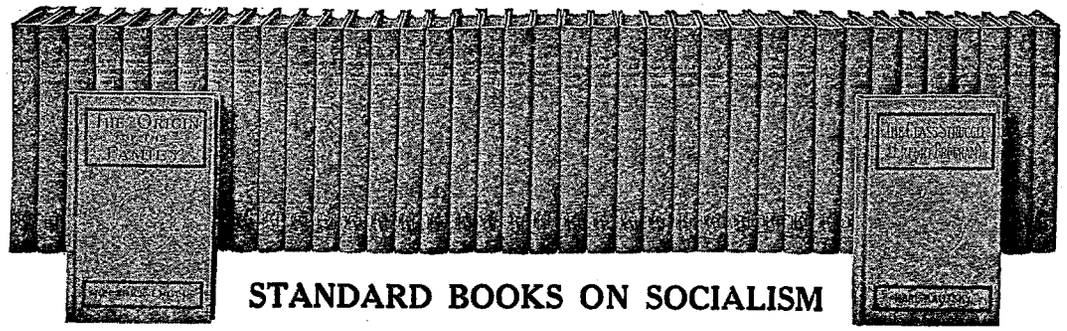
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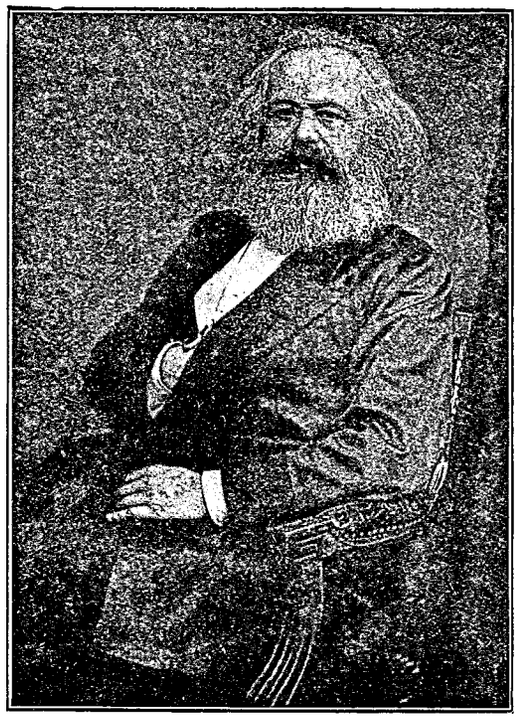
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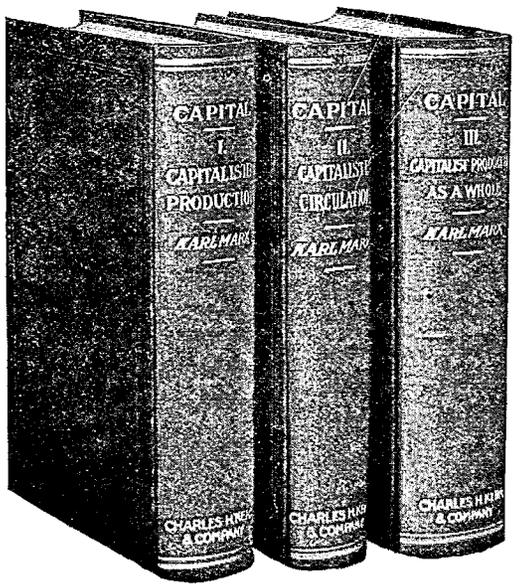
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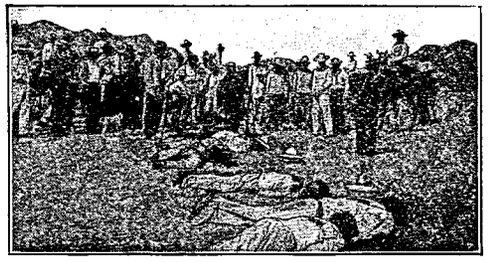
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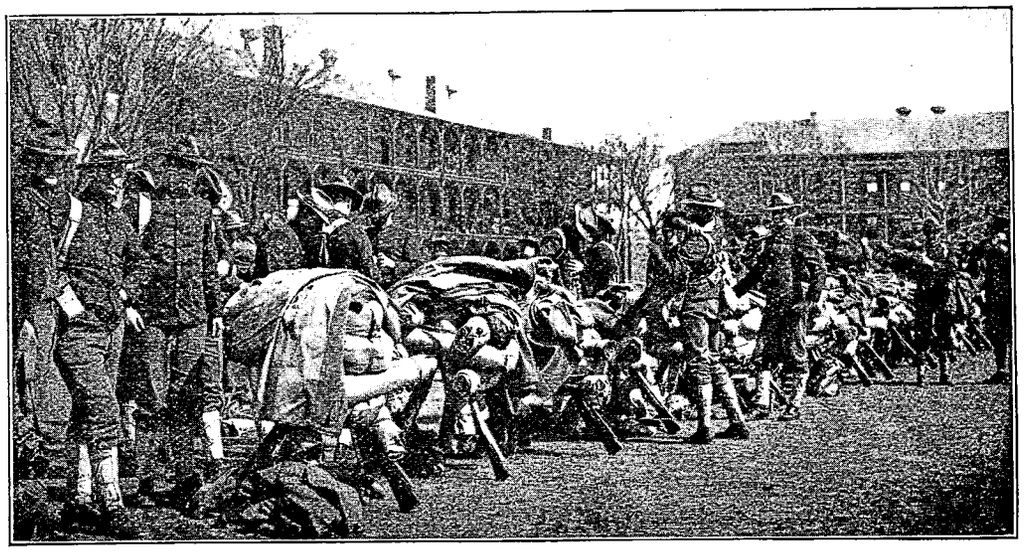
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI APRIL, 1911 No. 10

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

Proclamation by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America



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U. S. SOLDIERS AT FORT MONROE, VA.—WAITING TO SAIL TO TEXAS.

ON THE 7th day of March the startling news was flashed from one end of the country to the other that President Taft had ordered twenty thousand troops, one fourth of the regular army of the country, to be mobilized and hurried to the Mexican border. At the same time several American warships were ordered to proceed at full speed to ports on both coasts of Mexico.

The order was issued immediately after the adjournment of Congress. It was sudden and unexpected, and caused deep apprehension among the masses of the American people.

What is the object of this formidable military display? What is the meaning of this hurried movement of troops toward a friendly neighboring country?

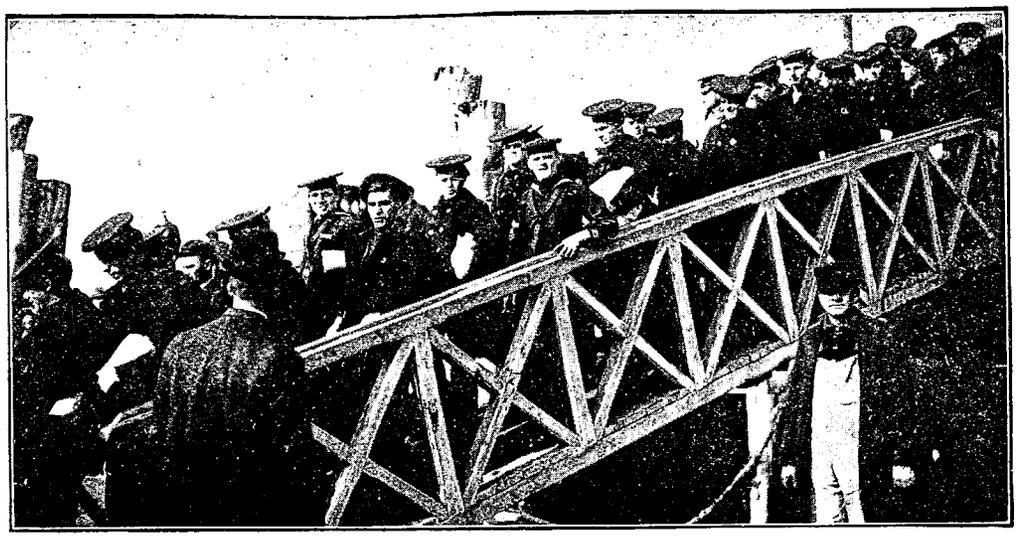
The earlier explanation that the extraordinary measure was intended as a mere war game, was so clumsy and palpably insincere that it was speedily abandoned and the semi-official explanation now vouchsafed to the people is that our army and navy are to prevent the smuggling of arms to the Mexican insurrectionists and, in case of emergency, to protect the endangered American interests. The explanation is such as to cause every peace and liberty loving American to hang his head with shame.

The people of our sister state of Mexico are in open and active revolt against their government. During his uninterrupted rule of thirty-six years Porfirio Diaz, the nominal president of Mexico, has been the evil genius of his country. He has reduced the republic to a despotism more barbarous than Russia, and has constituted himself the absolute autocrat of his people. He has ruthlessly destroyed the freedom of suffrage, speech, press and assembly, and has exiled, imprisoned and assassinated all patriots who strove to restore the liberties of the people. He has ravaged the country, plundered its resources and enslaved millions of its inhabitants. Since 1875, when Diaz became military dictator of Mexico, there has not been a single free and honest election in the country.

Porfirio Diaz has been able to maintain his infamous rule over fifteen million outraged subjects by aid of his soldiery, police and camarilla, and largely also through the powerful support of the American capitalist interests. Mexico, with its vast deposits of precious metals and other natural wealth, Mexico with its large supply of cheap and uncomplaining slave labor, Mexico with the arbitrary and lawless reign of the Dollar, has become the paradise of the American capitalists. It has been invaded by our Smelter Trust and Oil Trust, our Sugar Trust, Rubber Trust and Cordage Trust. The Wells-Fargo Express Company has acquired a monopoly of the Mexican express business, and the railroads, land and mines of the country are largely in the hands of American capitalists. The Rockefellers, Guggenheims and J. Pierpont Morgan, have vast holdings in Mexico; Henry W. Taft, brother of the President of the United States, is general counsel for the National Railways of Mexico, and hundreds of other American trust magnates are heavily interested in Mexican enterprises. The total amount of "American" holdings in Mexico is variously estimated at between a billion and a billion and a half dollars.

These American "investors" have always been the staunchest allies of Porfirio Diaz, his partners in pillage and crime, his confederates in the enslavement of the Mexican people.

A reign of iniquity and violence such as was maintained by Diaz and his Wall Street partners no nation, and be it ever so patient and meek, could endure for any length of time. The people of Mexico have for years been in a state of smothered and smouldering revolt. Their limit of patience was reached after the last Presidential election, when Francisco I. Madero, the man who had the courage to oppose his candidacy to that of Diaz, was cast into jail for "insulting the President," the citizens were prevented from voting by violence, and the "election" of Diaz for the eighth term was brazenly proclaimed by his henchmen. Then the people



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BOY SAILORS GOING ABOARD THE TENNESSEE TO SAIL SOUTH.

of Mexico rebelled. In all parts of the country the citizens rose in arms, determined to reconquer their liberty or to die, even as our forefathers had done over a century ago under slighter provocation. The insurrection grew in strength and extension day by day; the Mexican people were solidly with the rebels, the Mexican army was wavering in its allegiance to the despot in the presidential chair; even the censored press dispatches reported repeated victories of the rebel forces—the throne of Diaz was tottering, freedom beckoned the people of Mexico after a generation of servitude. Then the President of the United States dispatched a large force of troops to the Mexican border.

The mission of the American army at the Mexican border and the American warships at the Mexican coasts, is to save the reign of Diaz and to quell the rising of the Mexican people.

Against this unspeakable outrage the Socialist Party of the United States, representing over six hundred thousand American citizens and voters, lodges its public and emphatic protest.

In the name of America's revolutionary past and her best traditions of the present, we protest against the attempt to degrade our country by reducing it to the position of a cossack of a foreign tyrant.

In the name of liberty and progress we protest against the use of the army of our republic to suppress and enslave the people of a sister republic fighting for their freedom and manhood.

In the name of the workers of the United States we protest against the use of the men and money of this country for the protection of the so-called "American" interests in Mexico. We assert that neither the government nor the people of the United States have any property interests in Mexico; that the speculative Mexican ventures of a ring of American industrial freebooters gives us no warrant to interfere with the political destinies of the country, which they have invaded upon their individual responsibility.

AND WE CALL UPON ALL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND ALL LABOR UNIONS AND OTHER BODIES OF PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS TO HOLD PUBLIC MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE LATEST EXECUTIVE CRIME. LET THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE RESOUND FROM ONE END OF THE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER IN LOUD AND UNMISTAKABLE TONE: "WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM THE MEXICAN BORDER!"

SHOTS FOR THE WORK-SHOP

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Poverty has nothing to arbitrate.

The capitalist has no heart. But harpoon him in the pocket-book and you will draw blood.

The manager's brains are under the workman's cap.

The bandage will remain upon the eyes of Justice just as long as the Capitalist has the cut, shuffle and deal.

Industrialism is socialism with its working clothes on.

One union of all workers in an industry; all industries in one union.

There can be no trade agreements between capitalist masters and wage slaves. If you would be industrially free, refuse to sign agreements that enslave you.

If you bore from WITHIN long enough you will come OUT.

Some workingmen are so proud of the dignity of Labor that they wear overalls all the time for fear they will be mistaken for Capitalists.

The Capitalist Class starve Labor which they cannot profitably employ. Would the Working Class be justified in destroying what they cannot peaceably enjoy?

Twelve hours is a bad habit. Get the Eight-Hour habit. Get it now.

We are going to turn this government from a political junkshop into an industrial workshop.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the Gibralter of Capitalism.

To the Working Class there is no foreigner but the Capitalist.

The prosperity of a labor organization is measured by its activity.

Activity for improved conditions of employment or against the lowering of existing standards of living means that the membership is in arms against the exploiters.

Action against exploitation requires agitation, publicity, strikes, boycotts, political force—all the elements and expressions of discontent. Discontent is life. It impels to action. Contentment means stagnation and death.



FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM.
EXTREME OUTPOST INSURRECTO CAMP OVERLOOKING JUAREZ.

WHY MEXICAN WORKERS REBEL

BY

JOHN KENNETH TURNER

IN Mexico there are no labor laws in operation to protect the workers—no provision for factory inspection, no practical statutes against infant labor, no process through which workmen may recover damages for injuries sustained or death met in the mine or at the machine. Wage-workers literally have no rights that the employers are bound to respect. Policy only determines the degree of exploitation, and in Mexico that policy is such as might prevail in the driving of horses in a locality where horses are dirt cheap, where profits from their use are high, and where there exists no Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Over against this absence of protection on the part of the governmental powers stands oppression on the part of the governmental powers, for the machinery of the Diaz state is wholly at the command of the employer to whip the worker into accepting his terms.

The six thousand laborers in the Rio Blanco mill were not content with thirteen hours daily in the company of that roaring machinery and in that choking atmosphere, especially since it brought to them only from twenty-five to thirty-seven and one-half cents. Nor were they content with paying out of such a sum the one American dollar a week that the company charged for the



INSURRECTOS ON THE FIRING LINE.

rental of the two-room, dirt-floor hovels which they called their homes. Least of all were they content with the coin in which they were paid. This consisted of credit checks upon the company store, which finished the exploitation—took back for the company the final *centavo* that the company had paid out in wages. A few miles away, at Orizaba, the same goods could be purchased for from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent less, but the operatives were unable to buy their goods at these stores.

The operatives were not content. The might of the company towered like a mountain above them, and behind and above the company towered the government. Behind the company stood Diaz himself, for Diaz was not only the government, he was also a heavy stockholder in the company. Yet the operatives prepared to fight. Secretly they organized a union, "El Circulo de Obreros," which means "The Circle of Wonders," holding their meetings not en masse, but in small groups in their homes, in order that the authorities might not learn of their purposes.

Immediately upon the company learning that the workers were discussing their troubles, it took action against them. Through the police authorities it issued a general order forbidding any of the operatives from receiving any visitors whatsoever, even their own relatives being barred, the penalty for violation being the city jail. Persons who were suspected of having signed the roll of the union were put in prison at once, and a weekly newspaper which was known to be friendly to the workers was swooped down upon, suppressed and the printing plant confiscated.

At this juncture a strike was called in the cotton mills in the city of Puebla, in an adjoining state. The mills of Puebla were owned by the same company as owned the Rio Blanco mills, and the operatives thereof were living under similar conditions to those at Rio Blanco. The Pueblo workers went on strike and the company, knowing that they had no resources behind them, decided, as one of its agents told me, "to let nature take its course"; that is, to starve out the workers, as they believed this process could be accomplished inside of a fortnight.

The strikers turned for aid to those of their fellowcraftsmen who were at work in other localities. The Rio Blanco workers themselves were already preparing to strike, but thereupon decided to wait for a time longer, in order that they might collect from their meager earnings a fund to support their brothers in the city of Puebla. Thus were the ends of the company defeated for the moment, for by living on half rations both workers and strikers were able to eke out their existence. But no sooner had the company learned the source of strength of the Puebla strikers than the mills at Rio Blanco were shut down and the workers there locked out. Other mills in other localities were shut down and other means taken to prevent any help reaching the Puebla strikers.

Locked out, the Rio Blanca workers promptly assumed the offensive, declared they were on strike and formulated a series of demands calculated in some measure to alleviate the conditions of their lives.

But the demands were unheard, the machinery of the mill roared no more, the



INSURRECTOS' SKIRMISH LINE, OUTSIDE JUAREZ, FEB. 8TH.

mill slept in the sun, the waters of the Rio Blanco dashed unharnessed through the town, the manager of the company laughed in the faces of the striking men and women.

The six thousand starved. For two months they starved. They scoured the surrounding hills for berries, and when the berries were gone they deceived their gnawing stomachs with indigestible roots and herbs gleaned from the mountain sides. In utter despair, they looked to the highest power they knew, Porfirio Diaz, and begged him to have mercy. They begged him to investigate their cause, and for their part they promised to abide by his decision.

President Diaz pretended to investigate. He rendered a decision, but his decision was that the mills should reopen and the workers go back to their thirteen hours of dust and machinery on the same terms as they had left them.

True to their promise, the strikers at Rio Blanco prepared to comply. But they were weak from starvation. In order to work they must have substance. Consequently on the day of their surrender they gathered in a body in front of the company store opposite the big mill and asked that each of their number be given a certain quantity of corn and beans so that they might be able to live through the first week and until they should be paid their wages.

The storekeeper jeered at the request. "To these dogs we will not even give water!" is the answer he is credited with giving them.

It was then that a woman, Margarita Martinez, exhorted the people to take by force the provisions that had been denied them. This they did. They looted the store, then set fire to it, and finally to the mill across the way.

The people had not expected to riot, but the government had expected it. Unknown to the strikers, batalions of regular soldiers were waiting just outside the town, under command of General Rosalio Martinez himself, sub-secretary of war. The strikers had no arms. They were not prepared for revolution. They had intended no mischief, and their outburst was a spontaneous and doubtless a natural one, and one which an officer of the company afterwards confided to me could easily have been taken care of by the local police force, which was strong.

Nevertheless, the soldiers appeared, leaping upon the scene as if out of the ground. Volley after volley was discharged into the crowd at close range. There was no resistance whatsoever. The people were shot down in the streets with no regard for age or sex, many women and children being among the slain. They were pursued to their homes, dragged from their hiding places and shot to death. Some fled to the hills, where they were hunted for days and shot on sight. A company of rural guards which refused to fire on the crowd when the soldiers first arrived were exterminated on the spot.

There are no official figures of the number killed in the Rio Blanco massacre, and if there were any, of course they would be false. Estimates run from two hundred to eight hundred. My information for the



INSURRECTO FIRING LINE, FEBRUARY 8TH.

Rio Blanco strike was obtained from numerous widely different sources—from an officer of the company itself, from a friend of the governor who rode with the *rurales* as they chased the fleeing strikers through the hills, from a labor editor who escaped after being hotly pursued for days, from survivors of the strike, from others who had heard the story from eye witnesses.

"I don't know how many were killed," the man who rode with the *rurales* told me, "but on the first night after the soldiers came I saw *two flat cars piled high with dead and mangled bodies, and there were a good many killed after the first night.*"

"Those flat cars," the same informant told me, "were hauled away by special train that night, hurried to Veracruz, where the bodies were *dumped in the harbor as food for the sharks.*"

MURDER AS PATRIOTISM

BY

GEORGE D. BREWER

AMERICAN soldiers are off to war! By orders from Washington they are rushing to the front on the Mexican border to give up their lives if need be in defense of American "interests" in Mexico.

Enroute from Mobile to Montgomery, Ala., Comrade Debs and myself stopped at a small station in the extreme southern part of the state. A train loaded with these uncrowned heroes of the United States Army were on a siding. The whole

population of the little town, men, women, children and dogs, were at the depot to see and admire the valiant war lads and their bristling armament.

As they pulled out of the siding women wept, men and boys shouted, dogs barked and fair southern lasses waved dainty handkerchiefs to the boys in kakhi uniforms.

These soldiers were real heroes in the minds of the stupid and drivling populace who were so demonstrative in their supposed patriotism.

If you, dear reader, happen to be endowed with just a trace of real humanitarian feeling and common sense, think of the disgusting and infamous motive behind these mock heroics.

On the part of the soldiers one can only express contempt and pity. Ordered to go blindly to the front to slaughter Mexican workingmen who are inspired with the spirit of revolt against the bloody tyrant who has for years kept them enslaved, they gallantly obey.

Why this mobilization of twenty thousand troops on the Mexican border? Quoting from President Taft's own statement in the morning papers, he says: "American interests must and will be protected in Mexico."

What are the "American interests in Mexico that must and will be protected?" Morgan and other American capitalists own a billion dollars worth of stolen possessions in that despot ridden country and they are enabled by virtue of the Diaz administration to secure Mexican peon labor at from ten to twenty-five cents per day to operate these industries. If the present government is overthrown and the revolutionists are victorious as they will be if left to fight the one enemy, Diaz, conditions would be changed among the Mexican workingmen and our American capitalists would be compelled to pay a living wage to their slaves.

American "INTERESTS," Morgan and Wall Street, see a grave danger to their fabulous profits should the insurrectos be successful. In that event a much larger portion of the wealth produced would go into the stomachs and households of the starving wealth producing peons.

Thus, through Wall Street's official representative, President Taft of the United States, the warships and uniformed murderers are ordered to the front to strengthen the tyrant and intimidate and discourage the Mexican representatives of freedom.

The shame and pity of it all cannot be expressed in words.

American soldiers, with murder in their ignorant hearts, and patriotic (sic) blood seething in their veins, are rushing forward to put down the hope of freedom which has sprung in the souls of real patriots of Mexico.

An inspiring spectacle for lovers of freedom in America, isn't it?

Does the American soldier show true bravery and courage? No. Common brutality!

Does he show a semblance of intelligence or true manhood by permitting a master to order him to murder or be murdered? No. He does show, however, that to be a menial is his sodden ambition and that to have been born a cur dog with a Mexican master to beat and kick him would have been more in keeping with his demonstrated mentality.

Are the people who cheer and encourage these dogs of war truly civilized? Great God, no! They are semi-barbarous by instinct, ignorant and perverted by training and by natural selection should have lived in the days of Grecian supremacy and cheered on their slave brothers who, under the lash, put down the uprisings of brother slaves in their every struggle for freedom.

If American "INTERESTS" would protect themselves, I'd say, "Go to it!" But damn the degenerate brutes who go to war for them and damn the assinine fools who cheer them on their murderous way in the name of sweet patriotism.





BEFORE THE CHANGE.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Showing How Capital, the Juggernaut, is Developing and so Hastening Socialism in the Far East

BY

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE



AFTER.

UNTIL a few years ago the Far East, as it is called, was closed to Western trade and "civilization." Far "Cathay" was for many centuries a fabulous country, a fabulous and terrifying distance from the centers of "civilization." Many were the tales told by sailors who had returned from "furrin parts" about its wealth. Columbus made his famous voyage in search of a short route to "Cathay" that commerce, such as it was, might be facilitated.

In the thirteenth century Marco Polo visited China and Japan. About the middle of the sixteenth century one of the smaller islands of the Japanese kingdom was visited by Fernam Mendez Pinto. In 1549 Christianity was introduced into Japan by St. Francis Xavier. During the next century the priests were exiled by the wily yellow men and a general massacre of all Christians ordered and executed. For about 200 years—until 1854—Japan was left severely alone by Western nations. Of this more later.

In 1684 the East India Company—an English concern doing business in India—through the intervention of the English government, was given permission to trade with the natives of China. This trade continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when some trouble arose.

In order to understand that trouble we must take a brief survey of Western civilization. During the latter part of the eighteenth century feudalism succumbed to capitalism. Modern industry, as a result of great changes wrought in the mode of production by newly invented labor-saving machinery, triumphed over the old methods of manufacture. Colonies had been established during the past few centuries by all the principal Christian nations and these territories immediately became dumping grounds for the wares

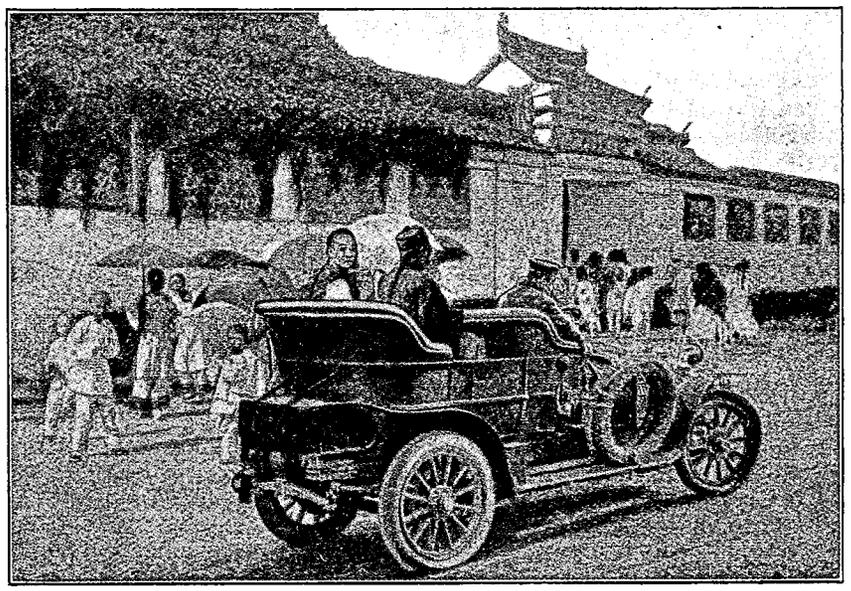
which were turned out in ever increasing quantities by English, French, German, etc., manufactories.

Faster and faster were these wares turned out. As the machines of production, through the application of labor, power became steadily more productive, so grew the volume of surplus products for which a market must be secured. So prodigious was the need for expansion and development immediately forced upon these countries that in a few decades practically the whole inhabitable portion of the globe was brought under this commercial sway.

The Far East being but little known, was for a time exempt. Faster and faster flew the wheels of industry, higher and higher the surplus products mounted, and there was no end of them. The need for greater markets became more pressing. And ever the workers of civilization turned out a larger product. Even those colonies which had served as markets now became hives of industry and they also stood in need of markets for surplus commodities.

Longing eyes were finally turned towards China, Japan, Africa, Persia. In the meantime the East India Company, made up of Christian English gentlemen who practically owned India, had become immensely interested in the cultivation of the poppy, from which opium was procured. The Chinese were fast becoming addicted to the opium habit. The Chinese government attempted to put an end to the traffic but the company still carried on a large contraband trade. Finally vigorous steps were taken to enforce the Royal Edict against it and traders were severely dealt with when captured. This was Great Britain's opportunity and the British bulldog, ever watchful of the interests of its masters, was unloosened. China received a severe spanking in 1842 and again in 1856-60 and was compelled by the treaty of Nankin to open five ports —Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Mingpo and Shanghai—to British commerce.

Thus was capitalist trade and "civilization" forced upon the yellow man. Of course, as usual the whole affair was whitewashed and made to appear as a campaign waged against "heathenism" and Great Britain was pictured as swaggering about with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other. Missionaries were placed on the ground in always increasing numbers to teach the "poor heathens" their great need of "civilization" and for some time things went on



NOT SO FAR BEHIND.

merrily. Funds for missions were raised by numerous individuals and societies who pictured to their hearers and readers the terrible conditions of the dear people without Christianity and its beautifying and uplifting influences. Of course the money was put up for the purpose of "winning the world for Christ." Large numbers of the heathen dropped their heathenism and adopted things western.

Meantime America, an aforetime market, had swung into line as a great producer of surplus wares—also Germany, France, Italy, etc. In 1844 the United States negotiated a trade treaty with China and ten years later Commodore Perry, U. S. N., landed in Japan and effected a commercial treaty which resulted in opening up Japanese ports to American ships. After a short struggle with the old regime the "civilization" of the West began to take root and a new era was inaugurated in the "Flowery Kingdom." In 1867-8 another important treaty was engineered with Japan by the Hon. Anson Burlingame of the United States. The same was revised in 1880, some troubles over the proposed exclusion of the yellow race from America having arisen.

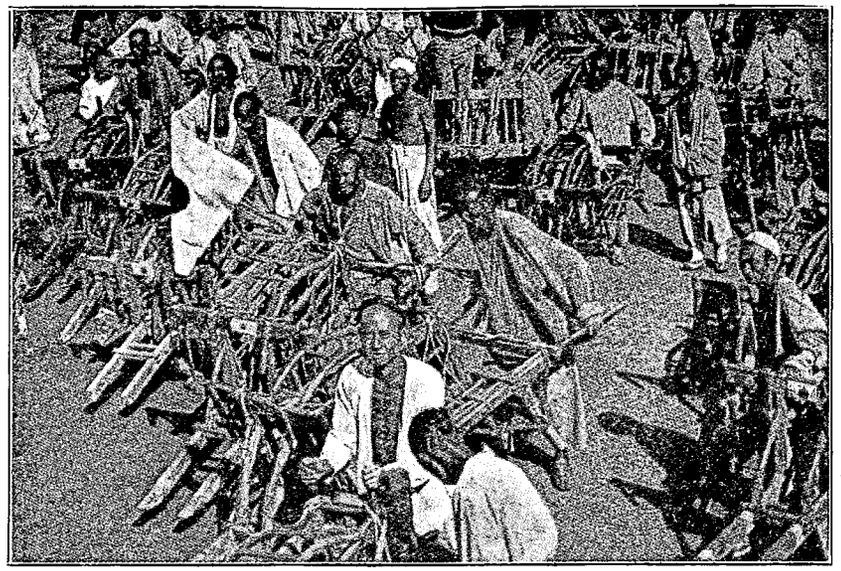
Capital had in the meantime leaped geographical boundaries and had become International. The European and American trade with the East grew by leaps and bounds and many fat purses were lined at the expense of the wage slaves who produced the wares for foreign markets. Modernism waxed apace in the Far East. There were men—"croakers," they were usually called—who pointed out the inevitable result. Marx and others pointed out that capitalism was conquering and "civilizing' these countries for markets and that eventually when these became highly "civilized"—viz., with capitalist manufacturers—the breakdown of capitalism must inevitably follow. Surplus value wrung from the workers cannot be realized by the owners of industry unless the wares containing that surplus can be marketed. When the markets fail and surplus can no longer be realized upon—then what?

The "croakers" have increased in number and their chorus in volume wondrously of late. For things are happening. Sixty years ago capital opened up the markets of China. A little later the same favor (?) was conferred upon Japan and the predictions of the "croakers" are fast being realized.

A peculiar phenomenon has of late been manifesting itself. The great East is indeed awakening. For years the "yellow peril" has been a stock phrase with many of the lickspittle class. For decades trades unions, Asiatic Exlusion Leagues and others have been howling of this peril and numerous exclusion acts have been passed in the United States and Canada. Their ostensible purpose was to keep out the yellow immigrant whose lower standard of living was cutting into the wages and standard of living of native workers. Rioting has taken place in the Pacific States and provinces and many a would-be reformer has jumped into parliamentary fame as an exponent of Exclusion. All to no purpose.

Today a real "yellow peril" confronts Western civilization, a peril against which Exclusion is of no avail, one which comes not in the shape of the "man behind the gun" as has been expected, but in the form of cheap commodities. Marx said years ago, "The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it (capitalism) batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian's intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate." Now China, India, Japan, turn the tables and batter the walls of Europe and America with—cheap commodities. The biter is bitten! The following from the National Geographic Magazine reprinted in the Christian Herald will elucidate the cause better than I can.

"American Rivals in the World's Trade. In India, in China and in Japan, we have been the guests who have enjoyed their hospitality, only to arise in the morning and say to our hosts, 'You must not sit at table with us.' Believe me this condition cannot endure. Politically we are in grave danger. Commercially with their industry and their frugality, the members of the yellow race are fast outstripping us. They have ceased buying flour from the Minneapolis mills because they are grinding Indian and Manchurian

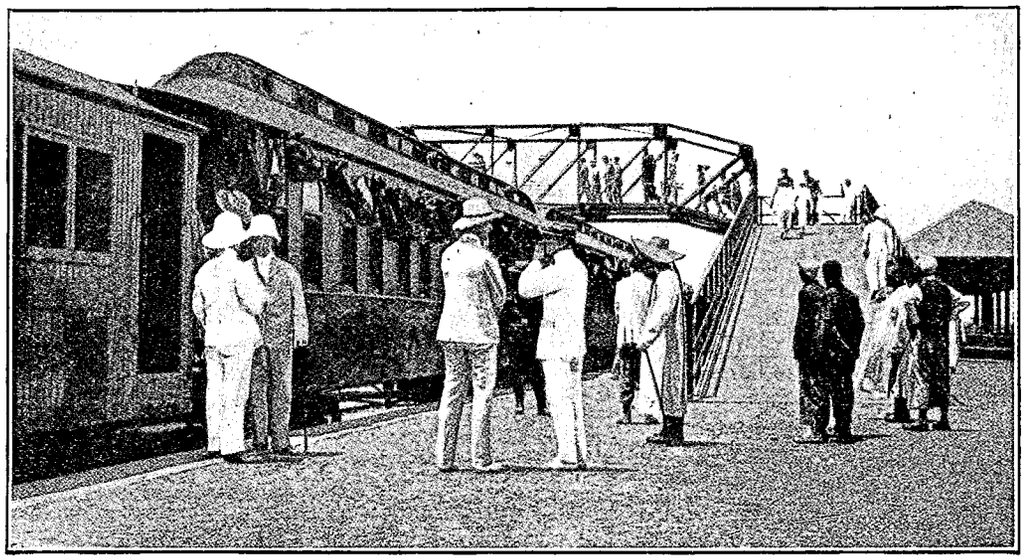


OLD STYLE OF CHINESE ROAD TRAFFIC.

wheat with Chinese labor at Woosung. A line of ships is running from the Yellow River to Seattle bringing 72,000 tons a year of pig iron manufactured at Hankhow and delivered, freight and duty added, cheaper than we can produce it. In Cawnpore, India, with American machinery, they are making shoes so cheaply that the manufacturers of Lynn can no longer compete with them. The cottons and silks which we at one time sent to Asia are now made in Japan and China.—Melville D. Stone.

Nor is this all. The Montreal Weekly Witness, a Canadian newspaper of even international repute, says, "There appears elsewhere a picture of steel works at Hanklow, in China, worked by Chinese labor, with Chinese capital under a Chinese directorate and exporting rails to San Francisco. . . . . This great plant is a menace to Great Britain, threatening to undersell her in her staple industry . . . . The days of Great Britain's industrial ascendancy are probably numbered. What China can do in steel she can do in textiles."

Nor is even this all. The magazines of the day are fully alive to the menace. Scores of articles are appearing upon the Far East and her unprecedentedly sud-



MODERN TRANSPORTATION AT TIEN TSIN.

den rise to commercial power. She has proven an apt pupil. Indeed so apt has Japan become that a short time ago—through as fine an art of treachery as ever made Britain "mistress of the seas" and "the empire upon which the sun never sets"—she seized upon Korea and made a market of her. Even now the United States fears her power in connection with the Phillipines, the territory which she in turn seized that she might have a "foreign" market to exploit.

"Education" of the American variety is making immense strides in Japan. She is going in for super-dreadnaughts at a cost of 12½ millions each and developing a bunch of government "financiers" second to none. Railway construction and improvement to the tune of millions of yen (the yen is worth about fifty cents) is going on in Korea and Japan proper. So great has been the stride taken towards civilization that even this early in the game she appears to have a considerable spirit of revolt among the workers to contend with. Recently a number of rebels who have been very busy in the dissemination of sedition ideas were arrested and twelve of them on a trumped up charge swiftly tried and railroaded to the gallows. One of these, Kotoku, was a man of international reputation, a gifted writer who had translated the works of Marx into Japanese. His utterance when sentenced to the gallows, "Vive la Revolution," is significant as showing the spirit of revolt existing.

In China too, we are told by Clarence Poe of the "Progressive Farmer" of Raleigh, N. C., things are moving rapidly. Within a few months China will have a constitutional government. This is indeed one of the surest signs of the breakdown of the old regime and the advent of civilization. Sir John Jordan, British minister to China, tells us that in the past ten years the yellow race has made greater progress than in the preceding ten centuries. This of course from a strictly capitalist viewpoint.

The opium habit became a menace to the productivity of Chinese workers as well as a clog on the ability of public officials. Capitalist China immediately resolves to throw off this traffic and has practically done so already. This breaking up of the business has had the same effect upon China as had the fencing of the common lands in England many years ago. Millions of mortgages on small holdings of land have already been foreclosed as the farmers could not make a living when the cultivation of poppies became illegal. Land values have decreased in many places over seventy-five per cent and the peasant farmer will now make his way to the cities and become a wage-slave in capitalist manufactories. History is repeating itself.

As to education it is reported that today there are more school teachers in the empire than there were pupils only six years ago. The curriculum includes all the studies of the American or European pupil. Even graft on the part of officials is a common occurrence and as capital needs a good business administration there as elsewhere, care is being taken to stamp it out. An army is being drilled, the currency system reformed and a modern banking system inaugurated. Telegraphs and telephones, railroads, a postal system—these are some of the projects under way now. Cities are installing up-to-date water and lighting plants. Even Pekin, the most Chinese of cities, has a modern water system now under construction. Straws show the direction of the wind. All these things and many more in connection with the Far East go to show that capitalism at last has a firm hold of this last stronghold of the barbarian! And even Socialism, the hope of the exploited and dispossessed workers, is taking root. This, of course, was inevitable so soon as Capital reached the point in the development necessary to breed revolt.

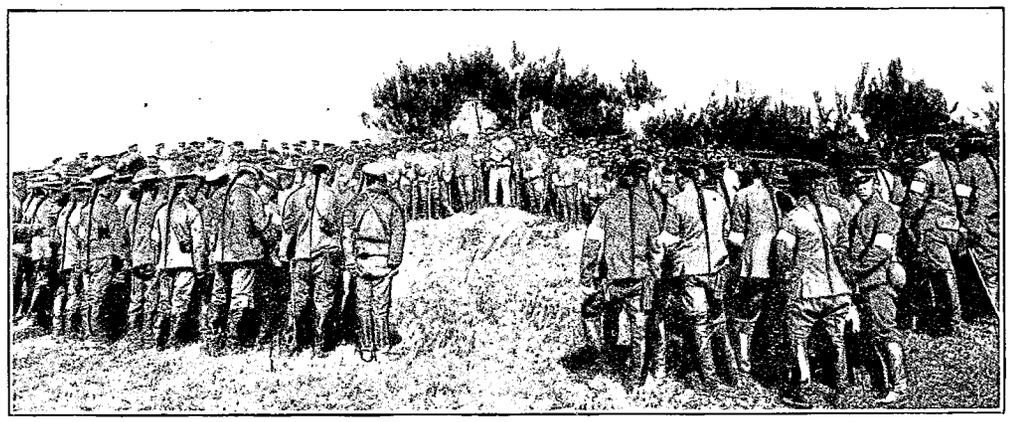
This then is the "yellow peril" that we workers of the older civilized world are getting up against, a peril which is now become very real. In the course of "developing" the East the capitalist class has discovered that the cost of production of labor power in Oriental countries is much less than in America or Europe. In other words the standard of living of the workers is lower; they can subsist as producers on less hay and oats, hence they need not be paid such high wages. At the same time that foreign capital has stepped in Chinese capital has begun to develop and is after a share of the spoils.

Eastern goods can be manufactured, shipped in and sold at a good profit for much less than the home made product. International capital, when this discovery is made begins with added zest to exploit the East, not as a market only but as the home of their manufactories while Chinese and Japanese capital, exploiting their native workers, bid fair to put even the Western capital out of commission. 'Tis a merry game—for those who gather the spoils. Yellow wage-slaves must now produce the wares which have been hitherto produced by white labor. China, Japan and others, until yesterday sans that beautiful institution "civilization" are now to become hives of capitalist industry, while ere long America, "the land of the free" will be the "foreign market" to be exploited by International capital with headquarters in the Far East.

The foregoing is no dream but a stern reality that those workers who are still asleep must face at no distant day. Capital (Industry) will go wherever wares can be manufactured to contain the very largest possible proportion of surplus value—unpaid labor. The situation should be instructive to those who have not yet discovered the cause and remedy. Today all countries, or practically all, are engaged in the struggle for markets. Wars have been fought and millions of lives sacrificed to the golden god—Capital—that he might have markets. No sooner does he seize upon a territory than development begins. Wage slavery with its mass of surplus value—profit for the god—takes hold and presently that country also has a surplus and is looking for an outlet. What is to happen when in the very near future all countries have a surplus piled mountains high and no market can be found?

Millions of us are today idle because the masters cannot profitably employ us. Industry goes to China where more profit can be made. But tomorrow our condition will be even worse as the yellow man working in his own country—or rather his master's country—will compete and beat us. Other millions of us will then be out of work and so penniless and starving. A few days later the unemployed problem will have traveled to the East in the wake of Industry. The yellow race will flood the world's markets with cheap commodities—dirt cheap. He will throw himself out of a job. He will overproduce as we have done in the past. There will be mountains of goods, food, clothing, shelter, etc., on the market yet you and I, my readers, will be unable to buy—we wont have the price.

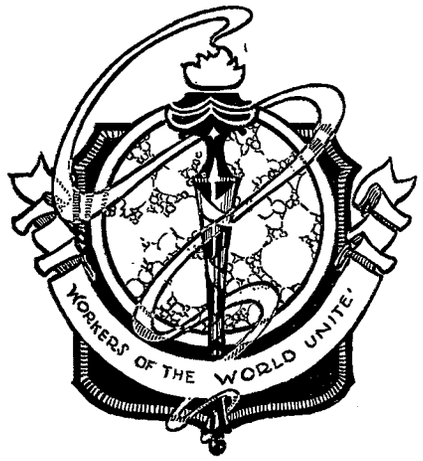
Then, my metaphysically inclined friend, my fellow slave, you who have thrown in your unit to help convert the heathen and will perhaps read this and talk solemnly of the "sacredness" of "law and order" and other such piffle, you will be hungry and shelterless with mountains of food and clothing all about you and palaces in profusion occupied by the parasites who have sucked you dry. What will you do? I know well what you will



CHINESE OFFICERS BEING CRITICISED BY COMMANDER.

do. You will have to revolt. You will have to capture the political power of the State and use it to provide for your use the means of life. That is the only way out. You must own and operate for your exclusive use, for the exclusive use of the working class, all the tools of production, distribution and exchange. Until you own these things your life must be uncertain at the best and but a continual round of toil and privation. When you are possessed of these things you will then enjoy to the utmost the good things that are scattered in such profusion all about you.

Perhaps you have wondered why it is that the Socialist, who works beside you at the bench or in the pit, is so unruffled by the slurs and jibes you and your fellow slaves fling at him. Well, I can tell you the secret of his philosophic attitude. He knows that you must sometime awaken to your need for Socialism. He knows that the screws of oppression—the "iron heel" of capital—are constantly being tightened and steadily becoming more crushing. Perhaps another turn or two will catch you in just the proper place to make a rebel of you. He knows that, sooner or later, you and all workers white, black, yellow, red, without distinction, will have to revolt against capitalism. Knowing this he goes on, unruffled, spreading the light. In a little while when capitalist industry has become a little more perfected our opportunity will come. Then the "expropriators will be expropriated" and slavery be banished from the earth forever. Join us or stay outside, just as you please at present. Sooner or later, however, you must.



TAKE THE BIG STICK

BY

ED MOORE

AN old proverb says that "Money is the root of all evil."

Socialists say that money is human labor power put into a form with which you may buy anything that is for sale.

Recent events have called attention to the buying and selling of city, state, and national offices.

Only collectors of rare specimens and curios pay money for things from which they expect to get no useful service or more money than they paid for them.

Men who are elected to fill city, state, and national offices are not rare specimens of the human race. As the great majority of them are no better and no worse than the average man or woman, they are not bought by bribes because they are abnormal.

Nowadays, when we want to know why people do certain things, we look around to find the cause. If we still thought we would like to know who struck Billy Patterson, its dollars to doughnuts that our first question would be : Why did he hit him? And if we knew that Billy had taken a striker's place we would be reasonably sure that someone of the strikers had "handed it" to him.

It is up to us, then, to find out why anyone will pay good money to buy officials who are the government. We never puzzle our brains trying to find out why people invest money in a profitable business. We know it is much nicer to get rich by putting money into a business, paying wages to others to do the work, and then taking the profit from their work and calling it a legitimate return on our investment than it is to *do the work*.

"Legitimate return." Let us see what this is. Briefly, legitimate means lawful. To get a law to give you the privilege to own what another makes, you must first get those who make the laws on your side. When you get the biggest crowd of them—a majority—you can have them pass a law to let you take what others make.

You want more than the law to get what you are after. Unless you have the crowd that pass judgment on the law, the judges, on your side, you are very likely to find yourself in the position of a man too late for the train—left.

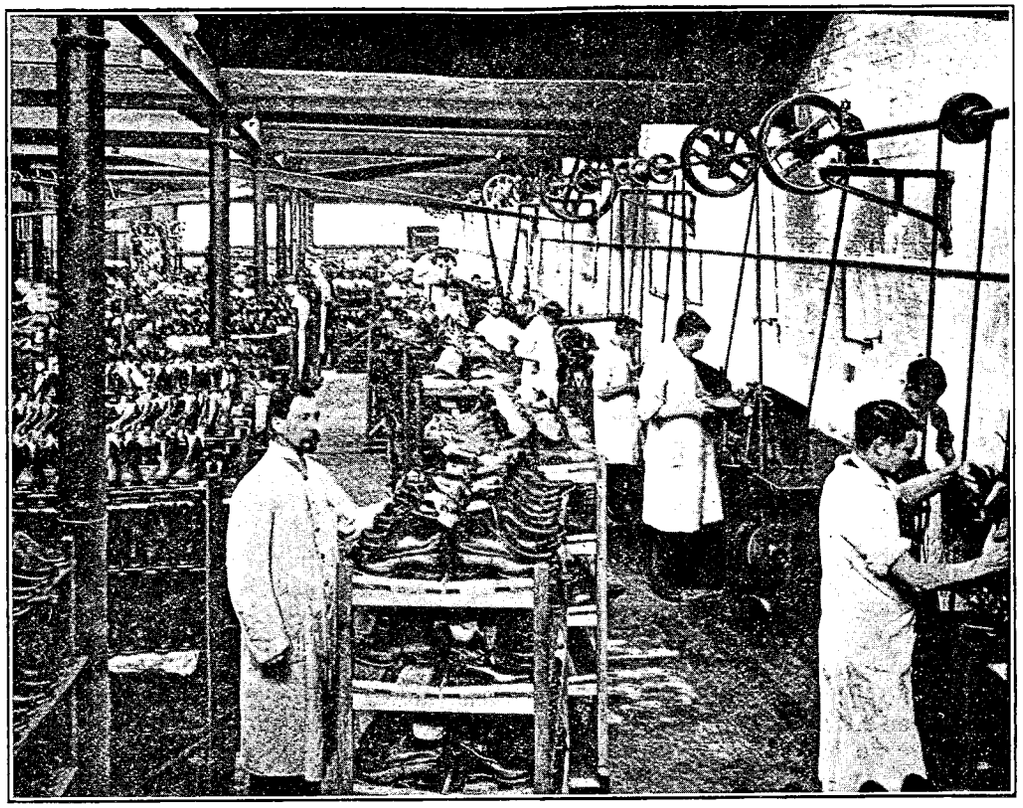
You may have the law and the judges on your side and still not have the power to force the workers to give over to you the wealth they have made. What is it you want then? The "strong arm" of the government, its "slugging committee," "the boys in blue" paid to shoot without asking why. As Tennyson put it:

"There's not to question why
There's but to do and die."

Our rulers, those who have the money they got from the sale of what the working class made, tell plainly what the government is. They say it has three functions: legislative, judicial, and *executive*. Legislative in making the laws; judicial in saying whether the laws are broken or not; executive in using all the force needed to make people obey, or, if it is found necessary to keep the workers quiet, to jail or kill any or all who insist that they have legal rights equal, if not above, those who bought and own the government.

Here is a question for workingmen to consider: If the government is the "big stick" used by the bosses to beat the workers into accepting low wages, would it not be a fine thing for the workers to take it away from the bosses?

There is a big army of working people who are trying to take the big stick away from the bosses. They are in the Socialist party. If you do not like to be beaten with the big stick put in your application to become a member of the party and help take it away from the bosses.



MACHINE FINISHING.

STRIKE OF BROOKLYN SHOE WORKERS

BY

GRACE POTTER

EVER since Nov. 21, 1910, there has been a strike on among the shoe workers in Brooklyn, New York. It is a chapter of the constant story of war between labor and capital—and more. In Brooklyn it is war also between the two branches of organized labor, The Industrial Workers of the World and The Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

They make the finest ladies' shoes in the United States in Brooklyn. The shoes sell for up to $30 a pair. On such high-grade foot-wear men have worked ten hours a day. During the busy season they made from $8 to $12 a week. During the two slack seasons they made as low as 60 and 72 cents a week. These two slack seasons lasted, each of them, over two months. The men almost all of them have families of from three to seven children. The result has been that the shoe-workers and those they supported were always half starved.

There has never been any union in the Brooklyn shoe industry except what the men call in all seriousness the "Tobin" Union. Ten years ago one shop in Brooklyn, the Wickert & Gardner concern, was organized in The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of which John F. Tobin of Boston is president.

Wages all over Brooklyn were bad enough but in the Union shop they were

worse than anywhere else. The men begged and pleaded with the Union leaders for years that they make some move toward a betterment in wages. The answer was always the same, "You are working under contract and we cannot help things now." Then always when the contract expired, union officials, without proper conference with the men, would arrange with Wickert & Gardner a new scale of prices, binding the men for years ahead to prices as low as ever. The rise in the cost of living the last two years made the men desperate last fall. Their contract under which they were at work would not expire till April. The contract called for work on slippers and the men for a long time had been working on high shoes which took twice as long to make at the old scale of wages.

When Joseph Ettor, a member of the executive board of the I. W. W., came on from Washington, D. C., last October and began to agitate for a new organization, the men were all ready for it. The next time the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union representative called to collect the $0.25 monthly dues, the men took out their union cards and tore them to pieces under his eyes.

"We are half starving," the men told him. "The Union keeps us at work at less wages than anywhere in Brooklyn. We don't make enough to buy bread for our families. We are done with the union."

The men were told that if they struck the union would furnish workers to take their places.

"We shall see that Wickert & Gardner have all the union workers they want to put out their shoes," the union officials declared. "We shall live up to the contract. It binds us to the present prices." In vain the workers pointed out that the contract was signed when a different style of shoe, taking half the time, was made. The union officials said that made no difference. And the men struck.

Shoe Workers' Local Union No. 168, I. W. W., was formed and shoe workers from the largest shops in Brooklyn joined the strike. The strike had two definite aims, to oust the union men who had been sent to take the strikers' places and to secure higher wages. Between three and four thousand men went out. The scabs who took their places were provided with new union cards but many of them had never made shoes before and the shops, though paying wages, could not put out work. The only men who remained at work when the strike was first declared were the Goodyear machine men who were making as high as $40 a week. They refused to see that the cause of the poorly paid workers should be their cause too. These men have, however, been idle at their machines ever since the first two weeks of the strike when the available supply of material for them to work upon was used up.

Though the strike-benefit allowed was many times less than a dollar a week, the men have held out wonderfully well, the more so when it is considered that most of them are new to any united action or any effort to better their condition.

The bosses knew that the holiday rush brought the men the best wages of any time in the year and they confidently expected they would come back shortly. The low wages made it impossible for them to have saved a cent and the bosses thought the cold weather would make new clothes a necessity to prevent sickness. The Shoe Manufacturers' Association argued in this way to the Brooklyn employers and offered aid in fighting the strike. The employers put up bonds of many thousands of dollars each to the Association not to take back the strikers as I. W. W. men. It is estimated that the Association has spent at least $200,000 in fighting the strike.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has been sent to Brooklyn by the I. W. W. to assist Joseph Ettor in the conduct of the strike. She has gone to labor organizations all over New York and Brooklyn asking for financial help for the strikers.

Written appeals of different kinds have also been sent out. These were prepared mostly by the strikers themselves and bear evidence of their lack of understanding of English. This in many cases has given an added pathos to the request. The following is an example of an appeal sent to their fellow workers to join them in striking:

To All Workers Working in Shoe Factories in Which the Lasters Are Out on Strike, Listen a Word With You.

We who are your fellow workers who suffered and worked under the same miserable conditions that all of you, unable to longer bear in meek submission and suffer to work for miserable low wages revolted, we struck in order to better our conditions.

Therefore we appeal to you in the name of your shopmates and comrades in misery who are struggling for better conditions that you make common cause with the workers out on strike and common war against the arrogant bosses who seek to starve into submission the brave men who have had the courage to rebel against miserably low pay.

Desert the shops, Fitters, Firemen, Engineers, all workers without distinction as to trades, sex or anything else. Show in no mistaken terms that you are men and women who love and yearn for better conditions. Don't be scabs by helping to defeat your shopmates, you may be satisfied to-day and will use your position to help the bosses defeat the striking workers, to-morrow you will be out but without the support of your fellow workers, then there is the sad plight of defeat for all, one group after another.

Desert the shops, agitate, organize, organize right, join in with the lasters and other workers all into **ONE BIG UNION** of Shoe Workers.

We appeal to you to make common cause with us and we are fervently hoping that you will not turn a deaf hear to our appeal.

We are going to win, victory is sure to crown our efforts and on the day we return to work and ever afterward we will remember and never forgive those who now remain at work in the struck shops and help the bosses. We will pass the list of names of all the traitors in this fight on and on.

We will forever remember. We will never forget. We will never forgive.

An Injury to one is an injury to all. Solidarity is the watchword of labor.

Sincerely yours for the cause of labor.
Shoe Workers Strike General Committee.
73 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Among the men on strike there are many nationalities represented. Beside the Italians who are in the majority, there are Jews, Germans, Poles, Irish and Americans. As usual, the bosses have tried to create race prejudice, but they have not succeeded.

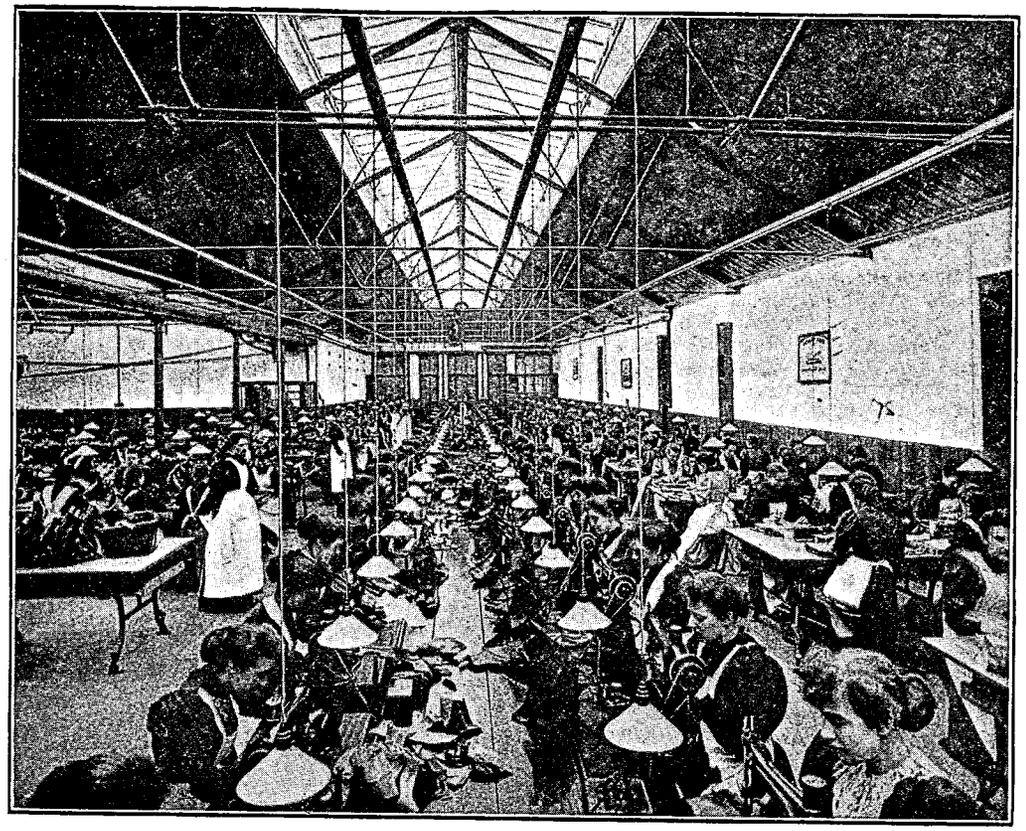
There have been many arrests of pickets but the orderliness of the strikers has successfully prevented many convictions. Dominique Taropetto, one of the strikers, who was walking along the street with a red sash across his chest, bearing the words, "Striking Shoe Worker," was arrested by a critical policeman for parading without a license. He was gravely sentenced to ten days in prison by a judge who declared that he hoped that would keep him from breaking any law in the future!

There is a police station within a block of the Wickert & Gardner shop and a detail of fifty policemen are sent at noon and night to keep the pickets from speaking to the scabs. These cops have not relished the job of spying on their very neighbors and have done their best to keep their pictures out of the papers. A newspaper representative with a camera went one day with a delegation of strikers to the shop to get some pictures. One policeman whose picture was taken before he realized what was going on, called in a fury to the photographer, "Don't you dare take another picture around here!" The photographer walked over to the policeman's side and informed him that it was not against the law to take pictures on the street and it was not going to be stopped. When the policeman saw he was dealing with a newspaper man and not a striker, he tried to cool down a little and said that his picture must not be used in any paper. "I don't wonder you are ashamed of the work you are doing," said the newspaper man politely. After a conference with the lieutenant the policeman decided that he could not arrest the reporter and swallowed his wrath.

Among those who have come to the aid of the strikers are individual members of the very union the strike is against. They have expressed the greatest shame and humiliation at the attitude of their leaders and assured the strikers of their fullest sympathy. Other organized workers who have sent money are those from all sorts of textile unions, machinists, glass workers, and miners, beside many Socialists.



THE "COP."



SEWING UPPERS.

Some of the men have worked as long as twenty-three years in one shop. One man said he had begun work when a boy at $4 a week and now, over twenty years later, could make no more than $10 in the busy season. For ten years he had belonged to "Tobin's" union.

Morris Gladstone, of 1664 Prospect avenue, Brooklyn, who despite his name, came from Italy eleven years ago, said: "I wouldn't go back to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union again for anything. I'll go the river first. My family hasn't had enough bread for years and I'd rather starve protesting than starve submitting any longer. There are just nine in the Gladstone family, seven children beside the father and mother. "Sometimes I could make ten or twelve dollars a week," said Mr. Gladstone, "but often for weeks at a time I could not make a dollar. So we've starved!"

The following is a copy of a letter sent out to all shoe dealers:

Brooklyn, N. Y., January 10, 1911.

Dear Sir:—

We enclose a copy of the preamble of the "Industrial Workers of the World," an organization which is opposed to both employers and trade unions alike, having for their object to get control of the manufacturies and to dictate their own terms. Their agitators have recently organized most of the lasters of New York and their demands are so unreasonable that it would be suicidal for any manufacturer to attempt to treat with them as they could with the "Cutters," "Goodyear Operators," or other like unions. In some shops, they have walked out two and three times in one week after their demands had been granted each time. In other shops, they demanded an increase greater than the total profit on the shoe.

Realizing that if we did not crush this organization, it would mean a large advance in the price of shoes together with inferior workmanship, we decided to protect our trade at any cost. We are the only factory up to date that has been entirely successful and we are pleased to inform our trade that prices and quality will remain the same. So completely have we the situation in hand that there will be no trouble in the future.

We are now devoting our undivided attention to helping the other manufacturers less fortunate than ourselves. We would seek your assistance and indulgence in their behalf so that this organization will be driven from the city.

Yours truly,
(signed) KRIEGER SHOE CO.

The feeling in union circles generally is typified by the following:

Jewelry Workers' Resolution.

The Independent Jewelry Workers' Union requests The Call to print the following:

"At a regular meeting of the Independent Jewelry Workers' Union, held on Tuesday evening, January 10, 1911, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas the 4,000 organized shoe workers of Brooklyn who have been on strike for the past few months, and suffering with those depending upon them all sorts of privations, are being confronted with the disgraceful spectacle of their fellow workers, members of another union, scabbing upon them; and

"Whereas such a state of affairs tends, besides discouraging workers in other trades from affiliating with trade unions, to bring humiliation upon the whole trades union movement making it a laughing stock and opening up an opportunity for the employing class to point its finger of derision at any attempt on the part of the workers to uphold trades unionism; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, members of the Independent Jewelry Workers' Union, hereby register our most earnest protest against the action of the scabbing union and call upon all self-respecting unions to voice their declaration in a like manner; and be it further

"Resolved, That all labor leaders in and around Greater New York be called upon to exert every effort they can muster to bring about a speedy settlement of a situation that has become a blot upon the history of trades union movement in the United States."

"MOSES L. LORENTZ,
President.

"JULIUS ROSENTHAL,
"Secretary."



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

If the strikers do not win, it will be because they can not stand the sight of their hungry wives and babies. The last reports are that half of the men have gone back to their shops rather than see their children suffer as they have for more than three months.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MACHINISTS

BY

ROBERT M. LACKEY, General Secretary



THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.

BACK ROW—GUS. ZWABODA, CHARLES HEYDE, CHRIS IHLING, FRANCIS J. O'CONNELL.
FRONT ROW—JOHN J. McCARTHY, ROBERT M. LACKEY.

SENTIMENT in favor of industrial unionism has made tremendous strides as a result of the lectures on the subject, recently delivered in the East by William D. Haywood. Noteworthy meetings have been held under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Machinists in New York City, Harrison, N. J., and Bridgeport, Ct.

Haywood made the trip from Denver, across two-thirds of the continent, with but a brief stop at Detroit, in order to address the throng gathered at the great Annual Entertainment and Ball of the Brotherhood in New York on Washington's Birthday Eve. The enthusiastic reception accorded him and the concrete results achieved were ample rewards for a journey many times as long.

The necessity of industrial organization has been recognized by the rank and file of the machinists for a long time. In 1903, the members of the International Association of Machinists with which the lodges which organized the Brotherhood of Machinists were formerly affiliated, declared themselves in favor of industrialism, but this, like the other referendums of a progressive tendency, was ignored by the officials. It is true that feeble, spasmodic attempts were made to organize metal trade councils in various localities,

but these have been repeatedly proven to be quite useless when most needed, for each craft organization after consulting its separate executive authority has almost invariably found it quite impossible for innumerable reasons to assist the others in time of trouble.

When the Brotherhood of Machinists was organized, about eighteen months ago, many members advocated the formation of an organization to embrace all the workers in the metal and machine industry, but the step from a simple craft organization to an industrial union in the broadest sense of the term was deemed inadvisable at that time, when all the forces at the command of the officials of the I. A. of M., from which the lodges in the B. of M. had been compelled to separate, were being used to whip the "rebels" back into line. The platform as originally adopted was a compromise; it declared "The purpose of the Brotherhood of Machinists is to organize all the workers in the machine industry and to strive to secure for them the full products of their toil."

During the past year the membership of the Brotherhood has grown and its strength increased. The impediments placed in its path by its enemies have been swept aside and henceforth need not be considered. Meanwhile the sentiment in favor of industrialism has been fostered by lectures and articles in the "Machinists' Bulletin." "The crime of craft unionism" by Debs, first appearing in the "International Socialist Review," was reprinted in full and was generally commended for its plain statement of fact and logical conclusions. It did much good. Then, a considerable portion of the members were formerly in the Metal Workers' Union of Germany, where an organization embracing all the workers in an industry has long been a reality.

With all the forces tending toward the same purpose, it was but necessary to crystallize the sentiment so that it would be given concrete expression. This was accomplished to a large degree, through Haywood's address on "Industrialism, the Coming Victory of Labor," delivered at the entertainment and ball held by the Brotherhood in New York City, where there are twelve local lodges.

It was an event greater than a simple entertainment that jammed the two halls in Murray Hill Lyceum and brought parties from Newark, Harrison and Elizabeth, N. J., and even the more distant state of Connecticut. Haywood was greeted by generous and prolonged applause. His intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the A. F. of L. was particularly displayed in his references to the machinists in the opening remarks, which were as follows:

"I have come a long way to be with you this evening. No doubt had I chosen another course and so preferred, I could have been at another machinists' affair tonight (referring to a ball held by the I. A. of M. on the same night), I would have been honored by being heralded in an official journal of the A. F. of L. and mentioned in the press with praise as a member of the executive board of the National Civic Federation. I prefer, however, to be with you machinists, the members of the Brotherhood of Machinists, because you are rebels. You have dared to revolt even against the tyranny of labor leaders, who stand in the way of progress. It is my fate to be ever with the radicals, the rebels, and the undesirable citizens generally; so I prefer to be with you rather than with the others.

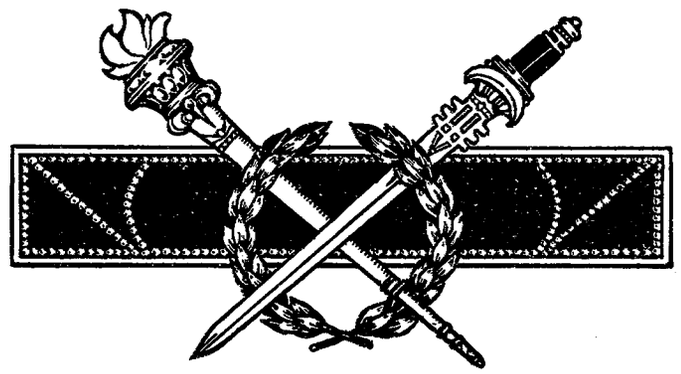
"I regret division in the ranks of labor, but it is often justified and will be vindicated by the victories of the future. The strike of the machinists on the Santa Fe road was lost because of division in the ranks of labor. The various railroad brotherhoods interceded in behalf of the machinists' organization, but when they were asked if each of them did not have a contract with the road and if it was not being carried out according to schedule, they were compelled to answer in the affirmative. The management then told the brotherhoods: 'Live up to your contracts and we will attend to the machinists.' And it did attend to them so effectually that there is no union of machinists on the Santa Fé System today. It was the same in the strike on the Rio Grande. That also has been attended to.

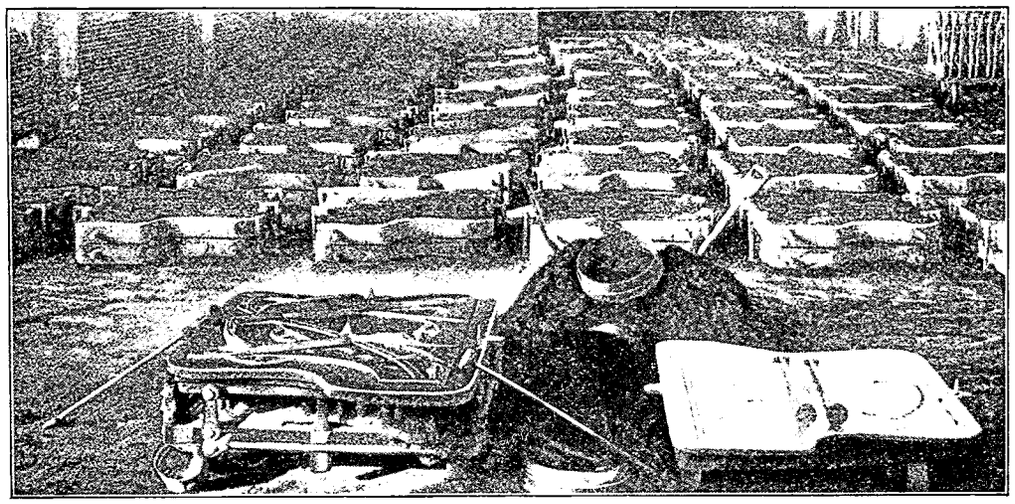
"The evils of division were seen by the members of the International Machinists, who instituted a series of referendums for the purpose of obliterating them as much as possible. One was to extend the scope of the organization, so as to include helpers, and others directed the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to vote for the principles of Socialism and against Gompers for president. * * * Helpers were not admitted as desired. Socialism was covered up and blotted out. Gompers was not only voted for by all of the I. A. of M. delegates at the A. F. of L. convention, but was placed in nomination by one of them as well. Division under such circumstances is born of revolt. It is justifiable and shall and will be vindicated. Though you may be only 3,000 in number, you are stronger in fact than 30,000 who are submissive and divided in opinion. You are powerful; they are powerless."

The meeting held under the auspices of the Harrison Local of the Brotherhood was biggest mass meeting held in that city. The largest hall was crowded to the doors by those eager to hear Haywood's lecture on "Industrialism." The speaker's surprising store of information was again shown by his references to local labor conditions and the clear, convincing replies to the numerous questions from the audience were a revelation to all.

The Bridgeport meeting occurred too late to be included in this article. At this time the indications are that the successes in other places will be repeated.

Now for the results. Since the Haywood address in New York, several locals have proposed amendments to the constitution of the Brotherhood which provide for the extension of the qualifications for membership so as to admit every person engaged in any branch of the metal and machine industry. In order to provide for the unskilled and lower paid workers, a lower rate of dues is to be collected from these. As the demand for this change is so prevalent, it will undoubtedly be ratified by the referendum vote which must follow. Then there will be another considerable body of workers, having at present locals in the East and Middle West, which has adopted a sane but not conservative, industrial form of organization.





The Foundry.

A FLOOR OF 60 PIANO MOLDS; THE STRIPPING PLATE MOLDING MACHINE ON WHICH THE DRAGS ARE MADE IS SHOWN IN THE FOREGROUND AT THE LEFT AND THE COPE STAND AT THE RIGHT.

(When these plates are made by hand, the daily output of a molder and helper averages from six to seven molds. By the use of the stripping plate machine and the cope stand five unskilled men produce 65 molds a day. To equal the record of machine molding would require 18 men—nine molders and nine helpers—when molding by hand.)

A MOLDERLESS FOUNDRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

YOU have heard of an Adamless Eden, of boneless fish, smokeless powder and seedless oranges, but did you ever hear of a Molderless Foundry? I can see the crew of some backwoods jobbing shop where they still "bed in" everything smile in a superior sort of way and remark, "Some slaughter house where they make chunks 'maybe.'"

Is that so? Well, now you and your pattern maker, who is also carpenter and engineer, and maybe cupola tender, go over to that car on the side-track and examine the castings on the airbrake. Note the triple valve. Is it a "chunk"? Look at the cylinder. It must be perfectly clean and free from all defects. In your one-horse shop it would take you a whole day to make one. Inspect the tank, and remember that it is only 3-16 of an inch thick and must stand an air test of 100 pounds to the square inch. Could you make one at all? Well, all these castings are made in the Molderless Foundry of the Westinghouse Airbrake Company, at Wilmerding, Pa., 15 miles from Pittsburg.

For several generations inventors have been securing patents upon, and promoters have been pressing the claims of inventions which they insisted were destined to revolutionize the foundry business. A few of them substituted squeezing or bumping for the molder's rammer, but for the most part they were mere pattern drawing devices designed to perform the one operation requiring most skill. The aim of the inventors of this latter type of machine was to enable unskilled laborers to do the work of skilled molders, *and do more of it.*

They were not in any true sense labor saving. The machine operator who took the place of the molder had to do all of the hard, slavish drudgery that the molder had to do. If the machine enabled him to make more molds than the molder, the drudgery was increased just that much. Every improvement that has been made upon these machines increased the pace and intensified the muscular strain on the machine hand. And while the output per man increased, the earnings per man decreased. The same improvement that increased the output decreased the earnings and lowered the economic status of the "hands."

While hundreds of foundries have installed these pattern drawing devices only a few have introduced any real labor saving machinery. One of the few is the Airbrake at Wilmerding. In addition to pattern drawing devices which merely eliminate skill, they were the first in the world to introduce a whole new system of foundry practice, eliminating the hard, muscle-straining work of sand cutting, sifting, shoveling, ramming, carrying out molds, casting and shaking out.

Even in foundries where the pattern pullers are in use, it is still the practice to make molds for 6 to 8 hours and devote the remainng hour or hours to casting. Excepting upon jobs requiring more than one day to mold, very little molding is done in such foundries after the blast goes on and the metal begins to run.

At the Airbrake foundry at Wilmerding, this ancient practice has been entirely abandoned. There they have several cupolas from one of which metal flows all day. There finished molds are not placed on the floor to await metal, but on a conveyor which takes them to the cupola to be poured. This was the one big revolutionary innovation at Wilmerding; the one that made numerous others possible.

There are two conveyors, one for small molds which moves continuously, and the other for large molds which moves intermittently—moves every time a batch of molds is finished. To the small conveyor goes all molds which ordinarily would be made on the bench; molds one-half of which a man can conveniently handle. All larger ones, molds that require two men to handle, one-half of which must be handled with a crane, go to the conveyor which moves only when the last mold of a batch is finished. Of course, the size mold that can be handled even on the large conveyor is limited, but they make airbrake tanks and cylinders at Wilmerding.

The small conveyor is in the form of a link, one side of which is toward the molding machines and the other side toward the cupola. Instead of each man or group of men pouring his mold or their own molds, a special gang, stationed at the cupola, pour all molds, and pour them right on the moving conveyor.

At the end of the conveyor just before it turns back to the molding machines, is the "shaking out" bed, consisting of a coarse iron grating on a level with the foundry floor. On this small conveyor the molds are limited to a size that two men can handle, and stationed at the grating are two "shakers out," who grab each mold as it passes, knock out sand and casting and return the flask to the conveyor. Another man, with a hook, pulls the casting to one side away from the grating. The sand passes through the grating to a conveyor which takes it to a mixer where water and new sand are added and where it is thoroughly mixed and cooled.

Over each molding machine is a hopper bottom bin, tapering into a spout closed with an ordinary gate controlled by a lever within easy reach of the operator of the machine. Another conveyor brings the sand from the mixer to these bins. In a steady stream, the cooled, tempered and renewed sand is returned to the bins. Hour after hour through the long monotonous day at regular intervals of a few seconds the flasks come back on the conveyor. No matter how hot the day or stifling the atmosphere, no matter how his back hurts, how his head aches or how exhausted he is, the machine "hand," like a criminal in a treadmill, must keep pace with the conveyor or make room for one that can. Even when each "hand" keeps the pace without missing a stroke it requires nice adjusting to make the stream of metal from the cupola match the stream of molds from the machines.

The hard, slavish drudgery that makes work in the ordinary foundry so murderous is all eliminated at Wilmerding. There is no sand to cut, no sifting, shoveling, ramming, carrying out of molds, pouring or shaking out. Still though each motion does not require all his strength so great is the nervous pressure and muscular exertion needed to drive the

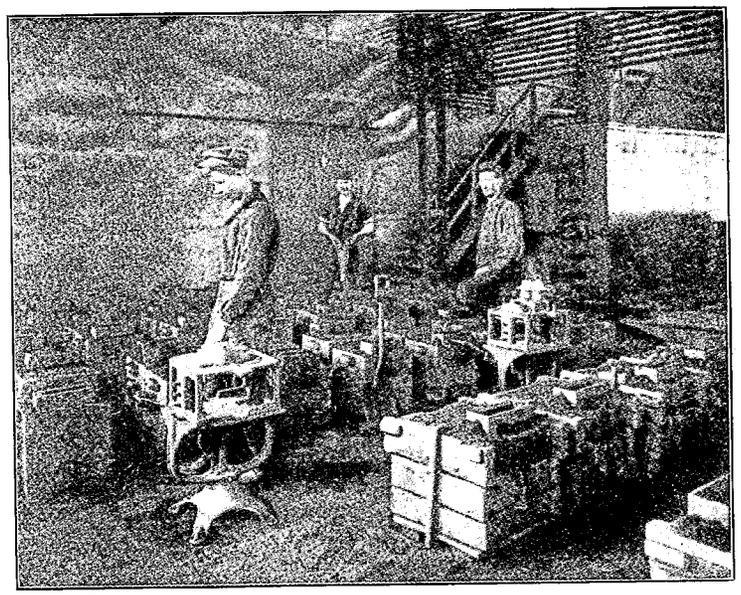
body at such a rate that the "hand" is exhausted as much as if he were doing heavier work at a slower pace. As the load decreases the speed increases so that at the end of the day about the same amount of "juice" has been extracted from the "hand." But with this difference, that at the high speed, the output per "hand" has been enormously increased.

Why He Can Make the Speed.

Instead of being obliged to shovel the sand from the floor, the machine operator at Wilmerding places the flask under the spout from the sand bin; a quick jerk opens and another closes the gate and the flask is filled. Now, instead of pounding away with his rammers, a slight push brings it under a powerful hydraulic press and a touch on a lever sets the press in motion and quicker than I can tell it, half of the mold is compressed to exactly the right degree of hardness. Now, instead of "sponging," "rapping," and slowly and carefully "drawing" the pattern and then, perhaps, spending some minutes mending it, he gives a lever a push and the pattern is drawn, and drawn so perfectly that no mending is necessary. Now, instead of carrying it out on the floor to await the melting of metal, he just turns around and if it is a "drag" turns it over and sets it on the carrier and grabs the next flask and begins another. If it is a "cope" he matches it with the "drag" made by the "hand" on the machine on his right. On jobs where there are several cores to set like tripple valves, there may be a third man who places the cores.

In the molding of a job where one or even a dozen castings are to be made the methods and practice are substantially the same as they were 100 years ago. Indeed, if a molder that made the bronze columns for King Solomon's temple were to return today and watch the molding of a casting, where only one was to be made, he would see nothing new. So far as the making of the molds is concerned no invention has so far affected a number of branches of molding, the most important of which are the jobbing and heavy machinery branch. In fact the march of progress, by making castings more complicated, has raised the standard of skill and made jobbing and machinery molding more of an art than ever before.

But the number of these very highly skilled molders is small when compared with the total number of foundry workers, while the skilled specialty molder is being forced out by machines operated by unskilled laborers.



THE DAY'S WORK OF 60 MOULDS WITH THE MACHINES. UNDER THE OLD METHODS THE SAME MEN TURNED OUT ONLY 30.

NOW IS THE TIME

BY

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS

THE control of the Pacific" is a phrase which has a sweet sound in the eager ears of the masters, and at their behest the news columns of the directly and indirectly subsidized press of these Benighted States of America are being larded with it from day to day.

It is not alone the commercial advantages which might be gained in Asia through the "prestige" of a naval and military victory over Japan, heretofore undefeated, that causes the ruling class in this country to feel such patriotic joy over the idea, nor is that joy confined to those who expect to profit ultimately by extended markets or immediately by selling to the government rotten transport ships, in which to drown fool heroes by wholesale, or putrid commissary supplies with which to poison them. Aside from these pleasant prospects (calculated to reflect great credit and glory upon the gaudy Stars and Stripes) there is the gorgeous probability that hosts of sovereign American citizens, by such a course of national flim-flam, may become so imbued with patriotic enthusiasm for "our country" and its flag as to forget that they are members of a dispossessed and mercilessly exploited class in human society.

Clearly, the greatest good to be derived from the projected war with Japan, in the fond expectations of our anxious masters, is to be realized through the patriotic fervor which may be aroused in the minds of wageworkers, clerks and salaried men in all fields, not only turning their thoughts from the tyranny of capitalism in this great rich country, but also inspiring them with a feeling that anything done under the official flapping of the Stars and Stripes must be noble and glorious. The skeleton army of the United States would be filled out (as pretty poster pictures and alluring lies have failed to fill it), and recruits would be of the type desired by the master class. For the regular army, lacking many thousands of men to bring it up to its authorized numerical strength, also is lacking in the true spirit of American patriotism prescribed by the masters, the prime quality of which consists in the willingness of the armed slaves to slaughter striking workingmen for the glory of the American Flag and the strengthening of the chains of wage slavery upon the limbs of the American workingman. So many of the enlisted men in the army as it is are only discouraged workingmen themselves, with bitter memories of wage slavery endured and jobs fruitlessly sought. Furthermore, their army life has been such as would enlist the kindly offices of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in their behalf if they were dumb quadrupeds instead of sovereign American citizens.

The growth of industrial unionism, the masters perceive, is such as to decrease the comfort of their position on Labor's back, and on this account they are becoming more acutely conscious of America's need of a loyal and patriotic army that will stop at nothing.

A little Jap-war enthusiasm might do it! . . . *Hurray for the American flag! Go on, you sovereign slaves! Fight and grow patriotic, for all of you who do not die in war can be used to slay revolutionary unionists while patriotism and the lust for slaughter are hot in your blood! Hurray for Old Glory! Hurray!*

* * *

Now is the time for the anti-militarism propaganda, now that we can carry it forward without incurring the penalty of death or worse. When, in the future, we shall be called upon to cry out against the monstrous military program of the masters of America in the face of all the penalties which the government will impose, let us hope that none of us will fail; but let us do all we can now, when we can work most effectively with least sacrifice.

THE CALIFORNIA SITUATION

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

MANY thanks from many comrades in California, including myself, for your editorial on the statements of Max Hayes in this month's Review. As a matter of fact, the movement in California is now in a most dangerous condition. Things have progressed so far that the "impossibilist" position is being actually worked out with a curious directness and clearness such as has not been seen in any other place, unless perhaps France. The war between the greater and smaller capitalism with the present electoral triumph of the latter, has resulted in exactly what we always maintained would be the case. The smaller capitalism coming into power finds itself passing a whole series of legislative enactments aimed at giving it a purchase with which to meet the attacks of the corporation machines. Primary election laws, which destroy the validity of party organization, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall which will possibly be applied even to the courts, are all on the way, female enfranchisement and pretty nearly everything of that kind which was a dream ten years ago are coming into being before our eyes, but the greater capitalism is biding its time. It is maintaining no lobby this year as it does not know whether a legislative lobby is worth the expense. It knows perfectly well that the smaller capitalism can effect no real changes and it relies, and with perfect safety, on its economic position to right the craft if it seems in any danger of a real upset.

Under these circumstances when above all it is necessary for the movement to maintain its strategic position, we get the most idiotic and futile meddling with affairs. A socialist lobby has been established at Sacramento and our embryo statesmen, with an itch for distinction, are putting their messy fingers in the bourgeois political pie.

Not content with this, they are anxious to drag the Socialist party into the mire of pure and simple trade union political action. The record of San Francisco official unionism is to be endorsed by the Socialists if the opportunist group has its way and the movement is to be turned over, body and breeches, to the men who have always treated it with disdain and have no greater conception of the industrial conflict than a Square Deal between capital and labor. In other words, the Socialist movement is politically to be made subservient to the wishes of union officials. The rank and file are rapidly outgrowing this official attitude. In fact, in Oakland union after union has turned down the proposals of the union leaders and has voted for the straight Socialist ticket independent of any compromise.

This is not the place to enter upon a description of just what the labor party has made itself responsible for in San Francisco and indeed one cannot very well tell the truth about the matter in print without causing animosities and stirring up strife which need not be aroused. As a matter of fact, the whole structure of pure and simple trades unionism is rapidly disintegrating. Some day the push will come which will show its absolute and utter weakness. It is a dying manifestation and if the Socialist party ties itself to that movement and the political expression of that movement, it ties itself to a diseased and dying thing and will itself perish along with its companion.

Such an alliance will lose the Socialist party and indeed the Socialist political movement the adherence of the vast mass of the rank and file in the unions themselves.



NATIVE GIRLS.

A LETTER FROM PAPEETE TAHITI SOCIETY ISLANDS

BY

E. W. DARLING

COMRADE—Just received your welcome letter, also 100 copies of "Merry England" and 172 copies of "What's So and What Isn't." Thanks. All in good condition. Sales are slow here, yet I hope to sell all in three or four months.

I sell more literature on the calling steamers than elsewhere. But all these sea-faring people are fairly well paid, treated, and well fed. Many of them "blow in" all their good wages knowing (?) that there's plenty more coming next month. I tell you, Comrades, it's hard to get such people interested in Socialism.

Last evening as I was talking to some of the "M.'s" crew, the burly boatswain interrupted me with "Awe, Socialism is a d—m lie." Another fat, red-faced, pudding-fed sailor said to me, "I don't want any Socialist books. I've read all their books and come to the conclusion that you'll never get Socialism."

It's only the few thinkers and the oppressed that will buy our literature here. On the continent (where there are halls and such places for assemblies), is the best field for spreading Socialism.

It's difficult also, to sell our books to first-class passengers. The second-class feel that they have paid the limit for their tickets for a long voyage, but the third-class are the chief buyers of our paper-covered books. Among the latter I sell many 25c bundles of such books as I've just ordered from you. I have much faith



BRIDE AND GROOM.

in these cheap paper-covered, but straight-from-the-shoulder books.

As to the French literature, I hope soon to receive a bundle of paper-covered books from Paris. A few of the French here are deeply interested in Socialism and quite intelligent on the subject.

But the poor, exploited, cheated, missionary-ridden natives are hopelessly down. I've come to the conclusion that it's too late to do anything for them. Six years ago, when I first came here, I printed 500 tracts for them, sold a few and gave away the rest, but I think 'twas like pouring water on a duck's back. No organization, no improvement in environment or industrial condition, what would you expect? They are on a steady decline. True, they have sixty or more missionaries, and twenty or thirty churches on this small island, yet the saloons are doing a fat business.

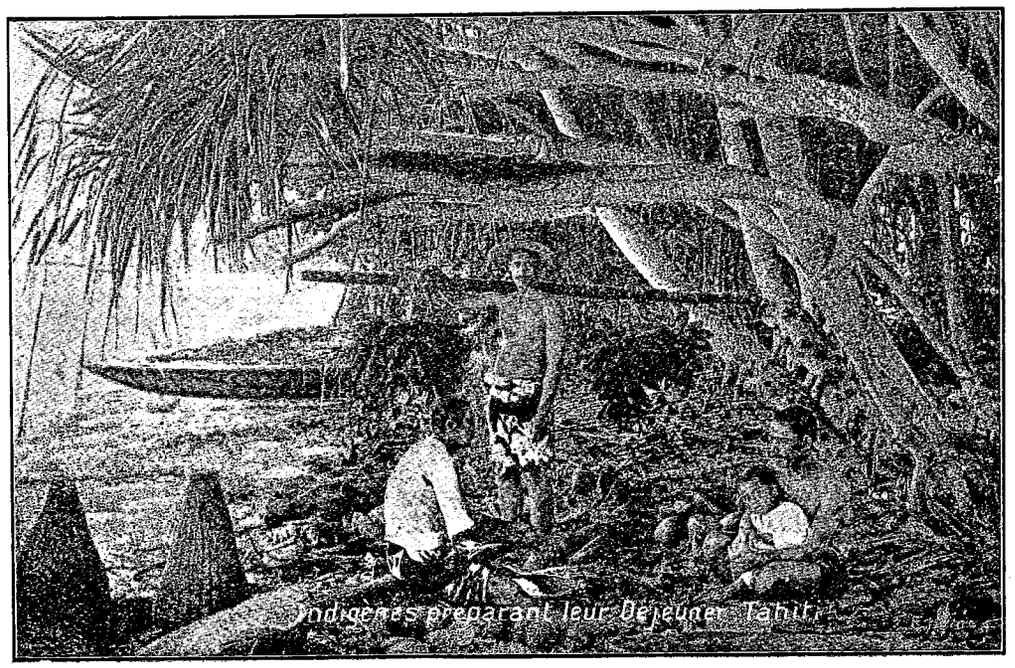
The laborers receive from 8c to 10c per hour for toiling in the warm sun nine hours. Some of them receive 12c per hour, but don't earn 5c. I observed that a well-paid, well-fed and well-watched native will do a good, respectable day's work. So they're not all lazy.

There's no encouragement for outdoor sports or recreation. On Sundays they go to church, and behave well. Others hire carriages and go out in the country with several bottles of rum, accordions, and giddy women. Still others will sit dizzy headed around the saloons all day. And they keep the saloons like crowded bedlams all Sunday, every Sunday in the year.

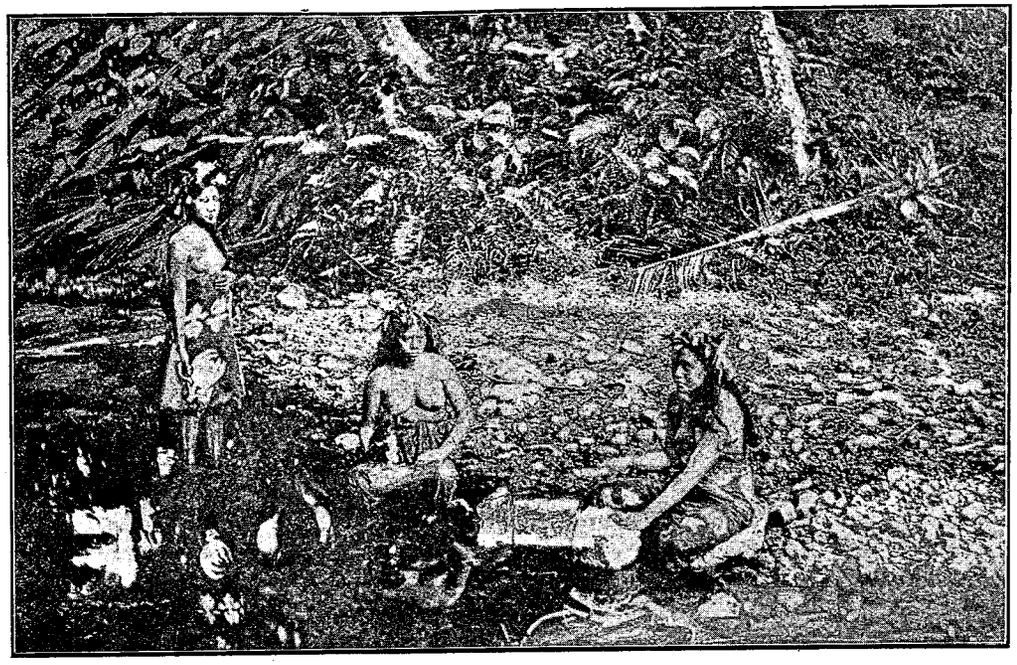
There's no one to teach them financial economy, how to preserve their bodies or enrich their minds. They have been looked upon as savages until many of them (not all) are really beastly in manners and looks, as you may judge by the pictures I am sending you herewith.

The better class of natives who work in stores and offices in town, are quite as pleasant and intelligent as most of the whites. A few are even more advanced than the average white. We have a $100 a month native (for example) attending all the duties of our mayor. Mr. T. is a well-educated and well-liked man by all who know him. I have several native friends whom I esteem highly. The pictures enclosed herewith are more of the better class.

But they are all becoming more and more dependant upon the Chinese coffee shops for their food. Every mile along the road in the country there's one or



PREPARING DINNER.



WASHING CLOTHES.

more coffee shops. In town they are thick and well-patronized. They eat less and less of their good old native food—fish, cocoanuts, bread-fruit, plantam and poi.

Before the coral islanders saw the white man's ships or bibles they had only raw fish and cocoanuts to eat. Their strapping bodies, clear eyes, beautiful dark-brown glossy skins and pearly sound teeth showed how truly well they lived. But the kind (?) missionaries have taught them to cover their beautiful forms with white duck suits, white shoes and fine straw hats; to shave off their flowing beards and healthy heads of jet black shiny hair.

Now they are more stooped, haggard-eyed and snoggle-toothed (as I call it). Too poor to pay the $5-a-cavity for having their aching teeth filled. Only one dentist to look after these 1,000 of poor, crying teeth, ruined by the white man's white bread, white-cube sugar, white half-cooked rice, and ruined also by the brown Chinaman's hot, brown (and dark) coffee for which they pay five little brown cents regularly every morning and evening.

But the women—the might-be beauties of the world, it's pitiful to see many of them promenading the market square in the evenings, offering their bodies to sailors or to anybody who will supply them with more pink muslin gowns, ribbons and perfumery, with more hot coffee and bread, smeared with inferior, ill-smelling butter—with more wine and rum



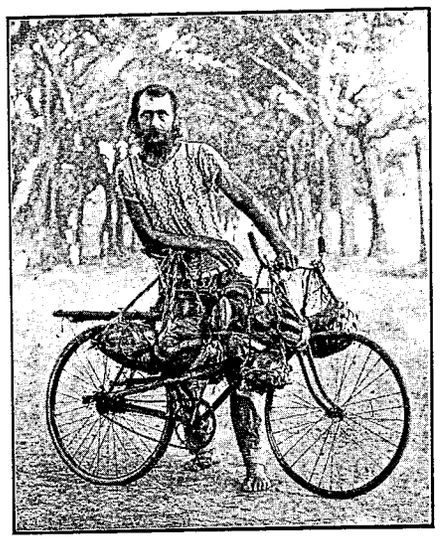
NATIVE GIRLS.

and cigarettes. Yes, it's disgusting to see so many of them smoking. With their upa-upa (accordions) they try to play and sing off their debauches the day after the "night."

There are a few, however, yet unspoiled dark-eyed beauties—sweet-souled singers that tell me what they all might have been had the missionaries taught them physiology and hygiene, and literary attainments. In church they are loaded with religion. In school the children are crammed with the geography and history of France.

Thus you see the white man's influence is fast running these helpless South Sea Islanders to the wall. The mountains used to be thickly populated, I judge, from finding so many ancient brier-covered paths while clearing land on my plantation. Now there's scarcely a single mountain-dweller left—afraid of ghosts. They often say to me, "Natura, look out, the too-pah-paos (ghosts) will get you." But I tell them if I see a too-pah-pao I will give him or her some of my fine bananas and tree melons. Then I sit down and have a chat—try to get them to help me in founding a co-operative nature colony. Six years in Tahiti has taught me that it's almost useless to preach to the natives any more, so I've devoted my missionary efforts (lately) almost exclusively to pick and shovel teaching on our nature-colony plantation. With my friendly brush-knife and well-sharpened hoe, along with a full supply of other instruments, I've made an impression up here in the Tahiti mountains that will make a more telling effect on the native's mind that a barrelful of bibles.

In the pictures I am sending, you will see the bright side only—the colored side that sells. If I had my own camera I would send you some of the dark, thorny, sharp stonyness that is the rule, not the

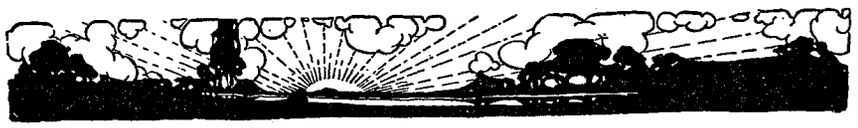


COMRADE DARLING.

exception. Paid tourist writers ride around in carriages, seeing only the front doors and smelling only the front yard flowers. They write home about Tahiti, the paradise. In my contributions I call it a sleeping paradise, with a heavy line under the sleeping.

It to me really is a paradise; now that I have an independent home, planted with fruits and nuts enough to feed me and ten more nature men if they should come. But I'd prefer to remain alone than be molested with the company of cooked-food companions again.

I wish to teach the natives to return to the good old simple life and simple diet of their fathers 100 years ago; teach them to save their hard-earned money, to purchase good books, good tools, that they could till their own land, and live in their own houses. I tell them to sell all the unoccupied mountain land they cannot, or will not use. Then, maybe, some day again Tahiti shall blossom as a rose.



BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

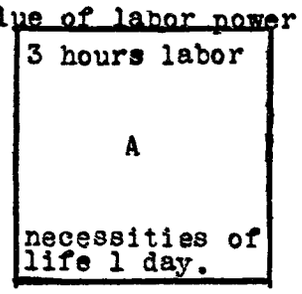
BY

MARY E. MARCY

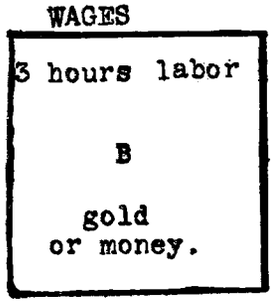
Lesson VI. High Prices and Monopoly Prices

LAST month we considered Low Prices and their effect upon the working class. We discovered that, owing to the competition among wage-workers for jobs, wages are reduced (when prices fall) to just about the cost of living. In discussing Low Prices we have learned what would happen to B. (wages) as a result.

We are still speaking of commodities which exchange at their values.



If A (or the VALUE of the necessities of life) is DOUBLED, the VALUE of your labor-power will also be doubled. Suppose A is doubled without B being increased accordingly—the value of food, clothing and shelter be twice what it was formerly and wages remain stationery.



Reformers will tell you that the grocer, the butcher, clothier and landlord are exploiting you. They say that your employer exploits you, but that when you go to spend your wages these other men also cheat or rob you.

But if wages (B) do not rise to the same value as the necessities of life (A) this merely means that your boss is no LONGER PAYING you THE VALUE OF YOUR LABOR-POWER. The value of food, clothing and shelter DETERMINE the value of your labor-power.

Do not be confused into thinking because rents are "high," or because food is expensive that you are exploited when you pay for these things. As A increases in value your labor-power increases in value. And only when wages equal the cost of living are you receiving the value of your labor-power.

Shortage of workingmen may cause labor-power to exchange above its value temporarily; shortage or an over supply of any commodity may cause it to exchange above or below its value for a short time. But monopoly alone can cause a commodity to exchange above its value for any length of time. To repeat:

Reformers say: The wage worker receives his wages. That he is exploited by his employer. But when he goes to buy shoes, food, meat or clothes, he finds the owners of these commodities selling them at a higher price than he can pay. Then the reformers conclude that these merchants are exploiting the workers also. These people do not understand that the value of A (the necessities of life) DETERMINE wages.

Not all individual workingmen or women receive the value of their labor-power. Some men and women receive a little MORE than the value of labor-power. We know a young girl in this city who works in a department store for $5.00 a week. She cannot buy food, clothing and shelter for $5.00. Her brother receives $18.00 a week. He can live on less than that sum. He helps his sister pay her

expenses. Thus both receive the value of their labor-power.

Men cannot work long upon less wages than the value of their labor-power. They must have help from without. Fortunate members of families help those who do not earn enough to live on. Thousands of families receive intermittent aid from charity organizations, so that, the working class, in general, receives just about the value of its labor-power. In other words, the army of *workers* receive enough to produce more workers for tomorrow and twenty years from now. It is the unemployed fighting for jobs who force wages down almost to the bare cost of living.

We see how an increase in the value of A means a consequent increase in the value of labor-power. We must not, therefore, berate the grocer, the butcher or landlord when our employers fail to pay us the value of our labor-power. We will be forced to demand higher wages in order to live.

But High Prices do not necessarily mean that the value of food, clothing, etc., have INCREASED in value. It may mean that gold—or the medium of exchange—has DECREASED in value.

The tendency of almost all commodities is to decrease in value, as modern production lessens the necessary labor contained in them. Gold may decrease in value faster than the value of other commodities decrease. The gold dollar has decreased in value faster than the value of meat, shoes, bread and clothing has decreased.

A is shrinking, but B (wages) are shrinking faster in value. Since gold (or wages) is out-decreasing the necessities of life, in value, it exchanges for fewer of them. One dollar buys less meat today than it bought five years ago.

Reformers are crying for Low Prices, but revolutionists are demanding Higher Wages (the value of their labor-power) in all the gold standard countries today. They are also working for the abolition of wage-slavery tomorrow. Everywhere we see wages slowly rising to meet the increased cost of living.

We have bewailed the High Prices, while prices are only nominally higher than they were five years ago. Gold (or wages) has decreased in value considerably and as commodities tend to exchange at their values, gold buys fewer commodities.

We may still be receiving the same number of dollars each week, but the value of these dollars has decreased. ACTUALLY our wages have been reduced. Unless they enable us to buy the necessities of life we are not receiving the value of our labor-power from our employers.

1. An increase in the prices of the necessities of life may come from an increase in the VALUE of commodities. We shall have to receive an equal rise in wages if we are to get the value of our labor-power.

2. Wages (or gold) may decrease in value until they no longer will purchase A. Unless we receive MORE wages accordingly we will be receiving less than the value of our labor-power.

Monopoly Prices.

Now all through the preceding chapters I could hear, in imagination, the reformers crying, "But what about MONOPOLY prices?"

In the first place, there never was an absolute, permanent monopoly. There are steel mills in China, Japan, Mexico, England and Germany which will supply the American market if they can undersell the home product. China is now shipping steel rails into California at a lower price than the American mills supply them.

There are still many independent oil companies in many lands. Automobile service, electric car lines, aeroplanes, water courses, chutes and flumes all infringe upon the railroads. Whenever the railway charges become more than the traffic will bear, the manufacturer removes to another city.

Men may hope to gain permanent complete monopolies, but there is always the danger of somebody coming forth with a SUBSTITUTE. Some one is always providing substitutes.

No man was ever able to raise the general price of a commodity at will, and GET that price. If any man ever held such power, he would have charged an unlimited price for his commodity and

immediately assumed the world's dictatorship.

John D. Rockefeller may be able to raise the price on oil in certain communities but he cannot force men to buy at this price. So-called monopolists are subject to economic laws just as are wage-workers. No monopolist was ever so great a philanthropist that he did not charge all the traffic would bear at all times. We see, therefore, that they cannot raise prices at their own sweet will.

No man ever held a near-monopoly but what other capitalists with money to invest turned ever longing eyes upon the Golden Goose ready to produce a substitute that will relegate his rival's product to the Past.

But there are some very near monopolies in the United States. Some of these doubtless are able to sell—or exchange—their commodities ABOVE their value. A few of these are engaged in the production of food, clothing or houses.

Now it does not mean because a monopolist holds temporary control of a commodity that he will raise the price of that commodity. He will surely seek to lower its value by closing down unnecessary factories and installing improved machinery that will lessen the labor contained in his product. Many "monopoly" owned commodities sell at a LOWER price than they did before they were monopoly produced.

If a monopoly-produced commodity exchanges at its value, under the new method of production, its prices would be lower. Many friends assure me that OIL is much cheaper today than it was twenty or thirty years ago, before John D. began to build the Octopus. If a monopolist continues to sell a commodity at the same price it exchanged for formerly, he will be able to appropriate greatly increased profits, for its value will have DECREASED—perhaps 50 per cent.

But we will take an extreme case to illustrate who pays the increased price where an imaginary Octopus DOUBLES the PRICE of the necessities of life.

Let us suppose that 500 miners are receiving $5.00 a day, working a copper mine in Alaska. Five dollars just affords them a comfortable, or tolerable living in Alaska. The man who owns the food and clothing supply in Alaska at this time has a temporary monopoly—an absolute, temporary monopoly of these necessities.

This man finds he actually can double the prices on these necessities for one season. The cost of living in Alaska rises to $10.00 a day.

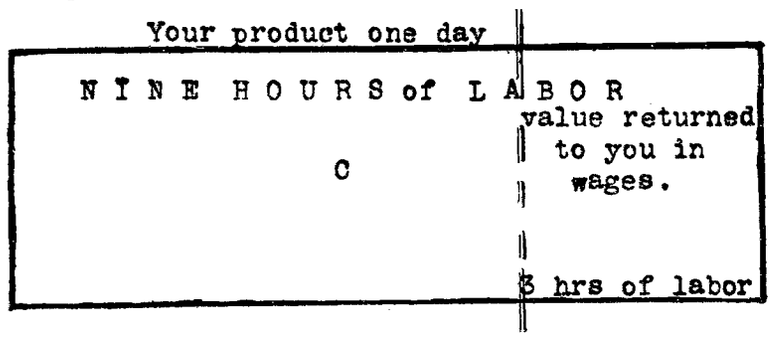
The EMPLOYER of the miners will be obliged to DOUBLE their wages if the miners are to receive the value of their labor-power as formerly. He will need to pay $10.00 a day if he expects to have men to work for him tomorrow. If the mine-owner finds $10.00 in wages will leave no profits for him, he will refuse the increase and shut down the mine; the miners will return South and the Monopolist will find himself without a market. The possibility of such a contingency has always to be reckoned with by every "monopolist." There is always the danger of killing the Goose that Lays the Golden Egg.

You see how if the price of A is DOUBLED, wages will need to follow and as B (wages) are increased there remains less surplus value for the employer to appropriate.

The monopolist, in this case, who has been able to DOUBLE the price on the necessities of life and cause our wages to be doubled will have FORCED our mine-owning employer to DIVIDE this surplus value with him.

Note figure C. If the portion returned to us in wages is doubled, there will be just that much less unpaid labor for our employer to keep. The extra portion paid to US will be paid over to the monopolist.

Monopoly generally means that the



monopolist is strong enough to force other employers of labor to DIVIDE with him a portion of the value of our products formerly appropriated by them.

The real fight is between the MONOPOLIST and the MINE-OWNING employer who will do all in his power to "smash the Trusts."

The mine owner in this instance may offer us $9.00 a day and we may try to live on $9.00 for a few weeks. We will be unable to do it because we will be receiving LESS than the value of our labor-power.

Questions.

Do the Trusts rob the wage-workers when selling them Trust-made products?

Can a monopoly sell its product at the same price as the independent concern and make a bigger percent of profit? Why?

What are three causes for a rise in Prices? Explain.

There are more factories producing barrels this year than last year. All these owners are competing with each other to sell hoops and staves. But the prices of hoops and staves have risen everywhere. Why? Has the value increased? Precisely the same methods of production prevail in the hoop and stave industry as formerly.

Also the wages of men and women working in the hundreds of small factories all over the United States have risen during the past year or two. There are many men and women out of employment but they have not reduced wages at these points by competing for jobs, although they are always in the market offering to sell their labor-power. Even men out of work are asking MORE for their labor-power than they asked a few years ago.

Why are wages rising at these points and everywhere in gentral. Why are men who are out of work asking more for their labor-power?

There are no Trusts in China—yet. Prices of the necessities of life are extremely low. Do "low prices" in a country necessarily mean the working class is any better off than where "high prices" prevail?

Suppose one landlord owned all the ground and cottages rented to workingmen in one city. Suppose all these men worked in a factory at this point. Suppose the landlord raised the rent on cottages from $10 to $30. If the workmen had been receiving just about the value of their labor-power before, what would happen when rents were raised? Who would actually pay the increase?

THE TEXAS PROGRAM

BY

NAT L. HARDY

Two years ago the Socialist movement in Texas was torn up with one of these organization rows that from time to time disrupts the party in different states; paralyzes propaganda, produces pessimism and turns loyal comrades into bitter enemies, while capitalist politicians laugh at the "fool Socialists."

It had arisen over nothing of any consequence to the state movement as a whole, but owing to the way the party was organized, allowing a state committee to take control of local affairs, it had spread throughout the party. The work of organization was worse than at a standstill —it was on the decline everywhere except in the western part of the state, where county organizations had been spontaneously formed and were carrying on the work with little regard for the state organization.

About this time Thos. A. Hickey, a

veteran in the movement, who had had much experience in party rows, arrived at state headquarters and outlined a plan of organization to W. J. Bell, who was then state secretary, that he claimed would make general disruptions impossible if put into practice. Bell was convinced and set to work drafting a constitution along that line. J. L. Hicks, editor of the Farmers Journal, opened the columns of his paper for the discussion of the subject. The result was that as soon as the constitution was submitted to referendum vote it was almost unanimously adopted.

The new constitution contained the following provisions in addition to county autonomy: All candidates for political offices to be nominated by referendum vote, all state party officials are required to retire at the end of two terms of one year each, and county and state committees have no functions except to fulfill legal-political requirements. The state and county secretaries are the only executive party officers and they are directly responsible to the rank and file without the interference of meddlesome committees.

Four days prior to the adoption of the new constitution E. R. Meitzen, also a friend of the program, was elected state secretary. Besides the delicate task of bringing about peace and harmony out of strife and disorder, he had another difficulty to meet. The constitution as adopted did not provide for a division of the state dues with the county organizations. He foresaw that without the sinews of war the vital feature of the program—county autonomy—would remain little more than a theory. A referendum was submitted, and adopted, dividing the 10 cents per month state dues equally with properly bonded county secretaries. This has proven a good investment to the state office. Not only has it saved time and postage; but it has distributed the executive power, accelerated organization and the resultant gain in membership has more than repaid the state office for the seeming loss in funds.

The membership has doubled, over fifty counties have been organized and the receipts of the state office have increased thirty per cent. But the greatest gain has been in the peace that has reigned in the party since the adoption of the complete program—with no breakers in sight.

The autonomous county organizations are left to do their own work in their own way; adapting their propaganda to local conditions, settling their own disputes and depending on themselves rather than a centralized state organization. Several instances have been reported where local disturbances have arisen, that were equally serious as the one that was the genesis of the late state-wide row, but were settled without spreading beyond the county boundary lines, because there was no outside power to interfere.

One of the chief benefits has been the increased activity of the rank and file. The work is brought right home to them and they take more interest in party affairs.

The results have been great and no conceivable power could force the membership of Texas to go back to the old centralized form of organization that has caused so much strife, bitterness and disorganization in the past. On our banner we have inscribed this slogan:

"Socialism means democracy and democracy must reveal itself in our form of organization; and democracy and decentralization are synonymous terms."



CENSORSHIP

The Same Being a Recital of Some Facts on the Ways of Capitalist Publishing Houses

BY

GUSTAVUS MYERS



GUSTAVUS MYERS.
Author of History of the Great American Fortunes.

SINCE the publication of my "History of the Great American Fortunes," a number of solicitous requests have been sent to me asking me to make public certain letters from capitalist publishing firms—letters to which I refer ironically in a footnote in the closing pages of Vol. III.

For nearly ten years I have carefully cherished these letters. Now that I have decided to publish at least two of them it is only because of the moral that they convey. They will serve to throw illumination upon the methods and esoteric processes of thought of some of those noble disseminators of knowledge—the powerful capitalist publishing houses of New York. Even more, they will reveal—what may be a surprise to many readers—that the recent Morganizing of the magazines is simply a culmination of a long-continuing, although gradual, campaign of silencing the press—whether publishing, newspaper, periodical or magazine. So long as the end sought was accomplished, it did not especially matter what the nature of the means employed was. If timidity and cowardice were inculcated in the mind of the publisher, the ultimate purpose was served equally as well as by the power of social and financial influence. The truckling to ruling class power and the indisposition to offend or alienate it were as effective, in the whole, as the fear of reprisal or direct money control of the publishers. Many roads may lead to the same destination.

At the time that these letters were written I was not a Socialist. I was in the "reformer" stage of my career—a fact well known to the writers of the letters. My "History of Tammany Hall" had just been published—a work, by the way, that a number of publishers approved of but decided not to publish on the ground, as one of them frankly and inelegantly wrote, that he "did not care to lock horns with Tammany." Hence, not being a Socialist at the period that I conceived the idea of writing a work on the great American fortunes, there could have been no fear on the part of the publishers that such a work would contain any Socialist interpretation. I did not become a convinced Socialist until the end of 1904, at which time I joined the Socialist party. Parenthetically, I may say that I am now glad that I did not write "The History of the Great American Fortunes" before I came to an understanding of the Socialist philosophy and aims. Had I done so the work would have lacked comprehension and perceptive treatment of the facts.

However, the fact that I was then only a "reformer" makes the appended letters all the more significant. The first of these, dated November 12, 1901—Exhibit A—was from a long-established New York publishing house, the head of which has been a member of fashionable "reform" organizations; has served as foreman of a noted grand jury which exposed Tammany corruption; and altogether is a highly respectable citizen.

Exhibit A.

"My dear Sir—

"I am obliged to you for the suggestion in your favor of the 11th inst. concerning the publication of the volume you have in plan which would present a *History of the Origin of Private Fortunes*. I judge that such a volume, prepared with adequate knowledge of the material to be considered, and with proper literary skill, ought to prove of no little popular interest. I doubt, however, whether ———— would be the best people to handle effectively such a book as you have in mind. It seems to me (and I find on this point my partners are in accord with me) that if the narratives were presented with accuracy, they must, of necessity, contain certain statements on data which would be considered objectionable by the present representatives of the families concerned. ———— (his firm) would be unwilling to print any book which could be criticized as incorrect, as attempting to "whitewash" certain more or less unsavory careers.

"They would also, however, be unwilling to associate their imprint with any volumes which would give cause for offense to living persons who are, as a rule, entirely free from responsibility in regard to the actions of their ancestors.

"As a practical example, it would not be possible to present the career of Jay Gould without describing in pretty plain English certain noteworthy undertakings in which he was concerned. On the other hand, we should be entirely unwilling to print anything that could possibly cause offense to his daughter, Helen Gould, who is one of the best citizens in this country.

"It seems to us that this difficulty is fatal, as far at least as our connection with such a work is concerned. It is very possible that some more enterprising or less scrupulous House might be ready to give favorable consideration to the plan. I am,

"Yours faithfully,"

The second letter, Exhibit B, dated November 23, 1901, was from another large New York City publishing house which, for the last few years, has, in addition to publishing books, issued an "uplift" magazine. Note the fine attempt to hold out to me the financial rewards that would follow from presenting an eulogy of the founders and beneficiaries of the great fortunes.

Exhibit B.

"Dear Mr. Myers:

"I have been talking with my partners about your proposed book, and we all feel that there's a *possibility* for a volume on the subject you mention. Our chief fear is that it would be of such a nature in some cases—notably that of Jay Gould—as to get us into a good deal of trouble. The most interesting point about it, commercially, would be its bearing on the idea of American achievement and the suggestion to the ambitious man of today as to how great fortunes have been made—and I know this is by no means the interesting part to you. Why not go ahead and lay out a very complete list of chapters, making the headings as full as possible, so that we can get an idea of the way in which you treat the subject; you might also write a chapter. If you can send us these, we can probably be much more definite.

Very truly yours,"

By way of conclusion I may add that I wasted no time replying to either of these letters.

THE LAKE SEAMEN

BY

FRANK CATTELL, Member of the Lake Seamen's Union

ROBERT CORCORAN, the Marine Union Fireman, has at last been found guilty of cutting off the ear of a scab fireman named Fraser on the night of June 27th last. The trial lasted over two weeks and the jury were out six hours. Nine ballots were taken. Daniel Cruice, the well-known Chicago lawyer, defended the accused. An appeal for a new trial is now being made.

This case is the outgrowth of the war on the Marine Unions by the Steel Trust, alias the Lake Carriers' Association. The fight has been waged for three years and the end is not yet in sight.

During this time a score of union men have been murdered in cold blood by the hired assassins of the Shipping Trust. Brutal murders of union men are followed by prompt acquittals of the hired butchers. While union men, innocent of any crime, are arrested on some trumped-up charge, thrown into jail and railroaded to the penitentiary as victims of craft unionism.

Over a score of boats have been sunk, hundreds of accidents have occurred as a result of incompetent crews on these vessels.

Corcoran was convicted on the unsupported testimony of a pimp who acknowledged on the witness stand that he had never done a day's work in his life and had lived in a house of prostitution for the past three years.

Corcoran took the stand, denied being in the vicinity on the night of the crime and had a dozen witnesses to support him. In spite of all they could do the prosecution was unable to shake his testimony or that of his witnesses.

Four union men were arrested in New York and brought back to Buffalo, charged with this crime: Robert Corcoran, Joseph Myers, Harry Millan and John Norton. Myers has already been sentenced to serve from six to thirteen years in Auburn prison. An appeal to the Supreme Court for him is pending. Norton and Millan have been in jail over seven months and have not been tried yet.



ROBERT CORCORAN

These workingmen are innocent and everybody knows it. But the Steel Trust is determined to smash the Marine Unions and hopes to do so by bankrupting them through defending the men arrested on false charges.

These men are victims of craft unionism. They would never have gone to jail if the unions in Buffalo had raised a protest. Debs offered to come here and hold a protest meeting, but the unions laid down for fear they would offend the Powers that Boss. They decided it would be the best policy to go around quietly and collect a few paltry dollars to pay a lawyer to defend their brothers. The business agent of the Central Labor Body had sons holding down political jobs.

It is not the leaders who do the picketing or who go up against the guns of Corporation detectives. They take no risks. As Debs says, they are cowards and lack the courage to stand up at the front and if these leaders believe in craft unionism and are honest about it, let them furnish the corpses as well as draw the salaries. Let them have some of the hardships as well as banquets with plutocratic lords under the prostituted auspices of the Civic Federation, where the triumphs of craft unionism are lauded to the skies.

The Lake Unions engaged in this struggle have put up a heroic fight against tremendous odds. This is one of the hardest fought battles that ever occurred in this or any other country.

It is not the SCABS that have defeated the unions, but the craft unions themselves. In 1904 the Masters and Pilots went on strike and the remainder of the unions stayed at work, in consequence of which the Masters and Pilots were defeated.

In 1906 the Mates, Firemen and Longshoremen went on strike and the union Sailors and Cooks stayed at work because they had contracts which they have been taught to believe are "sacred." They watched their brothers go down to defeat.

In the spring of 1909 the Lake Carriers' Association demanded that every man employed on their vessels take out what they called "a welfare book." In this book was recorded degree of ability, descrpition of physical traits, and character of the man. The book cost him one dollar. It was to be turned over to the captain of the vessel on which the man shipped. If he quit the boat or complained in any way of the treatment accorded him, or the captain did not like his looks, his book was withheld and he was forever barred from sailing on the lakes again.

The men were to get the benefits from being possessors of this book when they were dead, when the Bosses promised to bury them, provided they were obedient slaves during their lives.

The unions protested, seeing this move threatened their very existence, and the Seamen, Cooks, Firemen and Engineers called a strike. But the other crafts, being composed of "good union men" and not wishing to offend their masters by breaking their contract, stayed at work. So we have the spectacle of Union Tugmen towing ships loaded with scabs; union grain scoopers helping scabs to unload grain and union dredgemen digging deeper channels so that scab boats can navigate safely. The engineers have been completely wiped out and the seamen, firemen and cooks are being supported by the seamen on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

Money cannot win this fight. For every dollar the unions can contribute, the Trust can and will contribute a million. Only through an industrial organization composed of everybody employed in the transportation industry and recognizing their class interests and that an injury to one is an injury to all, can this fight be won?

The rank and file are ready for such an orginzation, but the so-called leaders keep them apart. President Conners of the Longshoremens' Union, is a member of the Executive Board of the Militia of Christ, an organization formed by the Capitalist Class and composed of labor leaders, or labor skinners to preach the Identity of Interest between Slave and Master and to fight Socialism.

It will be a great day for the working class and a bad day for the leaders when the unions wake up and recognize how they have been fooled.

The unbearable conditions aboard the ships have caused the scabs themselves to revolt and they are now joining the unions in a body. The latest rule of the Trust, of withholding one-tenth of the pay of every man until the close of the season has finally convinced the strikebreakers that working for the vessel trust means absolute slavery.

Only the men who remain till the close of the season are entitled to receive this 10 per cent. In other words, any man who quit for any reason or who is fired, will be docked 10 per cent of his total wages. No matter how wretched the conditions aboard his boat may be, he will have no means of protesting and he will not dare quit unless he wishes to lose one-tenth of his earnings. And the man who quits will be blacklisted for life.

SCIENTIFIC BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

What is it? What effect will it have on the Revolutionary Movement?

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

ECONOMY, efficiency, scientific management — these are the watchwords of the latter-day capitalism. Not only in great industrial establishments, but in city, state and national government the economy and efficiency cry is heard.

Regardless of the fact that wealth is piling up so rapidly that "over-production" and panics are the result, the capitalists of the country are striving for a larger output and greater efficiency, unconcerned as to what the outcome may be, so far as it effects the working class.

For months the capitalist papers have been making much of this improved method of getting the very last bit of labor out of the workers. Syndicated articles are being published in all the big Sunday papers. I will quote from one of these articles written by William H. Evans, after which we will note the tendency and draw conclusions from the standpoint of the Revolutionary Movement. Evans says:

"Five years ago such a thing as scientific management was unknown. Today, while it is still in its infancy, there are nearly one hundred industrial plants working under this system and they employ more than 50,000 workmen. The variety and diversity of the industries involved are wonderful, ranging through structural work, including building work, bricklaying, concrete construction, moulding and casting, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, printing, bookbinding, accounting, clerical work, blast furnaces, plate mills, armorplate, forging, toolmaking, firearms, and a score of other diversified work."

Evans says the workers have been producing about twice as much under the new system as compared with the old, and that "costs a unit of output have been reduced, and profits have increased very materially." He says the workers (who happen to be employed) under scientific management are receiving much higher wages and he adds: "In the entire list of industries under scientific management there has not been a single strike. This was shown in Philadelphia's big car strike a year ago, when thousands of industries shut down as a result of the sympathetic strike. In one plant under the new system, which employed over 7,000 men, only seventeen quit work."

"The man," declares Evans, "who is responsible for this great change, which in time will sweep the country from end to end, is Frederick W. Taylor, for years a consulting engineer of Philadelphia, who completely revolutionized the art of cutting metals and who has since retired. He experimented for thirty years before he reduced his scheme of scientific management to a practical plan. While he has retired from active work, scores of men who worked under him are spreading the new business gospel throughout the land."

Taylor's plan, it is stated, is based on four great principles: "First, the application of scientific knowledge to replace rule of thumb knowledge which existed in the past; second, the selection of workmen and the development of each to his highest state of efficiency and prosperity; third, bringing the scientifically selected and developed workman and his work together; fourth, the almost equal division of the whole work between the workmen on the one side and the management on the other."

The scheme is no theoretical affair which some individual or group of individuals want to sell to the capitalists, but

a workable plan which pays. Facts are given. Evans continues:

"The most interesting illustration of scientific management is shown in bricklaying, probably the oldest of the trades. It is essentially elemental. The implements and the mortar and the method of laying bricks have not materially changed in 2,000 years. Frank B. Gilbreth, a large contractor, becoming interested in scientific management, went to Mr. Taylor and was assured that it applied to bricklaying just as much as it did to other more complex employments. Gilbreth and his wife studied the situation for two years. They discovered that the bricklayer went through eighteen motions in laying a single brick. A man had to stoop and pick up the brick which had to be picked out of a tangled pile. He then threw it into the air to get a good grip on it, then he had to examine the four edges, so as to pick out the smoothest side for the outside of the building. This involved three motions. Several other motions were gone through before the brick was placed in the mortar. Gilbreth put in an adjustable scaffold, with a table in the middle of it. Cheaper workmen piled up the bricks with the right side up and mortar was tempered so that the weight of the brick brought it to its proper resting place. Briefly, he reduced the eighteen motions down to five per brick and in some cases to two.

"Then he found himself up against the labor union. His plan was correct, but the bricklayers could not see the advantage of setting twice the number of bricks for the same amount of pay. He went before them and told them that bricklaying was becoming a lost art and that he had five re-enforced concrete contracts to one of brick. He showed them unless something was done the bricklayers would be out of jobs. He got the consent of the union to experiment. He promptly hired men at $6.50 a day instead of $4.50, the union rate, but told the men that they would have to lay bricks the way he wanted them. In a short time his men were laying 350 bricks an hour, as opposed to 120, which was the record in Boston before his experiments.

One of the most revolutionizing and profitable of Taylor's experiments was at the Bethlehem steel works. Taylor developed what he called the "science of shoveling." He figured that there must be some particular shovel load at which any "first-class man" would do the biggest day's work. What was that load? he thought. Three first-class shovelers were selected. They were told that their pay would be doubled, but that they would have to do just as they were ordered. Several experiments were made, and, finally, it was discovered that somewhere between twenty-one and twenty-two pounds a shovelful was a load that permitted the first-class shoveler to do the biggest day's work. There were 600 laborers in the yard, which is two and a half miles long and a half mile wide. In order to do the shoveling necessary, ten different shovels were made for the various kinds of work.

As each man reported in the morning he took two pieces of paper from a rack, one showing what he had done the previous day and the other detailing his work for the day and the man to report to. Each man was treated as an individual, and his record watched, instead of treating the 600 as a gang. A teacher showed him how to do his work and this instructor had nothing else to do but instruct. There was a huge map of the yards which showed where every man was and what he was doing. The gang of laborers was broken up so that there were never more than two men working together. Even during these first years of experimentation, it is shown, the process was highly profitable to Charles Schwab and the Steel Trust, of which he is a part. Evans says:

"*Where it cost seven cents a ton to handle the average materials, the new plan cost three cents a ton.* The men's wages were increased from $1.15 to $1.85 a day (nothing is said about the increase in the cost of living) and *the number of workmen reduced from* 400 *to* 600 *to* 140. *The saving on the part of the company was between* $75,000 *to* $80,000 *a year.*"

Taylor also experimented at the Bethlehem plant with the men carrying pig iron. The men in carrying the "pigs" walked a hundred feet or so. The best

record was seventeen tons a day. Taylor used stop watches in an effort to find out the time it took. Finally two or three men were selected and told when to carry and when to stop. *In less than a week these men were averaging forty-eight tons a day.* Their wages were also increased to the princely sum of $1.85 a day.

Another experiment was made with young women who inspected bicycle balls. There were 126 girls employed. The girls were working ten and a half hours a day, and yet when it was put to a vote whether they would do the same work in ten hours, every girl voted for the longer period. They were finally persuaded, and in a short time were doing the same work in eight hours. As a result of further experimentation only one-fourth of the girls were retained. These girls were instructed when to work and when to rest, and in eight hours they soon were doing four times more work than had been done in ten and a half hours. For this enormous increase in efficiency, the girls that were retained were given an increase in wages, Evans hastens to explain.

In the application of scientific management in the plant of the Link Belt Company in Philadelphia, the firm saved $43 a week by paying two boys $5 apiece per week to carry water to the men.

In scientific management, according to its leading exponents, "the mass of knowledge hitherto owned by the workmen is classified, tabulated and reduced to laws and mathematical formulas. The management in the old days put up the work to the men. Nowadays the actual doing of the work is up to the management as well as to the men. As an instance, in one shop under scientific management there are now twenty-nine managers and seventy workmen. Under the old system there were 126 men and two managers. Every movement of every man becomes, under scientific management, the subject of scientific study and analysis and then of reduction to laws."

Harrington Emerson is another "efficiency engineer." He is the man who first said that the railroads could save a million dollars a day if they wished to. He also says that, under the present system of managing the industries, labor is thirty-three per cent. inefficient and capital seventy per cent inefficient. He means by that that the workers could do thirty-three per cent more than they do and that the management (though this management may not own a cent's worth of stock in the industries which it directs) is seventy per cent short of what it could accomplish under the new system of working the workers. Emerson deplores what he calls "the colossal waste in our business methods." His business is to inspect other people's business—and he gets well paid for it—and to tell them how the efficiency of their business may be increased.

Strange as it may seem, while the capitalist system has reached a point where it can only perpetuate itself through waste, the capitalists of this country, unmindful of this fact, so far as the class is concerned, are doing all in their power to increase the individual output of the worker. But it is this fact that Marx had in mind when he said the capitalists were their own grave-diggers. Through this system of scientific management "over-production" will become a chronic condition of capitalism—already it is in some industries—panics will appear oftener and remain longer and unemployment will more and more and more loom up as the mightiest of problems.

Where scientific management is applied unionism is crushed—that is the craft form of unionism. With the "bonus" system of "rewarding the worthy and efficient workmen," and with the more intimate connection with managers and foremen, labor organization will be more and more threatened.

The outlook at first thought seems somewhat hopeless from the standpoint of the working class. But it isn't. It is only becoming more and more hopeless from the standpoint of perpetuating the present order. It is simply creating in the minds of an ever increasing number of workers the hopelessness of existence as long as the capitalist system lasts. The few who may have the good luck to be employed, even though they struggle, are becoming more and more powerless in the face of the advancing forces of the Social Revolution. With this hopelessness in capitalism, there develops a class-

confidence as well as a class-consciousness.

More and more the idea of a cataclysmic transformation of society grips the workers' minds and as they become enthused with the thought, their power increases. And with this development the old ideology loses its power to dominate, the gulf between the classes becomes wider, the conservative craft union leaders will no longer retain the power to prevent revolutionary action, and a revolutionary economic base will have been reached.

For every weapon that the masters forge to keep the masses in submission and weaken their power of organization, a more deadly one is created which shall be turned against themselves. They may consciously hurry on the process which is destroying craft union power and they may tear away the foundation upon which group interests of every character rests, but they cannot, however hard or consciously they try, tear away the foundation upon which the interests of the revolutionary working class lie. Madly or carefully they will attempt it, but in doing so they are hurrying themselves to their own destruction. They will rush to their own graves where they will be pushed in by an enlightened and an organized working class.

Personally, I am of the opinion that the final blow to the capitalist system will be struck here in America before Europe. Karl Liebknecht and other well-known Socialists across the water, tell us that the workers of America will lead the world, but the reasons they give are only a few. They only see the surface. The old romantic ideal of political democracy, which, at bottom chiefly is a middle class ideal, is not troubling the workers of this country. It is essentially Industrial Democracy—Socialism—that they are concerned with.

True, we haven't made the material progress in the building up of a revolutionary movement that some European countries have. But this backwardness is only apparent. Since the revolutionary movement of the workers is a class movement, no isolated wing of the workers can advance and hold the position gained very long and still retain a militant attitude. Therefore, we see the inevitable spontaniety of action. The entire class must move. Skirmishes will and must take place and the progress of these skirmishes must be more psychiological than material. They act as a training school for revolutionists and the revolution. In view of this, how prophetic are the words of Marx when he said:

"The Proletarian Movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority." And further, "the proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent structure of official society being sprung into the air." Then again this bold, penetrating statement:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working class—a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument; this integument is burst asunder; the knell of capitalist private property sounds; the expropriators are expropriated."

There is nothing here that indicates that Socialism will be the result of a long series of slow changes from the present system to the new one. Besides, how true is this sweeping analysis of present-day industrial life—especially in this country!

POISONING THE WORKERS IN MATCH FACTORIES

BY

FREDERICK SUMNER

IN 1909 our United States Bureau of Labor, evidently stimulated by the stories circulating about "phossy jaw" in the match factories, made a great noise about inspecting these institutions. with the accustomed expedition which inspectors usually show in such cases, the work was "pressed forward," but seemed never to get anywhere, but before its completion, the American Association for Labor Legislation began an independent investigation and I think they relieved the over-worked (?) inspectors from further responsibility.

There were sixteen match factories in the United States in which white phosphorus was used. The workers in them were consistently and continuously poisoned. Of the nearly 4,000 workers employed over 65 per cent were exposed to the action of the poison. Ninety-five per cent of the women and 83 per cent of the children employed were constantly exposed.

The investigation disclosed over 100 cases of poisoning in a very short time, although the manufacturers claimed the disease had not existed in this country for over twenty years. In one small factory, records were secured of more than twenty cases of poisoning, many of which were so bad that they required the removal of an entire jaw.

In one of the more modern establishments, records of forty cases of phosphorus poisoning were secured. Of this number fifteen resulted in permanent deformity through the loss of one or BOTH jaws, and several cases resulted in death. In another establishment records of twenty-one cases were secured.

The process in the manufacture of matches is simple. The wooden match splint is prepared; the phosphorus composition for the head of the match is mixed; one end of the splint is dipped into this paste. The green match is allowed to dry, and finally, it is boxed and wrapped.

Poisoning from phosphorus has many evil effects. The daily breathing of air laden with phosphorous fumes, and the continual contact with the particles of phosphorus, result in a gradual lowering of vitality which, in turn, invites other forms of disease.

Phosphorous necrosis (phossy jaw), is caused by the absorption of phosphorus through the teeth or gums. Minute particles of phosphorus usually enter through the cavities of decayed teeth, setting up an inflammation which, if not quickly arrested, extends along the jaw, killing the teeth and bones.

The gums become swollen and purple, the teeth loosen and drop out and the jaw-bones slowly decompose and pass away in the form of nauseating pus, which sometimes breaks through the neck in the form of an abscess, or, if not



almost continually washed out, oozes into the mouth, where it mixes with the saliva and is swallowed.

Treatment is largely preventive, but when the disease is once contracted, a serious surgical operation is often the only means of arresting the process of decay. In many instances of poisoning it is necessary to remove an entire jaw, and in several cases both jaws have been removed at a single operation.

The records of two or three cases show how terrible are its ravages:

Annie B. contracted phosphorous necrosis, which caused the loss of an eye, as well as of her upper jaw; and finally, after terrible suffering, resulted in her death.

In the same factory a doctor saw a "disgusting object—an old man, with teeth rotted out, pus oozing from the sockets, and with necrosed bone protruding from the gums."

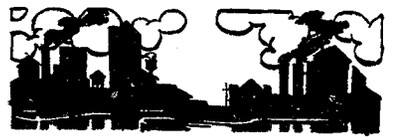
Maria O., a strong and healthy girl had worked for several years as a packer in a match factory. Eight years ago, at the age of twenty, she married, but continued to work in the factory. Two months later she commenced to have trouble with her teeth. Dr. T. first treated her, beginning with the first operation Nov. 15, 1901. He performed a second operation Aug. 11, 1903, removing several large splinters of bone from her jaw. She grew no better, and, finally, as the trouble continued, she went to Drs. V. and N. for further medical aid. She is receiving treatment from them at this time.

Three years ago an abscess opened through her right jaw, and one year ago, another opened on the left. Both required constant bandaging. When the writer saw her in December, 1909, she was scarcely able to open her lips enough to speak, and could not separate her upper from her six remaining lower teeth. All of her lower teeth, except the middle six, have come out, and several inches of the jaw bone are bare, with pus oozing from the sockets. She has a boy six years old and a baby but two years old.

The record of weekly earnings of employes in the fifteen factories, indicate that the dangers connected with the work did not make it necessary to pay high wages. Twenty-three and twenty-six tenths per cent of the 1,888 males receive less than $6.00 a week and only 33.52 per cent earned $10 or more. Of the 1,278 females, 53.75 per cent earned under $6.00, and only 4.47 per cent earned $10 or more.

Since this data has been gathered, we hear that the uniform publicity given these atrocities by the Socialist and labor press all over the United States has worked to some good results at last. And we are able to conclude this article with the news that the Diamond Match Company has thrown open its patent on sesquisulphide to all who care to use it.

This act looks very generous but their rights expire anyway in three years. When the prohibitive legislation was carried in England, the Act made it compulsory that the Diamond Match Company (which owned the patent in that country also), grant its use to other manufacturers on reasonable terms. The same provision is included in the Canadian bill introduced a few days ago by W. L. Mackenzie King, Commissioner of Labor.



SOLIDARITY WINS IN FRESNO

BY

PRESS COMMITTEE

BECAUSE we tried to organize the workers in Fresno, the authorities denied us the streets for agitation meetings. After persecuting our members for their activity; after throwing them into jail and subjecting them to the greatest brutality and passing a city ordinance denying the rights of free speech, the authorities have turned around and granted us all these things for which we have been fighting. Hereafter we shall be permitted to speak on the streets unmolested and unrestricted.

How was this victory accomplished? The answer is simple. Two hundred workingmen, roused by acts of violence against the organization of which they were members, moved on to Fresno from various points on the Pacific Coast to fight the Capitalist enemies. They realized that if our organizers were not to be permitted to speak and agitate, they would be seriously hampered in the work of organization for the great, approaching conflict. From first to last both sides of the struggle clearly recognized Class Lines and freely admitted them. One of the most intelligent members of the opposition stated in an early stage of the struggle that this was a skirmish in a great war.

Antiquated methods were generally abandoned. It was decided that no money should be wasted on lawyers to expound the meaning of the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. However, the court was used effectively for propaganda. Trial after trial was held and each time our position was presented to a crowded court room, by some member of the group on trial. Incidentally about 500 residents of Fresno, chiefly business men, were summoned to serve on juries. Not one of these was so disloyal to his class as to "hang a jury." Workingmen were promptly challenged by the prosecuting attorney. They might not have been so pliable.

The antagonism with the local press with its malicious misrepresentation, perfectly reflected the attitude of the employing class in Fresno. But our appeals for aid, made only to the working class, found a ready response. Perfect discipline was maintained inside the jail. Things were kept in a sanitary condition. Educational work was carried on systematically. The fight was directed throughout by the men in jail. The outside work was executed by an outside committee, also directed by the imprisoned men. Funds contributed were spent economically and to the best advantage.

Experience gained in past skirmishes taught us to concentrate all our forces at the point of controversy. As the fight progressed and our resistance became more stubborn, it dawned upon the enemy that a prolonged fight would bankrupt the city treasury. The police power was broken; the courts were clogged to a standstill. Day and night sessions were unable to dispose of the cases coming up.

Open threats were constantly made by business men and members of the underworld to wipe us out by an armed force. Bloodshed was freely predicted. Mob violence was used regularly against our street speakers. The jail was crowded; no more men could be received. At this critical moment, fresh bodies of men started from various points in the West. Some came from points as far away as St. Louis. The enemy were at their wits end. As the leading daily paper stated editorially:

"Here was a body of men who reversed all the ordinary motives governing mankind." In this editorial, all citizens were urged to keep cool. The past excesses of the authorities were censured and our organization acknowledged better than their own.

On February 22nd the leading citizens of Fresno assembled to seriously consider the situation. A committee was appointed to investigate; to learn *our* terms of settlement and report back. Our committee, instructed by the men in jail, met the town committee, and after five days of

conferences the city body recommended the granting of our demands. The fight was over. As fast as legal papers could be drawn up, prisoners were released and at this writing, Sunday, March 5th, 1911, the Fresno Free Speech Fight has passed into history. This statement is authorized by members of the I. W. W. released from jail.

* * * * * * *

March 5th witnessed the surrender of the city of Fresno, in the free speech fight to the fighting brigade of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The ending of the Fresno fight marks the third victory of the I. W. W. in its fights to maintain the supposed "right"(?) of free speech and assemblage. A right that is popularly supposed to be one of the basic and unshakable pillars of this glorious land of "freedom"(?).

Events in the past few years, however, have proven that this right(?) in common with many others is a delusion so far as the working class is concerned.

The Fresno fight furnished a remarkable example of courage and determination on the part of the men engaged in the struggle.

In the fall of 1909 the agitation for organization carried on by local No. 66, I. W. W., began to bear fruit. An organization of the despised "common" laborer was in a fair way to be realized. The employers of labor began to feel the effects of organized effort on the part of their hitherto powerless slaves. The sample did not by any means please them and they set about to put an end to the work of organization.

Members of Local 66 who were active in the work were subjected to the studied indignities of the police officials. They were arrested and ordered to leave town without any other pretext than the will of the employers. Finally they were ordered to stop speaking on the streets, and one of the members was convicted of "vagrancy" by a packed jury of "respectable" citizens.

The fight was on. It began October 16, 1909, after a call had been sent to all locals for volunteers to carry on the fight. After two weeks the fight was temporarily called off owing to difficulty that the members experienced in getting over the road. The reinforcements were handicapped in reaching Fresno by the activities of the Bulls along the route. For being proletarians they were forced to travel by way of the "side door Pullman," and the bulls along the road assisted the Fresno sluggers all they could.

On November 26 the fight was reopened. Headquarters were established outside of town with a tent and a commissary to take care of the recruits as they arrived and to enable them to get a square meal before going up against John Law.

From November 26 to March 2 the struggle was waged with varying intensity and dogged persistence by the members. Inside and outside the jail the organization was perfected. The cost began to pile up on the dear taxpayers. It was but a question of getting sufficient numbers into action.

For three months 85 members were in jail and but a few of them had been given any trial. Finally a police judge discovered that no law was being broken, and discharged a member who was before him for trial. All in jail were released. It looked as if the fight was won. But not so. If there is no law abolishing freedom of speech and assemblage in Fresno "we will soon alter that," resolved the employing class. Consequently an ordinance was framed and passed making it "unlawful" for a worker to do anything in Fresno, except work hard for the boss. Again the fight was on. The broadcloth incited mob put in appearance. We are the law said they. Thugs official and otherwise led a mob against the headquarters of the local. It was a safe venture, as all but two sick members were in jail by this time. The tent was set on fire, provisions stolen and the two members beaten up by the mob.

Reinforcements began to gather at other points and to head for Fresno. From Seattle, Portland and St. Louis detachments left for the scene of action. All by the box car special. The way was long and the hardships many, but that did not deter them. Two hundred strong they finally reached Sacramento, Cal., the capital of the state and two hundred miles from the goal. At last Fresno was to be shown. The taxpayers began to increase their howls. The governor began to see things. The brutality of their thugs had been of no avail. There was but one course left. To get out of the fight with

as good grace as they could, but to get out of it, grace or no grace. The city officials tried to save their face. They wanted to compromise. They did not want to have to admit defeat. But there was no alternative. The fighters stood firm and finally the citizens through a committee asked for terms. These were given to them and were accepted with the best grace possible by the citizens' committee and the mayor and council.

Once more have the workers proven the efficacy of united working class action. Another victory for the militants of the labor movement of the United States—the third in a little over a year. Another step in the advance of the toilers to their own. May there be many more.

THE TIDE IS TURNING

BY

TOM J. LEWIS

THE strikes, lockouts, blacklists and injunctions and the growing use of the police in these struggles between Capital and Labor are demonstrating more than anything else the need of organization in the working class. Every day wage-workers are waking up to the fact that they need to fight WITH their comrades in these struggles instead of AGAINST them. Capitalism is doing a mighty work in helping us show the proletarians what they need. In this, Capitalism is sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

It is impossible to keep up with the developments of machinery. These developments are going forward by leaps and bounds. Almost every improvement eliminates the need of the skilled worker. The mechanic is being thrown into the ranks of the unskilled—the common laborer. This is having a very enlightening effect on the members of craft unions. Progress is not going to halt nor go back because of the howls of any craft unionist wailing for the Good Old Days, when the skilled worker got high wages and looked down upon his less fortunate brothers. The old-time skilled worker finds unskilled men taking his job. Boys no longer have to serve an apprenticeship in order to get a job. They are soon able to compete with the old-time skilled worker.

But the craft unionists are not going to lie down and wail. They are picking up their scattered ideas and beginning to adapt themselves to the new conditions. They are looking for a way out of the trouble, and they are finding that way. Things are beginning to look up for the wage-worker.

Evolution is a cold and indifferent helper, but Evolution is helping us a great deal. It is going to be pretty tough for the working class until the great awakening comes, but now that men and women are asking questions and beginning to think and plan for themselves we will go forward to victory. They are learning to work for organization and an industrial society of equal opportunity for all, of economic independence.

It don't take a surgical operation to get the correct idea into a workingman's head about what the Capitalist Class use the police and the Courts and the Laws for. The Capitalist Class are showing us all plain enough. It saves us a whole lot of theoretical thinking on these questions to be in a strike, to be banged up by the police and slammed into jail for picketing. Empty stomachs tell us we mant MORE and better FOOD. The cold weather stimulates our thinking apparatus and we don't need to be told that we want steam-heated flats. All these hard, and unpleasant facts that we workers run up against every day are the greatest eye-openers in the world. We are so busy thinking about porterhouse steaks that we don't have time to hunt up unimportant issues. We are right on the job for the main chance.

We know there are TWO CLASSES in society, no matter what the big books say. We know we are making things and the other fellow is grabbing them.

And we also know that we shall have to organize with our fellow workers, irrespective of race, creed, color or anything else into one big union of all the workers, and to seize every weapon—political and economic—to abolish wage-slavery. Our watchword is "One for All and All for One."

EDITORIAL

Barbarous Mexico and Capitalist America. As we go to press, Taft is concentrating a large part of the United States army on the Mexican border. This indicates that the revolt of the Mexicans against Diaz has become more serious than the capitalist press has generally admitted. It also tends to confirm the charge made by John Kenneth Turner in his book, "Barbarous Mexico," that the bloody despotism of Diaz is backed by American capitalists who use their government to help Diaz whenever necessary. This is not saying that Madero, who is in command of the largest forces of "insurrectos," is a revolutionist or would, if successful, abolish slavery in Mexico. On the contrary, the New York Call has published evidence that he has betrayed and disarmed revolutionists who would gladly have helped him against Diaz. Nevertheless, at the present moment whatever weakens Diaz will at least offer some hope of escape for the Mexican laborers now working under the lash for American capitalists. Conditions could scarcely become worse than now for the workers of Mexico, and if Taft sends American soldiers there, it may let in more or less light on the horrors of Mexican slavery. If American wage-workers could begin to realize the fearful tortures daily inflicted on their fellow workers in Mexico by the agents of American capitalists, there would be a storm of revolt that would end slavery in Mexico and in the United States together. For what the capitalists are doing to Mexican toilers they would do to Americans also, but for their greater power to resist. Only by organized resistance can we keep what little freedom and comfort we have, or add to them as the productiveness of our labor increases. Without a fighting organization, we should sink into the terrible slavery of the Mexican peons. United we can put an end to slavery, in Mexico and at home.

The Eight Hour Work Day. We have already called attention to the widespread agitation for an eight hour work day started by the wage-workers of Portland, Oregon. The aim of the agitation is to prepare for a concentrated demand of an eight hour day by the wage-workers of the entire world on the second day of May, 1912. Unlike most "immediate demands," this one is revolutionary in its purpose and in its consequences if successful. The army of the unemployed is the chief instrument by which the capitalist is able to hold wages down to the bare cost of living. Were that army out of the way, the competition of capitalists for wage-workers to keep their machinery going would force wages up. Now a shorter work-day is not merely a relief to the body and brain of the over-worked laborer; it is also an important factor in the labor market. At any given stage in capitalist production, a given number of men cannot turn out so large a product in eight hours as in ten hours. If, therefore, the hours of labor are reduced, more men must be hired to turn out the same product. Thus the army of the unemployed is reduced, and in the ordinary operation of the law of supply and demand, wages will rise. A few years ago the union carpenters of Chicago had foresight enough to insist on an eight hour day and even accept a reduction of wages for the time being in order to carry their point. In a short time the demand for carpenters outran the supply so that they were enabled to claim and receive higher wages than ever before. Here is a proposition on which all wage-workers can unite. Let us start the propaganda with a rush on May-day, so that in a year the demand may be made with a unanimity that will compel the capitalists to concede it.

Democracy Through Decentralization. On another page is a brief and suggestive article by Nat L. Hardy, explaining how the Texas comrades have put an end to factional quarrels and entered upon a period of united work and steady growth. It was by taking authority away from the state central committee and making the state secretary an agent to carry out the will of the membership as expressed by referendum, and more important still, by putting most of the party's work into

the control of the county organizations. The success of the Socialist Party of Texas under its revised constitution is an example that the comrades of other states might well consider. Moreover, it leads up to a suggestion which, we believe, might be of untold value to our national organization. The annual dues paid to the national organization of the Socialist Party by each member amounts to 60 cents a year. At the beginning this was a reasonable amount. We started with about 10,000 members, and many states had to be organized. Now the work of organization is practically completed. The National Secretary, in nis latest monthly bulletin, predicts that the membership will soon reach 100,000, so that the income of the national office from dues alone will probably reach $60,000 this year. And what do we get for it? Very little. And probably the most valuable thing we do get is the services of organizers assigned by the national organization to work under the direction of state organizations. Now this is a clumsy, roundabout way of doing a necessary thing. Moreover, it opens the door to favoritism. We agree with the New York Call in holding the present national executive committee in no very high estimation. But we doubt the effectiveness of the Call's remedy, namely that we "elect competent men, recall the incompetent ones, and exert constant pressure through the local and state organizations." This is all very well, but it reminds us of the time-honored plea for the election of "good men to office." We are all considerably alike, after all, and it would be rather a difficult matter to select seven members who could be safely trusted to spend $60.000 a year to the entire satisfaction of the membership.

Reduce the National Dues. That is the sensible and obvious solution of the whole question. The present system of dues stamps is an excellent one; let us not disturb it. But let us direct the National Secretary to sell the stamps to state secretaries at 2 cents each instead of 5 cents, thus reducing the annual contribution of each member to the national organization from 60 cents a year to 24 cents. Let each state organization decide for itself whether to reduce the price of stamps to the locals or keep them at the old figure and use the extra revenue for state organization work. But we believe the wisest plan will be to make the price of stamps to each local as low as possible, and let the locals make the dues high or low according to local conditions. These changes would probably raise the total membership of the party to at least 200,000 within a year, so that the income would be ample to carry on the work of the national organization, while the work of the local organizations would be immensely stimulated. Comrades, we move:

That Article XII, Section 6, of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party be amended so as to read:

The State Committees shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to 2 cents for each member in good standing within their respective territories.

Also that Article X, Section 6 (providing for a percentage of dues to be set aside for railroad fare of delegates to conventions and congresses) be amended by striking out TEN and inserting TWENTY-FIVE.

If you agree with us, bring the matter up at the next meeting of your local, and start a referendum.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

England. The Labor Party's "Practical" Politics.—During the first week in February the Labor Party held a convention at Leicester. An account of what was done might lead one to think that the proceedings had no serious significance. The most important discussion raged round a revision of the party constitution recommended the party executive. One change aroused more interest than all the others. The old constitution said: "Candidates and members must *accept* this constitution." This has always been interpreted to mean that candidates of the Labor Party must sign a pledge to support the constitution. In the constitution submitted by the executive this sentence is made to read: "Candidates and members must *maintain* this constitution." A wayfaring man might think that there is little to choose between "accepting" and "maintaining" a constitution. Yet the choice of one rather than the other is what caused the excitement at the convention of the Labor Party.

And as a matter of fact this choice of a word was fraught with deep significance. By the selection of the wrong one the Labor Party sold out what little it had left of self-respect and independence.

In its decision in the Osborne case the Law Lords expressed the opinion that the signing of a pledge by candidates of the Labor Party is contrary to "public policy." The Osborne case, it will be remembered, was brought at the instance of a union man who objected to paying dues which would go to support the political activity of his union. The decision in this case took from the organizations of labor the right to use their funds for political purposes. The Labor Party, naturally, is fighting to have this decision reversed. This can be brought about most simply by having a new enabling act passed by parliament. One might think that the Labor members have done enough for the Liberals to get from them a promise to pass such an act. But such has not been the case. All that they have got has been a suggestion from Mr. Asquith that the unions might be permitted to raise voluntary subscriptions for political purposes!

Now the convention of the Labor Party was naturally concerned about this matter. With great enthusiasm it directed the Labor group in the House of Commons to introduce a bill to annul the Osborne decision. In order to pave the way for such a bill, in order to escape the disapproval of the Lords, it decided to dispense with the pledges which its candidates have heretofore been required to sign. It was openly stated at the convention that these pledges have been lightly signed and lightly disregarded. But in order to show the Liberals that they have no crotchety notions about the class-struggle and to demonstrate to the Lords that they are disposed to obey the law, the members of the Labor Party convention voted to do away with the party pledge.

This is the secret of the excitement: "Accept this constitution" means sign a pledge to abide by it. "Maintain this constitution" means, nobody knows what. The convention accepted "maintain" by an overwhelming majority.

So this action at Leicester means that the shade of distinction which has hitherto separated the Labor Party from the Liberals has been reduced to the vanishing point. Candidates are to be supported politically and financially by the Labor Party and are to be responsible to nobody.

The leader in making the change was Mr. Ramsey Macdonald. In his speeches he affected to make great sport of theories and said much about the glories of practical policies. Apparently he voiced the feelings of the majority of delegates. It is a pleasure to record the fact that Keir Hardie fought manfully for the independence of Labor.

A "Socialistic" Government as Strike-breaker. The printers of London are winning their fight for an eight-hour day. The most interesting feature of their struggle is the part taken by the labor ex-

change established by the government under the administration of the Board of Trade. When the strike was at its height the master printers were surprised to receive from the labor exchange a circular letter offering to furnish all the printers required to meet any emergency.

It is to be hoped that the striking printers will appreciate the value of the Liberal Government to the working-class. It must be a great comfort to a workingman to know that as soon as he quits his job a thoughful government is ready to furnish a substitute.

Striking Under a Labor Government.—The teamsters of Adelaide, South Australia, chose an opportune time to strike. Three thousand of them went out in December, during the holiday rush. They asked 8 s. and a forty-eight hour week. The wage demand was certainly modest and the men themselves said that the heart of the movement was the demand for an eight-hour day. The demand for a forty-eight or a forty-four hour week is becoming popular with the workers of Australia. They say that every hour won for leisure is to the good, while a raise in wages is eaten up immediately by an advance in prices.

At first the tie-up was almost complete. Scabs were not to be had. Railway employees refused to handle parcels. Goods piled up on the wharves and in the factories. When the strike was over 8,000 tons of goods were waiting delivery on the wharves of Port Adelaide. Retail stores sent out boys with hand-carts, or told customers they would have to carry their own goods. Breweries and mills closed. The employees of other trades who were thrown out of work by the strike acted as pickets for the teamsters, even men carrying bundles on the streets were stopped by the pickets. The tramway employees were ready to go out when called. The Labor Premier himself predicted a general strike.

Then two forces began to act. Without came the pressure of police and military; within came the pressure on the unions to make exceptions and issue permits. Every policeman in Adelaide was on strike duty, and trying, ineffectually, to get passage for the few wagons that the employers tried to run. When the police failed to open traffic, the soldiers were called in and coal-wagons surrounded by troopers made their way through the streets.

From the first the strikers had allowed deliveries to be made to the hospitals. Next they gave a permit to the Electric Co. to haul the coal needed to make power for the trams. Flour was delivered to union bakers. Finally individual firms signed up with the union and ran their wagons for awhile and then withdrew from the agreement. The permits confused the situation and every exception to the tie-up weakened the blockade.

But it seems to be politics that dealt the last blow. You will remember that Australia has a Labor Government. The Labor Party controls the state government of South Australia also. The Labor Prime Minister of South Australia himself said that there had been more strikes under the Labor Government than ever before. It was reported that if the teamsters' strike was not settled before New Year, the government would have to resign. The Adelaide Register called on the citizens to form armed bands to supersede the police. Labor officials were in a tight place. It is against the law to strike in Australia and the ministers declared that, as a government, they must uphold the law. On the other hand, the Labor Party knew where its votes came from. At first the request of the Employers' Association that the strikers be prosecuted was refused by the Labor Premier. Finally, however, the legal gentleman known as the Crown Solicitor advised the Premier that the acts of the union were criminal and the union should be prosecuted. The Labor Party simply let this decision be known, and then reminded the unionists that Australia provided a way of salvation for the discontented in the Industrial Court of Appeals. It was announced that the gates of salvation would be open on Dec. 21. The unionists appeared before the court on that date, agreed to hold a conference with the employers and as a result of the conference went back to work the next day. The question of wages was left to the Industrial Court. The employers agreed to some increase of wages, but the eight-hour day was lost.

The Attorney-General summed up the view of the Labor Party as follows:

"I hope in the future no trades union will resort to the clumsy wasteful, bad and ineffective method of strike for the purpose of solving industrial troubles." But the President of the Teamsters said: "The workers can expect nothing from Industrial Courts of Appeal."

France. Exit Briand.—Aristide Briand, Hero! Aristide Briand, Savior of Society! For months we have been hearing the praise of Briand. Every great daily in America has hailed Briand as the great man able to deal with the obstreporeous working-class.

And now Briand has fallen. On February 27th, the Chamber of Deputies gave his ministry a vote of confidence that really indicated a lack of confidence. The majority was small, so small that it was clear that M. Briand really lost the support of the Chamber of Deputies. So he resigned, and within a few days a new minister was at the head of the French government.

The new prime minister, M. Monis, seems to differ from his predecessor only in being a bit more cautious. So the fall of Briand has little significance. It does, however, bring to conclusion a chapter in the struggle of the French working-class against the French government.

Briand's policy was one of the ruthless suppression of the working-class and compromise, or worse, with the reactionary ecclesiastical power. In the first place he was supposed to represent the policy of rigid separation of church and state. It was thought that he could be depended upon to inforce the new law with regard to church property and the organization of the congregations. Of late, however, since he has felt the working-class turning against him, he has pursued a policy of conciliation—in relation to the law regulating the relations of church and state. He has been making friends with his bishops, and it is said, has received the support of the church in various selections. This has naturally made enemies of all those who wish to free the French republic from the influence of Rome.

But it was really his anti-labor policy that killed Briand. The policy of the mailed fist has come too late. The strike of the railway workers was crushed. Not only that. We all know how Durand was persecuted and only pardoned when the whole public rose in protest. And the persecution is not yet over. A number of the striking railway workers are still in jail awaiting trial for rioting and destroying property. All that can be proved against them is that they addressed public meetings which were held for the purpose of calling attention to the condition of the railway employes. They made speeches; a strike occurred; property was destroyed: therefore these men are criminals. This is the reasoning of the French courts.

All of this is a part of the Briand policy. And the public has evidently got tired of it. At least the French working-class is evidently tired of radical politics. "Radicalism" is about played out. Briand in a peculiar sense has come to stand for "radicalism" in this, its latest form. So Briand had to fail.

Germany. The Death of Paul Singer.—Here in America as well as throughout Europe the passing of Comrade Paul Singer is mourned by the whole Socialist movement. Singer was no orator. He was not a great writer. He was not the discoverer of any new economic theory. But he was one of the greatest organizers the world's labor movement has ever known. To him more than to any other single person the German Social Democratic Party owes its perfect mechanism.

German Socialists will never forget that Paul Singer came into their movement in 1878 when the anti-socialist law went into effect. At the moment when all the half-hearted reformers were scurrying to cover Paul Singer, a man of wealth and influence, saw that the only salvation for society lay in the power of the working-class. He had the courage to join the Socialist movement in those eventful days. And from that time down to the day of his death he devoted his wealth and all the strength of his powerful personality to the work of building up the Socialist movement. A great man has passed away, but he has left a great work behind him.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

THE resignation of John Mitchell from the National Civic Federation the first of the month spells war in the United Mine Workers, the largest labor organization in the country, with upward of 310,000 members. There has been an internal contest on between the Mitchell and Lewis factions for several years, but that has been a gentle June zephyr compared to the tornado that will rage from now on until the next convention meets, nine months hence.

There is no doubt that Mitchell and his friends will demand vindication and attempt to reverse the decree of the Columbus convention forbidding members to join the Civic Federation. In the United Mine Workers the convention's action is final and no referendum vote is provided for to approve or reject constitutional provisions. Consequently the Mitchell followers and the opposition may be expected to work like beavers to secure friendly delegates and dominate the coming Indianapolis gathering.

While Mitchell's resignation from the C. F. undoubtedly was a popular move, the announcement of Lewis, his powerful rival, that he would go back to the mines instead of selling the knowledge that he had gained in the labor movement to the operators or the Civic Federation, was also a fine master stroke, for within the memory of man virtually every prominent official in the big union has either gone over to the employers to serve as a sort of "labor commissioner" or took to playing old party politics.

Of course, Lewis' back-to-the-mines declaration was greeted with derision by his opponents, who pronounce it a performance for the galleries, a four-flush, etc., which causes the former to hurl another bomb by threatening to write a book. But instead of making Mitchell turn pale and cry for mercy, this latest proclamation from the Lewis camp will probably be received with shouts of joy, for be it known to all men that the doughty John once amused this merry old world as an author. The keynote of his book was that the great mass of the workers have made up their minds that they must be hewers of wood and drawers of water always, and about the only thing they could hope for was to convert the profit-grabbers into kind masters who would enter into trade agreements and condescend to let them work or hunt for jobs owned by the master class.

As nobody accused John of being radical, he became the beau ideal of the conservative element in the labor movement to such an extent that Sam Gompers became envious and also thrust himself upon an unsuspecting public in a volume, which, along with Mitchell's and several millions of other ebullitions of budding authors, are gathering dust on book shelves or storerooms.

Now the question arises, Is Lewis going to thresh over old straw and write about something that nobody reads, or will he send a ray of hope of emancipation into the miserable and monotonous mining shacks of the country—into the bowels of the hillside and in the valleys, where dwell the men, women and children, who, as they toil and drudge in producing wealth, secure a glimpse through the "muck raking" magazines, or even their boiler-plate country papers, of the riotous and extravagant debaucheries of the Civic Federation class who ride upon the backs of the workers?

Let me jot it down right now that heretofore, as regards the fundamental viewpoint of working class justice, viz.: to the workers belong the full product of their toil, I never saw or heard much contention between Mitchell and Lewis. Both sidestep that principle—you can't drag them into debate on the subject with a team of oxen. Either they seem to fear to arouse the enmity of their capitalistic friends or are too dense to hande the subject.

Therefore, to a man up a tree it appears as though there isn't much choice in this personal combat between the two factional leaders (so called). The Socialist element during the past two years con-

trolled the balance of power. They helped elect Lewis and defeat him and helped to drive Mitchell out of the Civic Federation. They did exactly the right thing, for both Lewis and Mitchell, while boasting of enjoying the friendship of Socialists, were always found voting against them in Federation conventions, thanks to the clever manipulations of the powers that be.

During the past two or three years the tide has been running strongly for Socialism in the mining districts in the United States and Canada. That I know from personal observation; that we know from the vote cast in political campaigns, from the gains in Socialist locals, and from the increasing demand for Socialist literature. This growth is bound to continue, and men are naturally being forced to the front who know more about economics than Mitchell and Lewis ever dreamed of, and unless the latter accept new ideas they will be dumped overboard as were the McBrides and Ratchfords. The world doesn't stand still. Let the Socialists stand by their convictions and pronounce a plague on both their houses.

WHATEVER the outcome of the referendum election in the Cigarmakers' International Union may be (at this writing both sides are claiming victory and the official count will not be announced until about the time the REVIEW is being printed), the "insurgents," as the anti-administration forces are termed in the campaign, gained a signal victory in cutting down the great majorities that the old regime received at the previous election to a point where it required the official count to decide the result.

The Civic Federation was the principal issue before the membership, and the insurgents carried, with few exceptions, every large city in the country—the centers of industry in which the workers are most sternly confronted by organized and aggressive capitalism—while the smaller unions, where the "buckeyes" operated by journeymen who supply the local market with smokes, supported the administration pretty generally.

A good-sized book could be written detailing the progress of the Cigarmakers' International Union and the many problems that confront that organization, which is one of the best in the country. Proportionately there are probably more radicals among the cigarmakers than in nine out of ten trade organizations, large and small, and the wonder is that such conservatives as Gompers have been kept at the front constantly representing men who are being harder hit by centralized capitalism than most trades.

For some years the American Tobacco Company and its various offsets, notably the United States Cigar Stores Company, have fought the union factories most unmercifully; women and child workers by the tens of thousands are being exploited by the anti-union capitalists; convict contract laborers in many penal institutions are pitted in competition against the union workers, and, finally, the government itself has been enlisted in the unholy cause to break down the union standard of living by permitting the importation of millions of cigars produced by half-naked Filipinos at a few cents a day.

While I write the *Cigarmakers' Journal*, official organ edited by President Perkins, comes along and says editorially that the Tampa cigar manufacturers and manufactures in other places "are agitating the proposition to start trade schools for teaching cigar making." This sounds funny to President Perkins, who says that "the trust and the United Cigar Manufacturing Company run huge kindergarten shops" and employ vast numbers of girls under the bunch-breaking and roll-up system.

Singular as it may seem, Perkins and Gompers have no patience with anyone who comes forward with a thought of marshaling the workers on strictly class-conscious political lines to make a fight to end this sort of thing. Nobody knows much of anything except these great leaders, who alternately bump their heads against the stone wall of capitalism or hide them in the sand like ostriches. But for the splendid beneficial system and the widespread advertising campaign that is pursued by the cigarmakers, all of which represents magnificent sacrifices on the part of the rank and file, radicals and conservatives alike, the international union would be in little better condition than the iron and steel workers.

No one can predict just how long this

intensified struggle between the manufacturers who employ unionists at decent wages and hours and the American tobacco trust and its subsidiaries and their cheap labor will continue on the competitive field—and, you know, "competition is the life of trade." Daniel De Leon predicted the downfall of the international union a score of years ago, but he was wrong, for, despite all of his supposed learning, he doesn't seem to understand the class interests or instincts of the workers.

The cigarmakers, like all other organized trades, will fight out these questions inside of their unions, no matter how many splits and secessions may be encouraged by impatient folk or alleged intellectuals, who may fancy that they can jump into the co-operative commonwealth week after next. (I wish we could, but we can't, for there are too many workers in the country who know nothing about the real mission of the labor movement.)

THE next important struggle in which the Civic Federation will be an issue is that imminent in the International Association of Machinists. James O'Connell, president of the I. A. of M. and a member of the C. F., is being opposed by William Johnston, chairman of the legislative committee at Washington, and Charles Bank, of Toledo, O., who is heading a movement to industrialize the metal trades. Johnston will prove a most formidable candidate for O'Connell, not only because the latter has become identified with the "Militia of Christ," a religious organization that has been started to smash Socialism in the organized labor field, but for the reason that Johnston has had exceptionally good success in pushing through congress a measure that will guarantee the eight-hour day to some 23,000 machinists employed on government work.

IN the March number of the *American Federationist* Sam Gompers makes an effort to defend the Civic Federation, which has become an issue in the labor field. In a nutshell, the whole article is an apology and a typically cumbersome attempt to connect the Socialists and the open shoppers. Yet Gompers hobnobs with the Carnegies, Belmonts, Fricks, Markses, Perkinses, Schwabs and their ilk.

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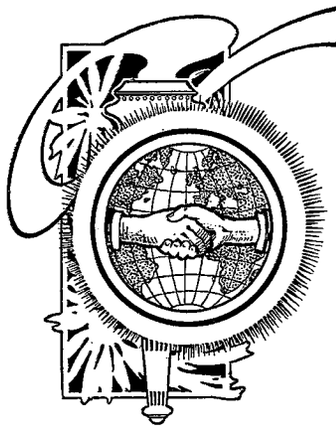
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LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

Road-Town. By Edgar Chambless. New York; Roadtown Press, 150 Nassau Street. Price $1.35.

The idea underlying this book is that the most intelligent way to build a city is along a line of railroad track extending a hundred or a thousand miles through the county, making one continuous house, with light and air on each side, a railroad underneath and a boulevard on the roof. The author makes out a good case for the scheme from an economic point of view, but it seems to us that he makes a fatal mistake in urging that it be carried out by co-operative associations of little capitalists. The big capitalists are the only ones who could handle such a scheme effectively. If they were to build "Road-Town," they could give their tenants better quarters and better transportation service than the same money will buy now, and still make immense profits until this system of building becomes general, when rents (and wages) would fall. One of the best things about this new idea is that if the big capitalists take it up, as they probably will, the number of home-owners will be still further reduced. Home-owners, like other property-holders, usually think a great deal about their property and very little about the common interests of the working class, themselves included. So the sooner the big capitalists strip them of their little possessions, the better it will be for the working class, since one more obstacle will be out of its way.

Individualism. Four Lectures on the Significance of Consciousness for Social Relations. By Warner Fite, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Indiana University. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Cloth, $1.80 net.

An extremely scholastic work upon which brief comment will suffice. The author occasionally punctures the moral reflections of reformers in a clever fashion. On the other hand, when he comes to speak of socialism, he is evidently one of those friends who is more to be feared than an enemy. To him, socialism "stands simply for a comprehensive organization of society," and elsewhere he speaks of "the socialistic doctrine that the best government governs everything." We make this criticism with no bitterness against the genial professor, but with regret that many self-styled socialists talk and write in a way to spread just such misapprehensions. To him and them alike we commend a course of reading in Frederick Engels, who better than any other writer has put into words the real instincts and desires of the organized working class regarding government. We recognize that the governments of civilized states today are and must be the managing committees of the capitalist class to coerce and oppress the working class. We seek control of these governments for the sake of abolishing them as governments and at the same time abolishing the capitalists as capitalists. The state under working class control will not govern persons, it will enable each individual through his share of co-operative labor to provide himself with the necessities and comforts of life, and it will leave the individual free to regulate his own morals. And it may be confidently predicted that the morals resulting from this change will be infinitely better measured in their effect on human happiness than the morals of today.

What Diantha Did. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. New York: The Charlton Co., 67 Wall St. Price $1.00 net.

This is Mrs. Gilman's first novel and will prove a surprise to those who know her only through her sociological writings. In a brisk and readable story, she here presents the adventures of an engaging young heroine, who attempts to carry out modern theories on the solution of the housekeeping problem. Diantha's story is the story of the struggle many women make to-day when they insist upon having a life work of their own outside of the kitchen or the home. The tale abounds in action, color, humor, atmosphere and keen characterization. Moreover, it contains carefully worked out facts and figures for the guidance of other Dianthas disposed to embark on similar enterprises.

The Poems of Max Ehrmann. New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 220 E. 23d St. Price $1.50.

One of the most delightful volumes we have had the pleasure of reviewing in many months. The best of Mr. Ehrmann's poems are pervaded with subtle suggestion that stimulates the reader more than ruggeder or perhaps stronger verses. There are charming songs that bring lasting pleasure in the beauty of their form and rhythm. But is is as a mental stimulant that the book excels. We find ourselves going over a line or a verse, following Mr. Ehrmann through a new field of thought, or over strange paths to odd thought in surprising and delightful manner. The Book of Rebellion is both virile and tender. Thou That Art Idle Born is a song among songs!

The Chasm, by George Cram Cook. Frederick A. Stokes Company, 443 Fourth avenue, New York. Cloth, $1.25 net.

The Socialist novel has generally proven a failure because of the expedients each writer has adopted to reach his readers. These have invariably been long speeches declaimed by impossible persons and a plot that seemed forced rather than real. Those who have not been guilty of this have had to transport their readers to a distant future, like Edward Bellamy, and have them "look back" to the civilization of today, pointing out its defects and contrasting them with the "New Jerusalem." The result, while not lacking in interest, has been far from satisfactory.

It is with relief, therefore, that we lay down Mr. George Cram Cook's "The Chasm," conscious that this powerful story of love and the all-pervading class war of today grips the reader with its clear philosophy, its tense situations, its glorified love and the realism of the social chasm that yawns between the world's economic masters and those in the social pit. And all this is developed out of situations that are natural in their sequense and without resort to speeches delivered by impossible people. Socialists will recognize in Walter Bradfield, with his general culture and knowledge of modern science, a proletarian who is now a type in any city where Socialism is strong. Marion Moulton, the manufacturer's daughter, though not a type, is real. The chasm—the class struggle—is vital and dominant, the scenes being enacted in parvenue America and Czar-cursed Russia. The story is shot through with the revolutionary ideals that dominate the lives of millions and one which the reader will feel reluctant to lay aside until finished. Price $1.38 postpaid. Frederick Stokes Co., are REVIEW advertisers. Mention the REVIEW when ordering this book.

Never-Told Tales. By Dr. Wm. J. Robinson. New York: The Altrurians, 12 Mt. Morris Park, W., New York. Price $1.00, postpaid.

A book of strong stories showing the terrible results that obtain through the provincial attitude of men and women toward the sex question and venereal diseases. The world today is full of ignorant people who refuse to discuss these subjects with their sons and daughters with the result that thousands of young men and women become hopeless physical wrecks. Sores are never healed through neglect. Covering them does not cure them. Only by open and intelligent discussion, as well as by scientific study can society hope to conquer venereal diseases. Knowledge will then aid prevention and science will intelligently work toward permanent cures. False modesty should be thrown aside and FOR THEIR OWN PROTECTION young men and women should be advised to read this book.

Socialism and Success. By W. J. Ghent. New York: John Lane Company. Price $1.25.

A book of essays. The burden of the Essay on Success is the song of the socialist philosophy "to seek the success of one in the success of all," or, in the language of socialism, to abolish classes and exploitation and provide equal opportunity for all who work. To THE REFORMERS, explains why reform cannot help the working class; pointing to revolution alone to save it. TO SOME SOCIALISTS, a criticism which we of the Impossibilist Bent may well take to heart. Our enemy is Capitalism and we will have our hands full destroying it. Nothing else is very important. Sometimes we forget this and waste time on friends who do not agree with us on matters of tactics. To the Retainers, is a plea to the servants of Capitalism, whom we shall probably be unable to convert till they have lost their jobs; To Mr. John Smith, Workingman, is a chapter devoted entirely to the wage-worker, and inspires in us the wish that all socialist writers would begin in, remain in and never leave—this proletarian field.

Anti-Matrimony. A Satirical Comedy. By Percy MacKaye. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 443 Fourth Ave. Price $1.35.

This is in the first place a thoroughly bright and enjoyable comedy, but it is a good deal more than this. It is a keen, logical satire on some of the absurdities of the modern drama of Continental Europe in its relation to the marriage question. The fatal weakness of this school of dramatic writers is that it overlooks the economic reasons that established the institution of marriage and the other economic reasons that still make it desirable to the people who live in it.

The Man-Made World, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, published by the Charlton Company, 67 Wall street, New York.

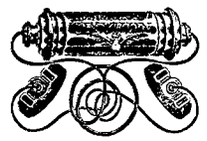
Many books have been written about women by men. This is a book about men by a woman. It analyzes their essential traits and characteristics as males, and points out the effects that an exclusively masculine domination has had upon every department of human life. Without passion or prejudice, but with relentless logic and apt illustration, Mrs. Gilman traces to this condition many of the most crying evils of modern life, and indicates specifically in just what respects the participation of women in all branches of human work will operate for the improvement of the world.

IN my review of John Kenneth Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," I called attention to the fact that the public libraries of the United States are being stocked with at least two books on Mexico that were inspired by President Diaz. It seems that there is a conspiracy on foot to load these institutions with books that will glorify this tottering savage and the slave pen he presides over. This view is further confirmed by the appearance of another book of this kind, this time from the pen of James Creelman, a literary hack of some note. It is entitled "Diaz, Master of Mexico." Creelman's book was largely dictated by Diaz, for Creelman is a friend of the Mexican savage, paid a long visit to him in the Mexican capitol, and had access to information furnished by Diaz himself.

In the last chapter of his book Creelman defends Diaz against the charges of slavery, denies that the Yaquis have been enslaved, and denounces the criticism launched against Diaz and his hangmen. This book, too, will go into the libraries. It with the other two mentioned will do deadly work against the revolution. I therefore want to repeat my advice given before: If your local makes no other expenditure this month, see that your minutes contain the following entry: *"Ordered that one copy of Turner's 'Barbarous Mexico' be placed in the public library, cost to be borne by the local."* This will be a big contribution towards the Mexican revolt and will aid in counteracting the sinister influences that would use the public library to wring sweat and blood from Mexican slaves.

James Oneal.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

COMRADE HAYWOOD received a great ovation when he appeared on the platform of New Turner Hall, in Detroit. Over 1,000 people were packed into the hall and the 'Big Fellow' kept them interested every minute. In speaking of the Class Struggle, he at once demonstrated that he was not merely a doctrinaire and had learned the class struggle from reading Marx, but that he had lived the class struggle and was still living it in a very strenuous manner. He was entirely free from the prevailing type of 'school oratory' and spoke in the language of the proletarian. Every man and woman in the vast audience understood both the man and his message. The meeting in Detroit will long be remembered as one of the greatest and most instructive meetings ever held within its limits."

Comrade McVey writes from Haverhill, Mass.: "Haywood took well here. The audience felt at home and were keenly interested in every word he said. You will hear from THEM in your Circulation Department of the Review." Enthusiastic reports are coming in from every point where Haywood has held a meeting. Dates already arranged for in March, April and May are as follows:

Pittsburg, 18th; Pottsville, 19th; Scranton, 22nd; Altoona, 23rd; Piqua, Ohio, 26th; Muscatine, Ia., 28th; Rock Island, Ill., 30th. *April*: Warren, April 2nd; Rochester, 6th; E. Liverpool, 9th; Bellaire, 16th; Zanesville, 18th; Elyria, 24th; Lima, 25th; Grand Rapids, Mich., 26th; Cadillac, 27th; St. Louis, Mo., April 30th; Kansas City, St. Joseph, Springfield, Joplin, and other points have requested dates. Following these we hope to route him through the Northwest to the Coast.

All locals wanting dates in Nebraska, the Dakotas, Kansas, Iowa and still further West, write us at once so that we may include you in Haywood's Western route.

Requests for Frank Bohn dates are coming in steadily. Comrade Bohn will be in Pennsylvania during the latter part of March and in Ohio in April. There are several good dates open for April in Ohio. Comrades wanting a Bohn date during that month wire us for information.

For the benefit of those who do not know our terms for Haywod and Bohn Lectures, we ask Locals to guarantee to take 500 admission tickets at 25 cents for the Haywood and 200 to the Bohn lecture. Each admission ticket is good for a three-month Review subscription. We pay $25 hall rent for Haywood meetings, and donate 200 copies of the Review to each meeting for benefit of the local. Also we donate 100 copies of the Review to every Bohn meeting.

Indiana Locals wanting Bohn dates for the latter part of April, write us promptly.

Shall We Abolish the National Executive Committee.—If the Socialist Party is an organization of the working class for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, its business will have to be conducted by the membership, and not by a few men. It is true that we can recall party officials if they don't do things to suit us, but what good does that do when we put others in their places, and allow them the same authority possessed by those who were recalled.

Most of our petty narrow pated quarrels could be avoided if the business of the national office was directed by the national committee.

The worst curse the working class have is "leaders" who direct their affairs (or try to), and still we Socialists have not learned enough to know that we will have to get past the "leaders" stage before we can strike a telling blow against Capitalism.

Why not abolish the National Executive committee and put that $1,352.00 a year into propaganda instead of car fare? Yours for Socialism, E. W. Latchens, Coffeyville, Kans.

The Arbeiter Turner-Bund der Word-Oft-Staaten of Elmhurst, New York, decided the new name of the organization shall be "Workman's Gymnastic Alliance of the United States of America." The next Bunder-Festival will be held on August 20, 1911, in H. Ohlenschlager's Park in Elmhurst, N. Y. The next Bunder meeting will take place in January, 1912, in Hoboken, N. J. Any gymnastic society declaring itself in favor of the principles of Socialism is requested to correspond with Paul C. Wolf, secretary, Elmhurst, N. Y., 33 Harrison Place.

Butte Labor Council refuses to allow the workingmen to be bled to **build a tabernacle.** The Butte Ministerial Association **arranged**

to import a sky-pilot to revive the lagging interest in the churches here. They planned erecting a tabernacle in which he was to hold forth. In order to get the work done for nothing, they sent a committee to the Trades and Labor Council asking them to suspend their rule and to allow the mechanics and carpenters to DONATE their services. The following is the reply of the Council in brief:

"We, the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, in regular session assembled, have adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, We, as a body, are opposed to sensational vaudeville methods of religious propaganda, with its attendant spasmodic, theological nightmares—so hopelessly out of tune with the spirit of the time.

"And, whereas, Among organized labor are represented all shades of religious belief, as well as agnostics and independent thinkers, who are strongly opposed to all efforts to revive obsolete creeds and dogmas that have outlived their usefulness;

And, whereas, The primary object of organized labor is to secure economic justice for the workers and to promote the advent of a just, equitable and scientific industrial system and believing that violent disturbances of the mental equilibrium, resulting from emotionalism, running wild, are not conducive to the realization of our aims and objects;

"And, whereas, We believe that donations of any character made by unions, as a body, to the promoters of the enterprise in question, would be inimical to our policy of co-operation along well defined lines, and would have a tendency to disturb the sentiments of mutuality and harmony, now prevailing among the local organizations.

"Be it therefore resolved, That it is the sentiment of this body that all affiliated unions should refrain from compromising their organizations by voting any funds or authorizing suspension or abrogation of rules or regulations, in connection with the building of the proposed 'tabernacle' or any similar project—individual members, of course, being at liberty to donate as freely as they may feel justified in doing—at a time when the army of the unemployed numbers millions and multitudes of willing wealth-producers ordinarily go hungry to bed."

Freedom. A new monthly journal; published at 789 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal.; 10 cents a copy; $1.00 a year. An attractive magazine devoted to the destruction of superstition and the uplift of the Under Dog. It is a sparkling periodical, brilliant, satirical and filled with hot shots against parasites and ghosts.

Wants a Daily Review. Comrade A. H. Shewry, of California, writes: "Enclosed find money for bundle of February REVIEWS. I wish they came daily. I would not be without the REVIEW even if I had to miss some of my three meals a day to get the price."

Socialists to the Front in Muscatine.—The Muscatine, Iowa, Journal, reports the recent election as follows:

Far overshadowing all other features of yesterday's city election, the most sensational and closely contested in the city's history, was the wonderful strides made throughout the city by the Socialist party, and the election of the Socialist candidate for alderman in the Third and Fourth wards by overwhelming majorities.

Second in importance was the neck-and-neck race for the recorder's office, with T. H. Brannan, Republican, leading his Democratic opponent, Gustav Weis, by five votes, and the Socialist candidate, F. F. Schoenig, a good third, only 89 votes behind.

The very close vote cast for the candidates of the three parties for some of the offices lent an added interest to the fact that in yesterday's election the voters of Muscatine were called upon for the first time to select the subordinate officers of the city by ballot.

The Socialist gains filled the hearts of the members of that party with a great joy, which was expressed in the early morning parade through the streets of the city. The Socialists scored with the unprecedented feat of electing two aldermen, the first members of their party to be elected to office in Muscatine. Every Socialist candidate carried the Third and Fourth wards, though the majorities of the subordinate officers were materially less than those of the aldermanic candidates, who in both instances polled a greater vote than the combined votes of their opponents.

The Socialistic gains are generally credited to the present local labor situation, several of the candidates of that party being prominent in the councils of the Button Workers' Union. While it is on all hands admitted that the votes cast yesterday for the Socialist candidates by no means is indicative of its actual strength, it is certain that in future elections the two older parties will have to reckon, and that mightily, with this comparatively new political organization.

Comrade Lang of Muscatine writes: The newspaper report is nearly correct. We made tremendous gains and we are going to make the Haywood meeting, on March 28th, the greatest celebration we have had in years. The Socialists in Muscatine have been working during the strike there and they have accomplished wonderful results. Evidently they do not propose to have the Capitalists hold The Big Stick much longer. Just as we go to press another letter from Comrade Lang brings the news that at a school election March 13th, the Socialists elected both of their candidates, polling 924 votes out of a total of 1,784.

The Convention of the United Mine Workers. On January 17th, men from every part of America were sent hastening toward Memorial Hall, Columbus, Ohio. This hall has been dedicated to the U. S. Army and Navy, but on this day the doors were thrown ajar

to admit the soldiers of the industrial army of mining. Every nationality was represented. No color lines were drawn. As the eleven hundred men took their seats and were called to order by President Lewis, the thinking men of America were asking "what will they do?"

President Lewis recognized that in this convention he would meet not only his former enemies, who sought to retire him to private life, but another power. This is the power that makes no war on individuals nor lines up with factions but stands for principles. The men that make it are known as Revolutionary Industrial Unionists. They stand for the Marxian system of economics and no compromise. These men had fought for years within and without the ranks and they were now ready for a battle to determine whether the U. M. W. of A. should retrograde or advance.

The recent convention of the A. F. of L. refused to admit the Western Federation of Miners. Here the sentiment was that this organization, with historic battles to its credit —Leadville, Cripple Creek, Telluride and Goldfield, should be admitted to the A. F. of L. There were voted in and this means there will be many jobless fighters in the amalgamation.

These men radiate life and energy and are breathing and speaking words of the class struggle. On their banner is inscribed "To the worker belongs the full product of his toil" and their ultimate goal is the industrial republic.

The great convention began its work. Resolutions were read from every state in the union. We heard from the battle-fields of Irwin, Tuscarawas Valley, Colorado and Nova Scotia. Everywhere the Capitalist Government is in battle array against the mine workers. Mine workers are being clubbed, shot and evicted.

Heretofore, the Civic Federation, in our conventions, has been a plaything. Now it was the vital question of the hour. The battle waged for almost a day and men unknown in the labor movement, threw their strength to sever themselves from this monster. Germer, Hefferle and Williams, of Illinois; Huston, of Indiana; Savage, of Ohio; Charles Gildea, of Pennsylvania; Michelberry and McCullough, of Michigan, all stood firm against the Civic Federation. J. W. Carroll, of West Virginia, stood firm and put the question from a class stand point.

The vote stood 1,213 against and 967 for. Men who had never heard about "the class struggle" voted on the right side when this question came up.

In every mining camp the craft union idea lies bleeding beside the sacred contract and trade agreement. Tom Lewis says the A. F. of L. is a joke. We think it is a tragedy. There are still members of the Civic Federation in Gomper's cabinet who think the A. F. of L. is the labor movement. Presidents make the same claim. Adolph Germer, of Illinois, was the one Illinois official that made a clean fight.

Germer will still have to battle with the U. M. W. who have industrial unions, but check-off systems, contracts, fines and where one part of the industry is warring on another part, due to unequal wages and the craft union idea.

There is sometimes not a vast difference between a craft union and an industrial union, save in name and form. Both sometimes stand for nothing more revolutionary than a higher price for the sale of labor-power as a commodity. Abolition of wage slavery is not mentioned. This kind of an industrial union is a negation and will be short lived. At the present time leaders are calling for a referendum vote. And as John Mitchell fell, so will future labor-leaders fall. The day of leaders is passing. Wage slaves from the mines challenge Civic Federation leaders to debate.

Meet Gildea and W. H. Thomas of Pennsylvania, J. W. Carroll of West Virginia, Huston of Indiana, Miculberry and McCullough of Michigan, or Koch, Germer, Hefferle, Williams, John Francis and Tom McDonald of Illinois, men from the pick and big box, and tell them, Mr. Mitchell, how Carnegie can be a friend of labor when he compensates slaves at 13 cents per hour. Tell us why he dealt the blow to the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers? Why your brother, Prof. Elliott, says a scab is a hero? Tell us why, when asked to solve the problem of the Unemployed, President Taft replied "God knows." We ask you. Mr. Mitchell, why Mr. Taft throws the burden of this solution upon God?

The convention passed a Preston-Smith resolution. These men are in the Nevada penitentiary, suffering for defending their class interests. The whole working class should arise and demand their release. We should keep up protest meetings.

With 85 per cent of the miners in Colorado UNORGANIZED, 50,000 in Pennsylvania unorganized, with Alabama, once organized, now without organization, with West Virginia unorganized—does not this show clearly that craft unionism which has spent millions of dollars trying to organize these men—is a miserable failure?

The coal miner is going to use another instrument. To fight highly developed capital, he will have a highly developed class organization. As we see the breaking up of old institutions, we must recognize the economic question in its full significance.

Every miner should read Marx's Value, Price & Profit, Debs' Craft, Class and Revolutionary Unionism, Shaw & McClure's Socialism, The Preamble of the I. W. W. and De Leon's "What Means This Strike?" With the knowledge thus obtained he will take his stand in the working class movement.

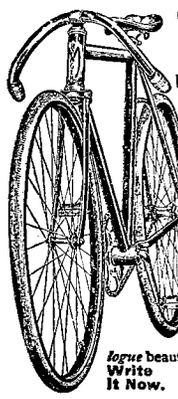
John McBride read a review of the early miners' organization, from the Knights of Labor down. There is nothing constant in ideas and institutions. As he showed, these change and pass away. So with the U. M. W. as today organized. A real bona fide union of the working class will rise to take its place. The preamble is already a matter of record in the proceedings of this convention. It stands as a beacon and an inspiration to the world's workers that the time has arrived when we not only TALK but DO.—Philip L. Beal, Delegate from Labor Union No. 2708, Belleville, Ill.

Danish Socialist Club. The Danish Socialist Club of Brooklyn, N. Y., has its business meetings on the first Thursday evenings, and meetings for lectures and discussions every third Saturday evening each month at Concordia Hall, 335 Prospect avenue, Brooklyn. All who can speak the Danish or Norwegian language, and are interested in economic or social problems are invited to attend the meetings, take part in the discussions, and to become members of this club. An excellent library, consisting of the best works of Scandinavian writers, also translations from other well-known authors on sociological and various other scientific subjects, is free for the use of club members.—P. Thorsen (chairman), 338 Van Brunt street, Brooklyn.

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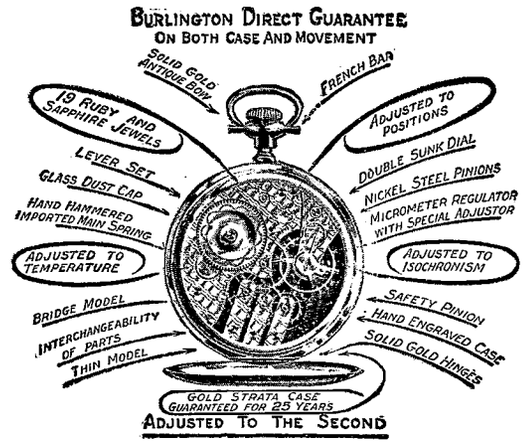
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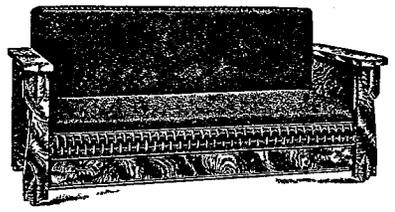


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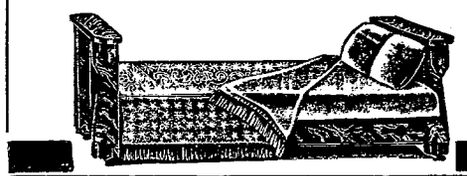
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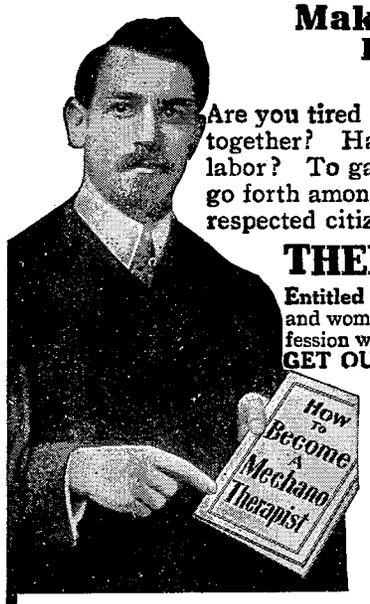
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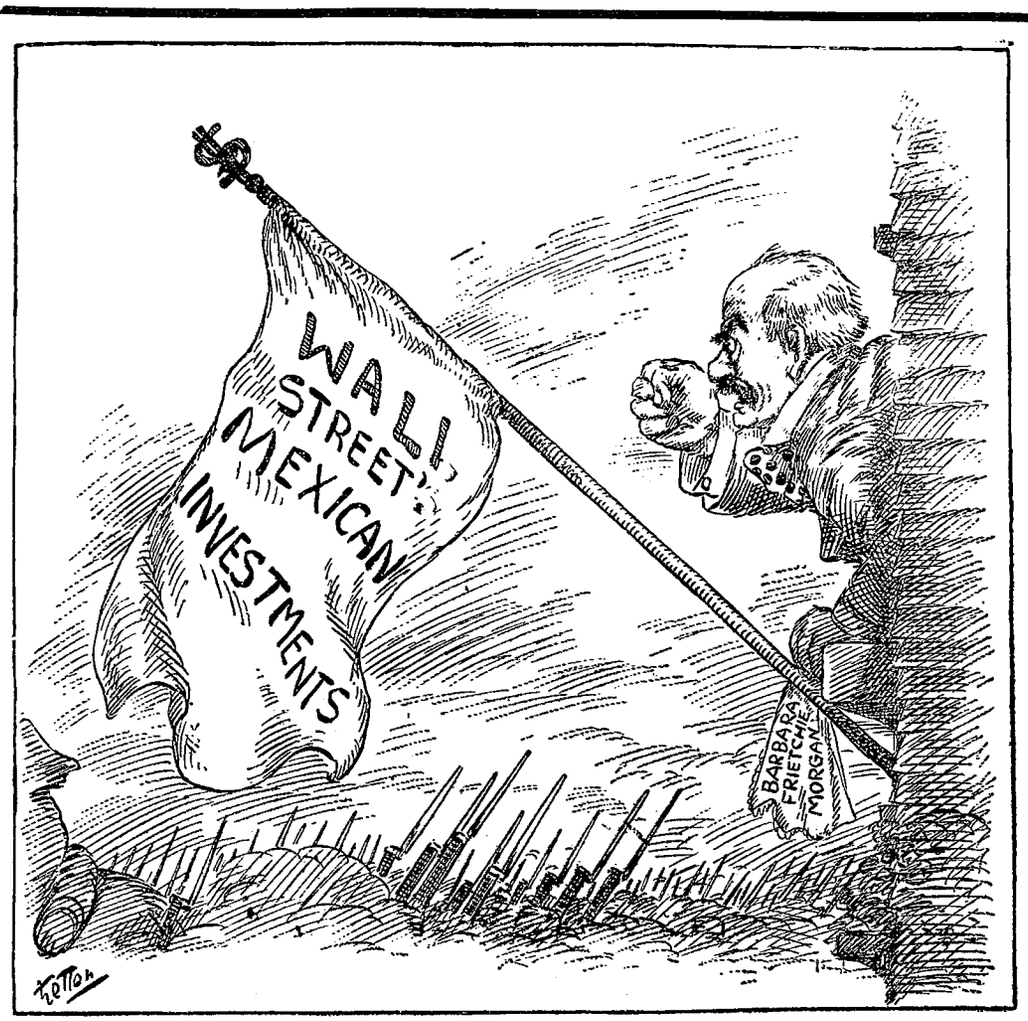
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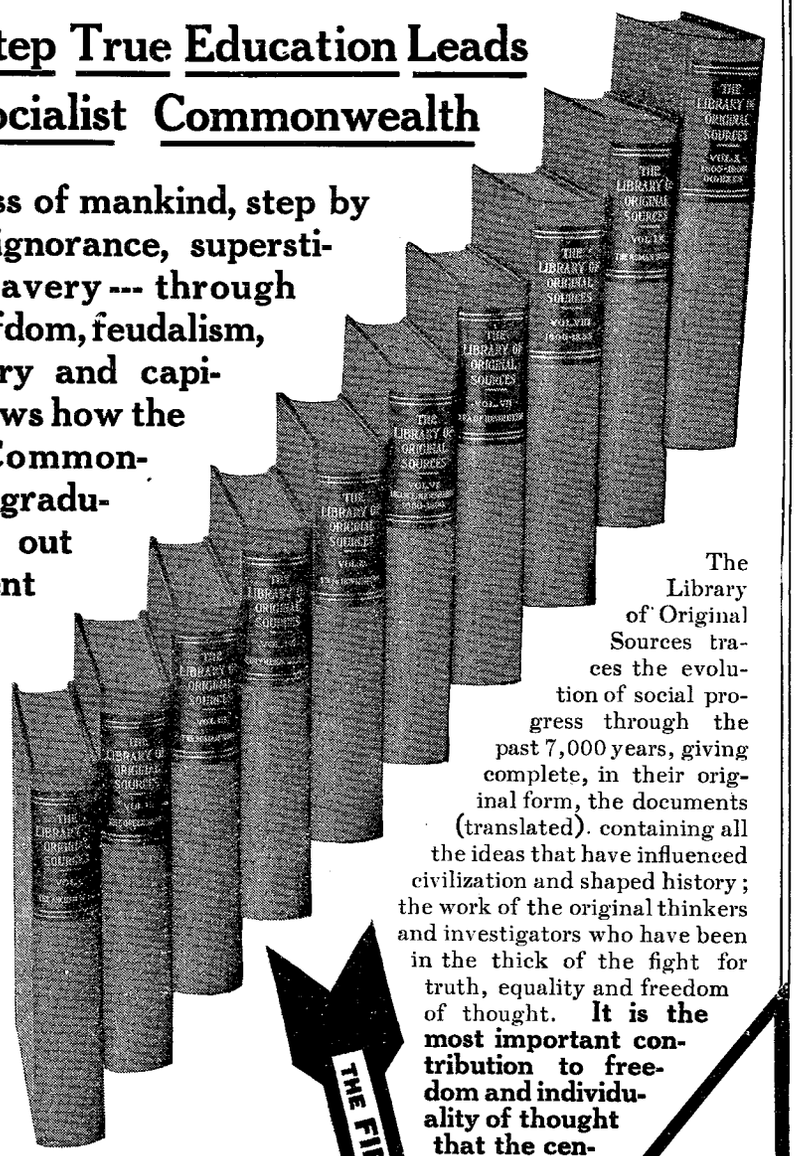
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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Publishers' Department.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A NEW PLAN FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS

Propaganda Through Bookstores.—The wage-workers of the United States are now beginning to welcome the message of Socialism as never before. They have grave doubts about the old line craft unions to which they have paid their money and about the old party politicians to whom they have given their votes. They are ready to read our books and magazines—even to pay for them, but few of them will take the trouble to write letters and buy money orders that they may supply themselves with our literature. The way to reach them is through the bookstores and news stands where they usually buy their reading matter.

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For $1.00 we will mail 20 copies of the May Review, or 10 each for May and June, or 5 each for May, June, July and August. Take these copies to a news dealer, tell him that he can pay you 7 cents each for all he sells, and return unsold copies to you. Then send him customers. We will supply you free of charge with miniature posters of the REVIEW, gummed ready to stick up, on which you can write the dealer's address. Besides, you can tell your neighbors and shopmates that the REVIEW is sold by this dealer, and that it contains something they want to read. On this plan, if the dealer sells all your copies, you will have your dollar back and 40 cents with it; if half are sold you will lose but a trifle, and you can give away the unsold copies to new readers who may buy for themselves next month.

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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI. MAY, 1911 No. 11

WAR ON WAR

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

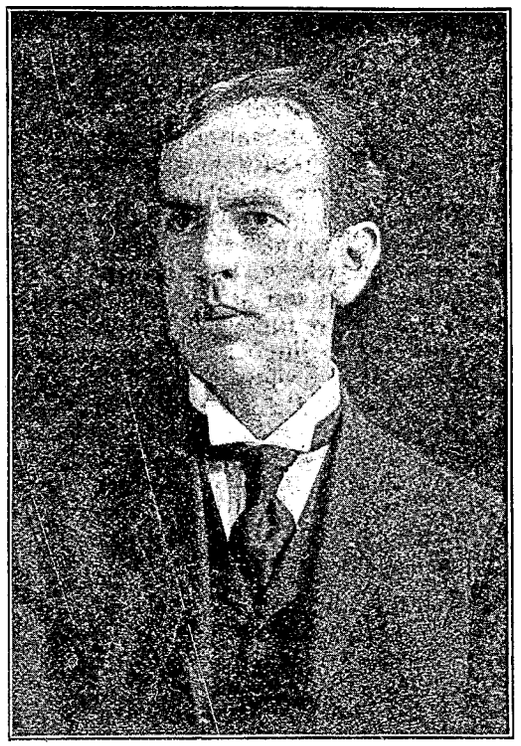
MAY DAY is Labor's Labor Day. The September Labor Day is Capital's Labor Day. To take part in a celebration of the latter is openly to acknowledge the brand of slavery your masters have placed upon you. To join in the celebration of the former is publicly to renew your oaths of fealty to the cause of Human Freedom. The one is the act of a slave proud of his slavery. The other is the act of a slave resolved to end his slavery.

But there is another difference. The September day is kept only in the United States; the May day is gladly and bravely, yes, joyously celebrated all over the world, wherever a ray of hope from the rising sun of Socialism has penetrated the cheerless gloom and misery of capitalist slavery.

By your May Day demonstrations, then, you affirm three things: (1) Your class-consciousness; (2) your dauntless hope; and (3) your world-wide brotherhood as workers.

The revolutionary labor movement in America needs all three. The lack of class-consciousness has done more than any other one thing to check and retard the growth of Socialism in America. But the courts are doing their best (and their best is mighty good) to arouse class-consciousness in the American workers. We can leave the creation of class feeling very largely to the master class. They are on the job and working over-time. What we have to do is to open up the channels into which this force can flow

The *apparent* lack of hope of the Socialists has hitherto been the most obvious defect of the Socialist propaganda in America. To read a Socialist daily paper in America has been a more depressing ordeal than listening to an old-fashioned funeral sermon or a German Christmas hymn. This is all wrong. Life



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

today is a tragedy. But it requires no Socialist philosopher to announce that. Any fool can see the miserable inanity of most human lives today. Our glory as Socialists is that we can see the bright light of hope through all the clouds of misery and tragedy. Our chief business is to proclaim this hope. The Socialist speaker who does not leave his hearers more cheerful than he found them has made a dismal failure. He would have done better as an expounder of brimstone theology.

But while we have our part to do in creating and spreading Socialist hope, here again the capitalists are helping us, are doing our work for us. Every display of capitalist fear creates at once its reflex of Socialist hope. The despairing fear which drove Taft to pardon Fred Warren is mirrored as joyous hope in thousands of happy Socialist faces.

So that while May Day means class-consciousness, while it means Socialist hope, too, as well as industrial working class solidarity, it is this last meaning of the day which we Socialists must drive home.

Comradeship must be world-wide in fact as it is in name. And this appeal of mine for more vital, actual, consciously felt international brotherhood is no empty, slushy sentimentality. There is real work for this international solidarity to do—work that sadly needs doing, and that nothing else on earth can do.

There is the great War on War that *must* be fought, and can only be won by comrades in whose hearts world-wide comradeship is too strong a passion to be driven out by the artful appeals of the master class to jingo patriotism.

Sherman was right when he said: "War is hell." But the daily life of the wage-slave is too often a worse hell than the battle-field. On the latter, death is often merciful and comes quickly. Many a working woman and girl suffers daily for decades tragedies more heart-rending than those of the battle-field.

I am no apologist for war. The picture of War (by van Stuck in the gallery just across the street, and which I am asking the editor to reproduce with this article), terrible and haunting as it is, falls far short of the dread reality. But I do say that to the seeing eye the complacent cannibalism of capitalist civilization, with its royal pageants above and its sweat-shops and brothels below, is more hideous than war. The cruelty of the battle-field is not more cruel; it is simply more obvious.

We Socialists mean to put an end to both kinds of war—military war and industrial war. The second is far the worse, but none the less we must for the moment concentrate our fire on the former.

Why? Because the war against industrial war is almost won. We are in truth a world-wide conquering army, and the world is almost conquered. The day, yes, the hour of victory is at hand.

For remember this: the class struggle in which we are engaged is an international struggle. Lincoln spoke the truth when he said: "This nation cannot survive half free and half slave." But it is equally true today to say: Civilization cannot survive half Socialist and half Capitalist. It is today almost possible to foretell the hour of Socialist victory in France, in Germany, in Belgium, in Denmark, and Sweden, and Norway.

Capitalism is international today just as Socialism is. Socialist victory in Germany and France must herald the collapse of capitalism in England. Capitalist defeat in England means Socialist victory in America, and Socialist victory in America can but usher in that "Federation of the World" of which Tennyson sang.

It is hard for Americans to realize the immense power wielded by the Socialists of Germany, France and Belgium. In France no cabinet can remain in power long if assaulted simultaneously by the confederated labor unions and the Socialist party. The recent downfall of the Briand cabinet proves that. The labor unions of France snatched the condemned labor leader, Durand, out of the very jaws of death.

Here in Germany the rulers in Berlin are so fully aware of the tremendous growth of the Socialist party, that they are resorting to every trick to postpone the general election to the last possible moment. For they well know that when it comes the enormous vote of the Social Democracy will startle the world. Most significant was the election the

other day in Numenstadt in the Bavarian mountains south of here. The district is Roman Catholic; it contains no large towns. The Centrum (Catholic party) worked hard and spent money freely. There was a very popular Liberal candidate in the field. Conditions more unfavorable could not well be imagined. But the Socialist vote exactly doubled since 1907, in which year we polled three and a quarter million votes in the empire.

And the trade union organization in Germany is even more perfect and complete than the political. Here in Munich, a city the size of Milwaukee, the percentage of workers unorganized is so small as to be negligible.

Think what these facts mean! Don't you hear the tolling of the funeral knell of Capitalism in France and Germany? Well, our opponents hear it, too. To you the sound is cheerful; to them it is doleful. And they know of but one way to stop the clangor of these bells; and that is to unchain the dogs of war and appeal to the old, dying, but far from dead, spirit of chauvinistic or jingo patriotism.

Would such an appeal be successful? Under some circumstances it might be. The comrades in Norway and Sweden did splendidly in preventing war at the time of the separation of Norway from Sweden. But had Sweden actually declared war, would comradeship have triumphed over Swedish "patriotism" in the hearts of our Swedish comrades? Who shall say?

The French and German comrades showed a splendid spirit of solidarity at the time of the Morocco trouble. But should the capitalist class of France bring about a war to regain the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, would the German comrades prove equal to the test? Would they be more Socialist than German? Or more German than Socialist?

I have asked these questions many times, and the answers are so unsatisfactory I do not care to record them.

The Keir Hardie-Vaillant Amendment.

At the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen our comrades, Edward Vaillant of France and Keir Hardie of England, went to the root of the matter by introducing an amendment to the Peace Resolution, declaring that in the event of war the Socialists in the countries involved should and would do their utmost to bring about a general strike in the transportation industries and in those industries providing the munitions of war.

This amendment received such strong support from France and England that had the American delegation taken a strong stand in its favor, it is possible it would have been passed. But the American delegation took no such stand. It was not built that way. It did not want to "recognize the principle of the general strike." It was afraid of "playing into the hands of the Impossibilists." It apparently believed that the best way to follow Comrade Hillquit's advice to "discard the revolutionary phrases for revolutionary action" was carefully to avoid both.

But the timidity (if that be the right word) of the American delegation did little harm. For in response to an appeal for unity from Vandervelde, the Congress unanimously referred the amendment to the comrades in the various countries for discussion and consideration, to be brought up for final action at the Congress in Vienna in 1913.

May Day is the day of days for the consideration and discussion of this amendment. On this day should the War on War be waged in every Socialist platform.

Let us make the capitalists of America and the world understand that our opposition to war is no platonic sentiment, but a fixed resolution to shrink from no means of preventing war. Let us show that we *mean* what we say.

The power of the Socialists has rendered the ruling classes prudent and thus prevented war more than once. But if the rulers come to believe that Socialists, though they may dislike war, will follow the flag like other citizens when war comes, what then?

There to my mind is the one great peril, that may indefinitely postpone the triumph of Socialism. But it is a peril that we can avert. If the Keir Hardie-Vaillant amendment, or some similar resolution, is adopted at Vienna, war will soon become impossible.

And nothing but war can prevent the triumph of Socialism in Europe and America within two decades.

Let the Vienna Congress declare that

Socialists mean what they say when they oppose war, and the splendid discipline and solidarity of the German Social Democracy can be relied on to comply with the resolution. And it is within the power of the German Social Democracy to make any great European war impossible. For the German Kaiser and his army are the great threats against the world's peace.

Once let the French and Belgian people realize that they are safe from German aggression and they will rise in revolution like tidal waves.

Moreover, when once the danger of war has been anihilated by the Socialists, the expenditures for naval and military purposes will drop like a sand bag from an airship, and this will hasten tremendously the economic collapse of capitalism. But this economic aspect of the matter is, in the words of Kipling, "another story."

Comrades in America, let me beg you to raise your eyes above the confines of your own town, state and country. You are in an international movement. If you are to play your part worthily you must think internationally.

From this international viewpoint there is no one thing so vitally important as the action of the Vienna Congress on the means of waging war against war. This action may be decided by the stand of the delegates from America.

What that stand shall be depends in the last analysis on you comrades of the rank and file.

You can make the will of the American Socialist party so plain that no American delegate at Vienna will dare oppose it. Better yet, you can send a delegation that will have no inclination to oppose it.

The most effective way to fight capitalism today is to fight war. May Day is the enlistment day for the War on War. Every Socialist is a recruiting officer.

May we all do our duty!

THE LAST STAND OF THE COMMUNARDS

FROM AN U. S. MARINE

Dear Comrades: We are anchored in Guantanamo for almost two weeks. The sudden development of new diplomatic relations with Mexico caused us to be sent away from the United States. We were in New York when the hurry-up orders came to proceed to this harbor.

There are four armored cruisers, two transports, one hospital ship and two colliers here now. Twenty-two hundred marines are encamped ashore.

What has aroused all this unexpected mobilization, this convulsive activity is yet unknown. Are the oppressed workingmen of Mexico to be deprived of all right to free themselves from the slavery they live under?

The possibility of raising another storm under the cry "Remember the Maine" is nearly past. The workingmen are wide awake. Their eyes were opened during the last war when the numbers of orphans and widows swelled into the thousands. The workers will refuse to be led astray again. But when Capital demands the sacrifice of the youths and men of our land, who is there who dares to say, No?

The Mexican workingmen were unable to stand while their blood was sucked from them. The result is a revolution. The cry was, "To Arms!" They are bombarding the Bastiles of Diaz as the French workingmen did in the days of their revolution. The Mexican workingmen, well accustomed to the wolfish instincts of American Capital, see no longer the Stars and Stripes as their Liberator from oppression and slavery but as a symbol of blood and workingmen's tears.

The American capitalist knows all this. He knows that when the Mexican workingmen fight and win democratic liberties, their glory will not last. If Mexican capital becomes developed, American capital will lose profits. To prevent this disaster there is much noise about the Monroe Doctrine and "protection of the interests in Mexico." Like attracts like. Capitalists serve Capitalists. Taft is to the rescue, as Commander-in-chief of the Military forces, which were snubbed by him while he was Military Governor in the Philippine Islands. But in the interests of Wall Street's rich Clique, he has ordered the Army and Navy to be prepared for trouble, at a moment's notice.

Men are undergoing all kinds of deprivations to stand ready to trot, or fight at the bidding of this Wall Street Clique. Would the people as a whole gain anything if the United States Government declared war—on any other nation? Would the working class gain anything? No. The Clique is the only class that will gain anything. The people will have an increased national debt and the working class will possess many more widows and orphans.

Troops are on the Mexican border ready to shoot down those fighting for freedom and for progress, FOR THE GREAT AMERICAN SPIDERS, the Wall Street Clique.

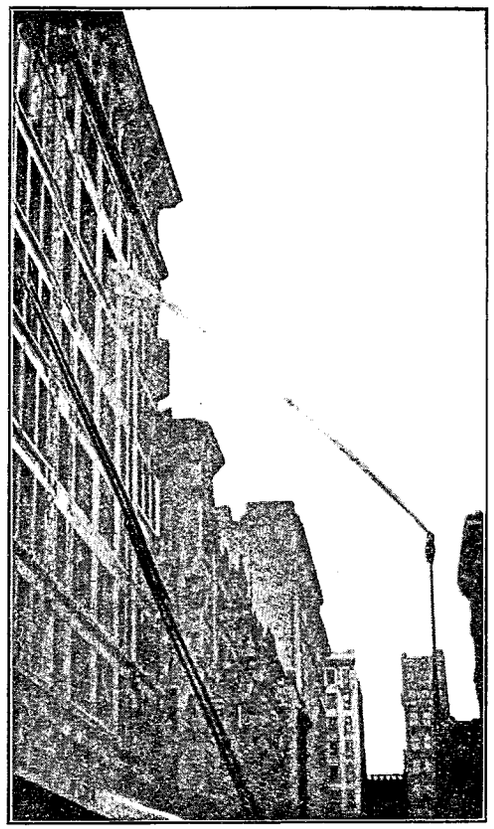
It looks dark for the working class. Capitalism is growing and Capitalists want new markets. Mexico is that market for which Capitalists are looking, and the United States Government is hunting for an excuse to conquer and oppress the weaker nation.

What the foreign powers will say is not yet known. But it is all a world old farce. When the conquering nation seeks to advance into a new market, the other "civilized" nations cry "Peace!" The wolves talk like lambs.

Arise, ye slaves. Stand together and free yourselves from the chains that keep you in captivity. Be blind no longer. We must know the truth. We must save ourselves. We must refuse to protect our oppressors—to fight and die for their interests.

We have nothing to lose but our chains and a whole world to gain!

885



THE MURDER OF THE SHIRT WAIST MAKERS IN NEW YORK CITY

BY

LOUIS DUCHEZ

Photographs by American Press Ass'n.

TRUTH is, indeed, stranger than fiction.

As I write this story of the bold, brutal and cold-blooded murder of one hundred and twenty-five girls, averaging nineteen years of age, and twenty men, here in New York, I wonder if what I have seen and heard and felt is real.

It was Saturday evening, March 25. Only five minutes more and the slaves at the sewing machines would be hurrying to their "homes," carrying their starvation wages for the week. More than 500 of them were employed by the Triangle Waist Company, the non-union concern which led the fight on the shirt waist girls more than a year ago. The slave pen was located on the eighth, ninth and tenth floors of a "fireproof" building in the very heart of the congested section of the city.

In some corner unknown on the eighth floor highly inflammable materials caught fire. Before anyone had time to look around big tongues of flame were licking up everything in the room.

A general rush was made for the elevators and stairways. The elevators did their best, but during the few minutes in which the tragedy occurred only fifty girls were lowered.

The stairways were the principal ways of escape—and *the doors leading to these stairways were locked.* For it was the custom of this firm, as it is the custom in other shirtwaist factories in New York, to lock the doors after work begins in the morning and to keep them locked all day, so that the employes may be searched before going home for pieces of goods, thread or buttons, and so that they may be prevented from going out and "stealing time" during the day.

Everywhere throughout the three floors silk and cotton goods hung from racks or were piled up on tables, and the little blaze which started in the unknown corner was like a spark in a powder magazine. In ten minutes the three floors were all afire. Huge clouds of flame belched from nearly every window.

Finding the doors locked to the stairways, the girls rushed to the windows. With their hair and clothes afire, they leaped from the eighth, ninth and tenth story windows. Some were seen climbing upon the sills and deliberately plunging to the pavement. Others, it is said, were pushed out by the pressure behind. In one instance two girls came down from the ninth story in each other's arms. Others were seen embracing and kissing each other before making the fatal leap.

One man, excited and perhaps realizing that they would all be burned to a crisp if they remain in the building a few minutes longer, anyway, picked up six girls one after another, and threw them out the window of the ninth story, after which he plunged to his death, also.

At the height of the fire, when all the girls had either been burned to death in the building or had leaped to the pavement, two young women, about seventeen, stood out on the ledge of rock which marked the tenth story. They were both facing the wall and embracing each other. Apparently one was attempting to prevent the other from jumping, but the latter broke away and threw herself off the ledge with a shriek. A few moments later the lone girl raised her hands above her head, looked upward, then shot feet foremost off the ledge to the street upon the already large pile of burned and mangled human flesh and bones.

One girl, after falling six stories, was rescued from a large hook beside a window at the third story, where she was hanging by her clothes, face downward. Another saved herself by leaping on top of the elevator roof and grabbing the cable as it passed the eighth floor.

Below, the sight was sickening. Thousands of people had gathered and the firemen were doing their best to save as many lives as possible. Nets were spread and even horse blankets used in an effort to catch some of the falling bodies. But the nets and blankets broke under the weight of three and four bodies falling into them at the same time. Those who plunged from above did not have time or they were too excited to wait on each other or to judge correctly regarding the location of the nets. On the other hand, those in charge of the nets could do very little under the rain of bodies.

All that was left of the victims was



VICTIMS

placed in rows along the pavement, where they were tagged and numbered. Then came the rough, brown police coffins in which the remains were placed and taken to the Municipal Ferry and strung out on the dock. They were afterwards hurried to the morgue. Scores of injured were rushed to the hospitals and many died on the way.

By ten o'clock after the fire 135 bodies were discovered. Fifty were taken from a single heap five feet high where the helpless victims battered in vain at one of the locked doors leading to the stairway. Two girls were taken from an iron picket fence upon which they had fallen. Twelve others were discovered in the basement. They had plunged throught the street pavement, making a hole in it six feet in diameter. All those that leaped to the street were killed instantly or died a few minutes afterwards. Those that remained in the building were burned to death. Some of the bodies were so badly burnt and torn to pieces that they had to be gathered up in blankets, tied to the end of a rope and lowered to the street.

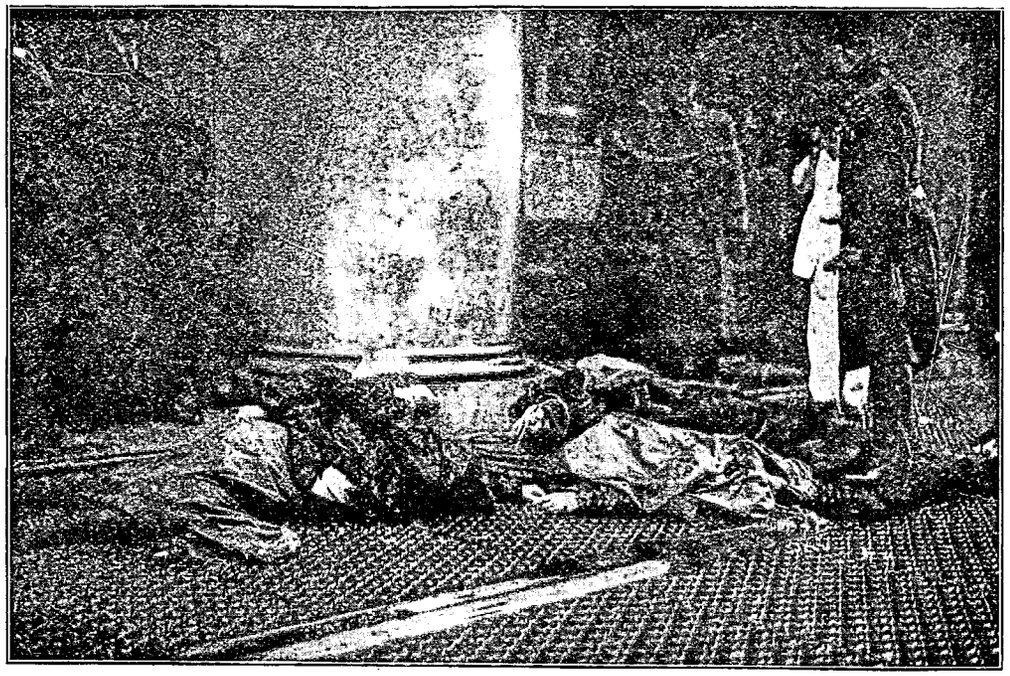
Horrors beyond description were seen at the morgue when relatives and friends came to identify their dead. It was impossible to recognize most of them, the majority being burned or mutilated beyond identification. Many bundles of bone and dry flesh, doubtless, were taken away by hysterical relatives who, in their mad desire to get a last look at a dear one, were only too willing to believe that this or that hunk of flesh and bones was their daughter or sister. Many of the victims were identified only because of jewelry which was found on skeleton fingers, necks and ears.

The flesh on many bodies lay in blackened shreds. In several cases heads were burned off completely. Arms and legs, too, were missing. The clothes and hair had been eaten by the flames from most of them. In a large number of cases faces were flattened and skulls sunk in, as a result of striking the pavement.

The mental and physical agony resulting from this terrible murder of industrial slaves will stretch out into the years. Many a young girl perished who was the only support of her widowed mother and younger brothers and sisters. One girl was killed



PLUNGED THROUGH PAVEMENT.



MORE VICTIMS.

who, with her brother, had been sent to this country to make enough money to support a family of twelve in Russia. One woman, the only bread winner in a family, perished, leaving a husband out of work and five children. One of the children lost a leg recently and another is now sick. Scores of such incidents could be related.

The Women's Trade Union League planned for a parade and the burial of the unidentified victims on Monday, the second day after the fire. But the city officials refused to turn over the bodies and forbade the parade. Feeling among the workers in the city had been stirred to a high pitch, and the masters thought it would not be a healthy thing for them to permit the parade so soon after the fire. So the union leaders gave in for a few days, finally deciding to parade, regardless of what the city heads decided to do, and to hold the demonstration on Wednesday, April 5th, eleven days after the fire. Seeing that the workers were in earnest, the city authorities gave in and handed over seven coffins, each containing a whole body, or what was left of it, and one coffin in which was placed a pile of bones and flesh, representing three or more victims.

Regardless of a steady rain all day the largest working class crowd that has ever turned out in New York City followed the eight coffins to the cemetery and carried banners in memory of the 145 martyrs of "peaceful industry."

It was estimated that between 150,000 and 200,000 workers were in line, that about 300,000 mourners lined the sidewalks, and that a million wage slaves did not work during the day because of the funeral. The following account of the procession, which appeared in the *Sun*, an ultra-conservative supporter of Wall Street, will give a fair idea of the gigantic turnout:

"Sweatshops and garment factories were empty this afternoon. The garment workers in countless numbers were marching through the wet streets to pay, after their fashion, a tribute to the 145 who met their death in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire horror."

The *Sun* also said the crowd was "literally uncountable because of its size and the way in which it spread through the various streets. The throng was estimated by the marshals as totaling about 150,000. Uptown in the other division of the procession was a gathering of similar if not



PARADE IN MEMORIAM.

equal magnitude. It looked as if in spite of such a slight matter as weather, the original estimate of 200,000 paraders had been exceeded."

The most striking feature of the demonstration was the enormous number of unorganized workers in line. And to the disgrace of the building trades unions in New York, with their "sacred contracts," they did not show up.

One 80-year old woman, poorly clad and without an umbrella, tottered along for a way with the endless column. She was mother of one of the girl victims. But she was too weak to walk far. After a few blocks she faltered and would have fallen but for friends, who carried her to the sidewalk and took her home.

Violations of the law? Yes, enough to hang half a dozen rich exploiters and politicians. But these men won't hang.

The owner of the building claimed he lived up to the letter of the law. So did the owners of the shirtwaist concern, Blanck and Harris. They blame the city officials. The State Commission of Labor also blames the city officials. On the other hand, the city officials are hunting for some one to point to. One of these gentlemen divides the guilt between God and the "public conscience."

The more important facts, however, are as follows: While the holocaust was taking place the superintendent of public buildings, Rudolph P. Miller, was on a pleasure trip to Panama. Under questioning conducted by Fire Marshal Beers he admitted that the Asch building, in which the fire took place, had not been inspected since it was built, ten years ago. He said he was not even sure that he passed on the building before it was occupied. Miller is not an architect; he is simply a civil engineer—with a "pull." In his testimony he also admitted that he knew of "graft" from building owners being accepted by inspectors. Miller blamed the police department.

According to the state law, "fire-proof" buildings need not put up more than one fire escape. And that's all the Asch building had. And this one was useless. When the flames heated the flimsy iron work, it bent like wire. Besides, the scaling ladders were not fit to use and the extension ladders reached only to the 6th floor. The hose, too, was rotten, and the fire apparatus was only so in name. Then iron shutters blocked the fire escape, such as it was.

The locked doors have been mentioned. There was no fire escape to the roof. The machines were so closely packed together, in order to save space, that a panic resulted when the fire first started. Large piles of combustible goods obstructed every aisle and opening, also. If the building and conditions had been deliberately planned for the cremation of human beings, it could not have been more perfect.

To look at the Asch building since the fire one could not tell from the outside that anything had happened to it, were it not for the broken windows. As a matter of fact, the damage only reached $5,000. Everything was insured—but the slaves. It is also stated that both Blanck and Harris were in the building an hour before the fire. Bernstein, the superintendent of the factory and a stockholder, incidentally, was not among those that perished. The junior member of the firm testified that they cleared $1,000,000 in 1908.

A Miss Deutchman, who took part in the shirtwaist strike in 1909 and who worked five months for the Triangle concern, concealing the fact that she was a member of the union, tells the following story of this scab concern:

"This is one of the worst shops that I have ever worked in. When applying for work you have to undergo a half hour or more of examination about union affiliations. When a person was hired, after working at a machine, she would again be asked by Mr. Bernstein, a man in charge of the floor, when she or he was a member of the union. One of my friends who was hired about two weeks ago, was asked whether he was a member of the union, and Bernstein asked him to bring the union book to the shop or he could not work there. My friend left the shop and never returned to give up his union book.

"In the shop there is always a bunch of people spotting the girls at work. Colored women are employed to look out for the girls. When a girl stays in the toilet longer than the woman thinks she ought to stay there, she is told to get out."



LOCKED GATE THAT PREVENTED ESCAPE.

Another girl tells the following story: "About two and a half years ago I went to work for the Triangle Waist Company. At that time there was no talk of organizing the shop. The spy system the firm employed was simply horrible. They could trace every movement of a girl. For talking in the shop the girls would immediately be fired. Although the shop was big and supposed to have enough light, there was no light whatsoever in there.

"The machines were kept together in long rows. A girl could not pass between the machines. The girls sat back to back, and if one moved her chair, others could not pass.

At the conclusion of the day's work girls were searched, like thieves. When a fire engine passed the block and the girls got nervous and excited, they were not allowed to move from their places and go over to the window to see if the fire was in the building. Finding the conditions so bad, I left my job on the fourth day, although I badly needed the money."

Perhaps "public sentiment" in Greater New York has never been so stirred as by this fire. But it will soon blow over. Investigations since the horror have shown that there are more than 10,000 buildings in the city equally as dangerous as was the Asch building. A fire such as took place had been predicted several times since the Newark, N. J., massacre a few weeks ago. It didn't come as a great surprise. Nor will others that are sure to follow come as a surprise. Just prior to the terrible holocaust there was an organization, known as the "Property Owner's Protective League," formed for the purpose of smothering city ordinances detrimental to property owner's interests and for the purpose of "seeing" inspectors, etc.

There is one big lesson which the fire should teach the workers, and if this lesson is not learned, all the propaganda and investigations and demonstrations will be of little value. That lesson is UNIONISM —strong, aggressive, MILITANT UNIONISM.

The blame for the Triangle slaughter weighs more heavily upon the back of organized labor in New York City than upon all the politicians and inspectors combined. If organized labor in this great metropolis had struck as one man when the girls struggled so desperately in 1909 against the Triangle and other firms, the workers would have controlled this shop and the organized and unorganized would have prevented the recent horror. Where the boss is supreme and where a committee of the workers is not on the look-out, there isn't the least thought given the lives of the slaves.

There should have been a general strike in the city the Monday following the fire, regardless of what the city heads thought or threatened. Then the masters would have been taught a lesson which they would have long remembered, and this was the sentiment of the rank and file, too.

The Newark girls, after the fire there, went around to the bosses and said they would not work until the factories were made safer, and there was a change. That is what the workers in New York City should do. The secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, John A. Dyche, had the right idea when he said a day or so after the fire: "Workers should lay down their tools and refuse to work until the fire escapes are installed." Let us hope that he will put forth strenuous efforts to realize the following statement, which he made about the same time: "I will move that the workers employed in these 180 shops, no matter whether they are under association bosses or under agreements with the union, should lay down their tools and strike for the wiping out of death-trapping shops."

The workers are being driven by every such disaster to look to themselves, to their own organized power to change things. Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president of the Women's Trade Union League, in speaking before the "citizens' meeting," engineered by millionaires, preachers and politicians in the Metropolitan Opera House, April 2, in behalf of the fire victims, said that the workers cannot expect to be secure from fires or anything else, for that matter, until the working class has a strong movement which will compel the employers to recognize them. She opened her speech with the following striking paragraph:

"Citizens, you have been tried time and again and found wanting. Every time the working people try to protest for their rights, the law says, 'Be orderly.' The strong hand of the law beats us back, and back we go to conditions that make our lives unbearable. It would be treachery and treason to those burned bodies if I came here to talk fellowship. Too much blood has been spilled."

The most deplorable thing about it all is that the great masses are ready to act, but the cliques, with their organized machines, are afraid that the movement might get too big for them to control.

But the day is rapidly approaching when the conservative leaders will and must be swept aside. To smother the spontaneity of class feeling is like attempting to smother a volcano.

May that day soon come. However much it may stir up things, it cannot be any worse than the daily slaughter of industrial slaves. The terror which the middle class mind holds toward the Social Revolution is a daily hope to the machine trained mind. The worker welcomes its approach, for he knows instinctively that it brings with it power, intelligence and solidarity. We cannot begin to rehearse the Social Revolution too soon.

WHY A WORKING MAN SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST

BY

ED MOORE

AT one time the struggle for existence was a fight to conquer the forces of nature. Thousands died of cold and hunger because man did not know how to grow food and build himself a shelter.

He has learned from his experiences in this fight how to conquer Nature and how to use her forces for his own benefit. He has tempered the winds; tamed the flood; chained the lightning, and at will he turns the darkness of midnight into the brilliancy of mid-day.

His fight to conquer Nature taught him that single handed he could not make headway on the rough road he had to travel. So he joined with his fellows to fight for and defend the things that were good for all of them.

All parts of this world are not alike. In some parts nature is more easily whipped into submission than she is in others. Where she is easily whipped, men are weakest. It is easier for strong men to take the good things that weak men take from Nature than it is to fight her for them in places where she is hard to whip.

As soon as strong men found this out, they gave up fighting Nature, and they began to whip the weak men and to take from them what they had taken from Nature. From all men fighting to conquer her, some men began to fight other men to whip and rob them.

Single strong men soon found out they could not whip a crowd of weak men. Then they joined together in force to go against the weak ones. When united they had no trouble in whipping the weak ones and making them turn over all they had.

Those compelled to do the work were always trying to find easier ways to do it. As they found easier ways to get the things they had to give up to the strong men, they found they could give up more and still have more for themselves. The strong men were less cruel, when they got more without being forced to fight for it.

It is much pleasanter to have a good time than it is to fight. To keep in trim to fight, you have to do many disagreeable things. No one likes to do disagreeable things. Working for a boss is a disagreeable thing. Because the strong men were united they were able to force the unorganized weak men to do the work called labor.

Forcing people to do unpleasant things is called government. The strong men were the government. Government was a good thing for them for it took care of their interests. It was to their interest to make the weak men work for them. Just as now it is to the interest of rich Americans to make poor Americans fight for "American Interests" in Mexico.

You have got to think when you work. Bosses do not care to hire feebleminded or stupid people. When the shops are closed wage-earners lose their incomes—the wages they get for doing work. Most of them think the boss is the source from which their wages come. They stop thinking about where wages come from when they get up to the boss. Those who keep on thinking about this subject after they reach the boss find that he gets the money to pay wages out of the things made by the people he hires. They find, also, that it is out of the things he hires people to make, that he gets the money to spend on himself and has to invest in Mexican business ventures.

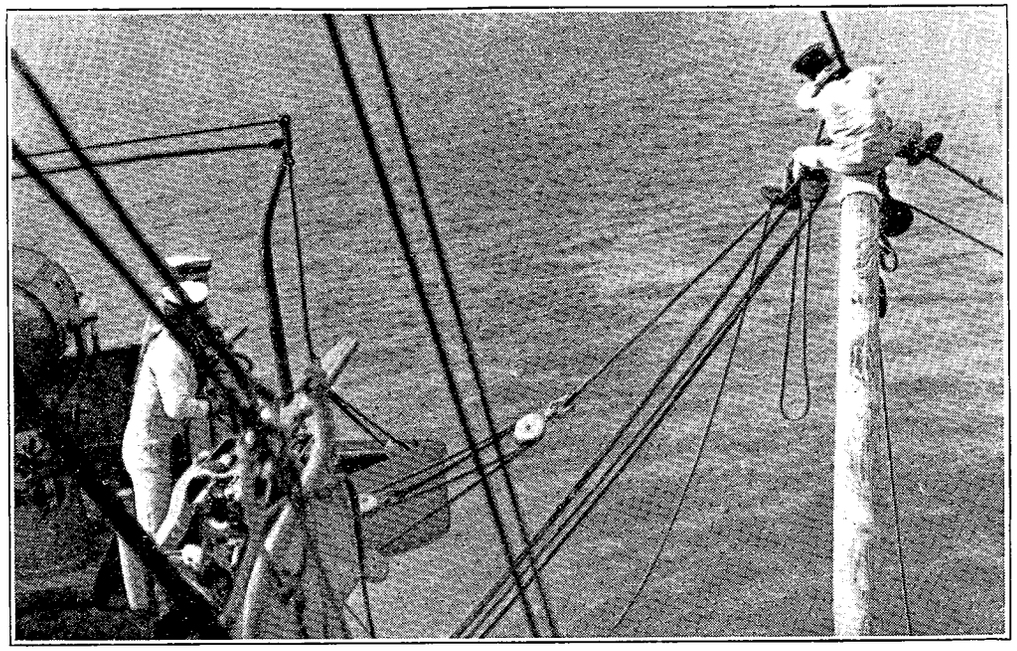
Any time the wage-earners try to get better terms from the bosses, they find the government is in the hands of the friends of the employers. Nowadays, the government acts like the strong men did to make the weak men work for them.

It is a strike when you fight the boss, but it is a revolution when you fight the government. As the government is the boss's partner, how can you fight one without fighting the other? And as long as one part of the people must sell their skill and ability to another part of it for wages, how can the part that works for wages stop fighting for better terms?

Fighting must go on until we get rid of the thing that causes the fight. The cause of the fight is working for wages. The government and the laws that it enforces are the grounds on which the wage system is resting. To stop the fighting, the workers must take the government and change the laws and institute a system in which those who make the wealth shall own the value of the part they make. Socialism is what this system is called.

A few scattered, unorganized workers cannot take the government. We must have an organization as wide as the country, acting intelligently and fearless enough to force the employing class and its government to let us peacefully teach the working class that its labor produces all wealth, and that to it that wealth should legally belong.

Therefore, everyone who can see the cause of the fight between the wage-earners and the profit takers, and whose interests are with those of the wage-earners, should come into the Socialist Party and lend their aid to take the government for the purpose of putting an end to the fight between the wealth makers and the wealth takers, and bring this devoutly-to-be-wished consumation about by making everyone a wealth maker.



Photographs by Paul Thompson.

OUR GLORIOUS NAVY?

BY

LINDSAY LEWIS

THE more that men in and out of the military service read the vaporings of Socialists regarding the services, the more they must be convinced of the wisdom of our warning to all officers of the 'services,' both active and retired, against allying themselves with the propaganda of this movement." Extract from editorial in the *"Army and Navy Journal"* of February 25, 1911. This is one of the official organs of the miltary department of the government.

Comrades, shall we accept the challenge laid down in that editorial and start an active campaign in the interest of our cause among the private soldiers and sailors of the army and navy? On our side it will be a long, hard and bitter struggle, but it MUST BE DONE if we are to vin. First, we must use every means to show the young men of the country that the rose-colored pictures of army and navy life scattered broadcast by the government wherein the bluejackets and soldiers are shown luxuriating amid scenes of foreign travel are absolutely false and misleading; we must show them what war is. Second, we must start a systematic distribution of our literature among men already enlisted, explaining what the Army and Navy are maintained for and how they are forced to serve one class in present society. Third, we must at all times expose the degrading and terrible conditions prevailing in the military service.

In an effort to do the latter I will tell you of a few conditions that exist in the Navy, in which organization I served two years and three months:

When the author enlisted in the Navy, nine years ago, he was deceived and tricked by the recruiting service, and you can imagine how much more deceit is used today in regard to the work and opportunities of men in the Army and Navy, when

the Departments are making such frantic efforts to secure recruits.

I have before me a booklet issued by the Bureau of Navigation, telling the intended recruit of the wonderful advantages he will gain by enlisting in the Navy, and I will review a few of the misleading statements contained therein. After you have read this article do not go to the recruiting office and ask the men stationed there whether what I have said is true or not; do not ask a private soldier or a sailor about these things while he is on duty, near, or in the presence of an officer; if you do you will likely be told that they are all lies, for military discipline is so rigorous and the men are kept in such constant fear of their superior officers, that they will not dare tell the truth—unless they are absolutely certain of not being caught.

In the booklet mentioned, entitled "The Making of a Man o' Warsman," you will find many statements giving details of the different pleasures enjoyed by sailors in the Navy. To answer these statements generally I will say that: When a man enlists in the Army or Navy he absolutely surrenders all personal liberties and rights and gives them in trust to the officers of the organization, and while some of the pleasures mentioned are given to him—usually on Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July—it lies entirely with the commanding officer over him whether he is given any liberties at all or not.

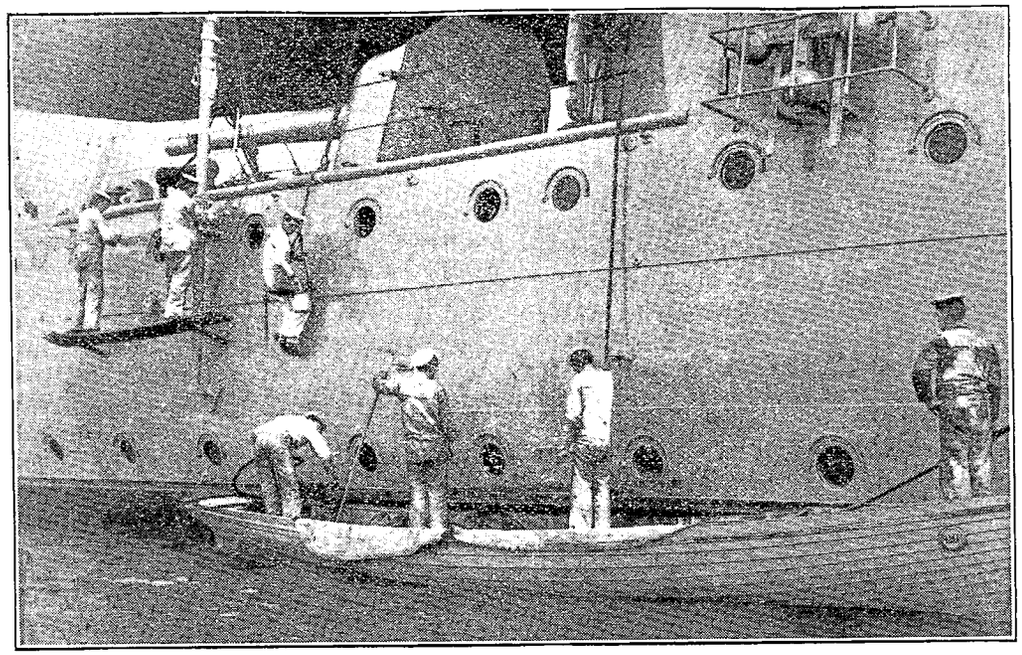
Here are a few things the recruiting officers don't tell about: A few years ago, at the Mare Island Navy yard about twenty men were ordered to go down into the hold of an old hulk and clean the filth from its bottom. The men went down and started to clean the place out, but the stench from the filth became so strong that several of them were suffocated and the remainder of the men were forced to carry their companions up on deck. When they arrived on deck the officer in charge ordered them to return and finish cleaning out the hold; but the men, knowing that they could not endure the stench, refused. All of them were subjected to a general court martial, receiving sentences to serve from six months to ten years in military prison.

There was nothing imperative about the work. The men were made victims of the spite of their superior officer. A whole book could be made up of similar cases.

In the United States Navy, or Army for that matter, men are punished every day for the offenses of others, or for mistakes for which they are not responsible. Here are a few cases: At the naval school at San Francisco there is a rule that after taps have sounded at nine o'clock at night, no person shall make the least noise. Often someone will throw a shoe on the deck, or make some other slight noise after taps have sounded; immediately the officer on duty tries to find the person who is guilty of this terrible crime and, if unable to do so, will order the whole division, or crew, to get out of their hammocks, lash them up and walk down in the drill hall with no clothes on but their underwear, and then try to force someone to tell who committed the offense. Often no one but the guilty person knows anything about it, and if the officer cannot force someone to tell he will keep the whole division standing in the cold night air, holding their hammocks in their arms and chilled to the bone, for hours. I have been forced to do this time after time although I never made a noise after taps during my entire enlistment.

Here is another case: While on the training ship Adams I was a member of the crew of the first cutter; one day the officer of the deck ordered the bugler to blow for the first cutter, but the bugler sounded the cutter call with two blasts, which called for the crew of the second cutter. Naturally none of the crew of the first cutter reported for duty.

The next morning the officer of the deck ordered the whole crew of the first cutter before the commanding officer; stated that we had not reported on deck when the first cutter was called for and stepped aside. This officer was a drunken, gambling brute whom a dog could not respect. Several of the crew, including myself, started to explain to the captain, but we were ordered to keep silent and given a sentence of four hours' extra duty each. The word of the brute in gold lace was worth more than that of fourteen enlisted men of good character, and had he cared to enlarge on his tale we would probably have been court martialed and sentenced to military prison,



PAINT DRILL (?)

for the charge was the worst charge known in military service—"Disobedience of Orders."

The booklet, "The Making of a Man O' Warsman," contains a beautifully printed menu, which might attract the gods to feast, but if you should show that printed menu to the average bluejacket he would substitute the words "salt horse" for "roast veal," "punk" for "bread," and "grease" for "butter." For my part I have actually reeled from faintness when getting a whiff of the "Roast Beef" during the process of cooking it in the galley. Words are inadequate to describe some of the rotten foods served to bluejackets. Don't forget the "embalmed beef" scandals, nor the "Jungle" exposures.

Again we find: "Among those unfamiliar with the personnel of the Navy, the notion often prevails that bluejackets are of a loose moral character. * * * This is a grievous mistake as the Navy Department positively will not accept recruits who are not of good moral character."

All one need do to prove this statement to be a lie is to observe the places most frequently visited by sailors when in port. The proprietors of low dives are always made happy when an American war vessel visits their port. The sailors are not so much to blame for their conduct as are the officers who set the example and encourage dissipation. For if a man, after enlisting in the Navy, becomes a dissipated wreck, he is likely to re-enlist.

The following is a quotation from an article written by a high officer of the surgical corps of the Army and published in the "Military Surgeon" for September, 1910, a magazine published exclusively in the interest of military doctors. I could not get anything relating to the number of venereal diseases in the Navy—the government does not want these facts known—it is quite certain that as high, if not a higher percentage of diseases of this nature exist in the Navy; for bluejackets are kept confined on shipboard for months at a time during long cruises and when they do get ashore make up for time lost at sea, by the intensity of their debauches.

"It is generally conceded by medical officers that there is no one factor or condition in the army which produces more sickness, decreases the efficiency of the men so greatly, or affects their morals more than diseases of venereal origin. In this regard the demoralizing influences of alcoholism and desertion compare but feebly with the

direful results of diseases of this character; and there is no military problem which confronts the War Department which is more worthy of discussion or requires more prompt or energetic action."

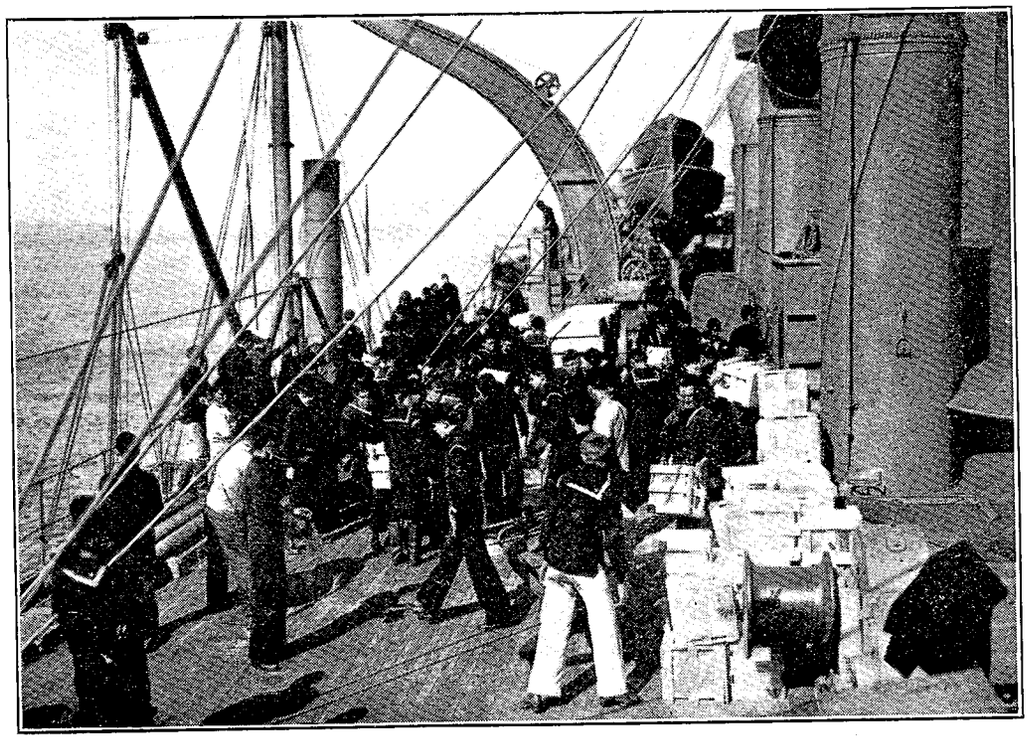
I hope to publish in a coming issue of this magazine letters from men in the military service who know the true conditions —and I may add that any information sent me, care of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, will be greatly appreciated. I want personal letters from men, both in and out of the military service, stating actual instances of the degradation and brutality of the officers in the Navy, and other information of value—preferably sworn to before witnesses.

To sum up: All military organizations are composed of men hired to murder, with but one God, and that the God of power—power to maim, mutilate and murder in the service of commercial despots.

Young man! when you contemplate enlisting in the military service think well of the following warning issued by Shelley—referring to the recruiting agents of the government:

"These are the hired bravos who defend
The tyrant's throne—the bullies of his fear;
These are the sinks and channels of worst vice,
The refuse of society, the dregs of
All that is most vile; their cold hearts blend
Deceit with sternness, ignorance with pride,
All that is mean and villainous with rage
Which hopelessness of good and self-contempt
Alone might kindle. They are decked in wealth
Honor and Power; then are sent abroad to
Do their work. The pestilence that stalks
In gloomy triumph through some Eastern land
Is less destroying. They cajole with gold
And promises of fame, the thoughtless youth,
Already crushed with servitude; he knows
His wretchedness too late, and cherishes
Repentance for his ruin, when his doom
Is sealed in gold and blood."

Recruiting officers hold out the induce-



HUSTLING SUPPLIES.

ment that, providing a man is not satisfied after having served a certain time in the military service, he is given the option of purchasing his discharge. There is a regulation to that effect, but only about one-tenth of those who make application receive their discharge, and they usually get it through the influence of a congressman. At the Training School at San Francisco I have known boys, who tried to purchase their discharge and had been refused, get on their knees and beg me to seriously injure them in order that they might get a disability discharge.

Workingmen! there is but one army for you to join if you would have peace and liberty, a happy home and the product of your labor. That army is the International Socialist Movement, composed of the workers of the world in every land and clime; the army of the Social Revolution, whose goal is peace and whose object is the overthrow of Capitalism.

Its officers are its enlisted men and women; its gun are its press, its orators and its books. Its forts are unassailable facts; its uniforms, the clothes of workingmen and women; its instructors are the world's greatest scientists and the worlds producers. Its flag is the blood-red flag of old which has ever waved above the heads of the champions of human rights. The inspiration of this army is the cry of the oppressed toilers of all lands.

This army has already prevented three great European wars, and its forces are so strong in Europe that despots can only rail at one another; for this army will not fight for them, nor aid their hirelings to fight for them.

On May 21st, 1905, when war threatened between Austria and Italy, the Socialists of Italy, Austria and Hungary held a conference at Trieste, and threatened a general strike of the workingmen of both countries in case war was declared. This was repeated the following year when the "Morocco Affair" threatened to involve Germany, France and England in war. But Socialists tied the capitalists' hands—and they could not make war.

A few years ago the Norwegian people decided to secede from Sweden and have a government of their own. The masters of both countries wanted to go to war, but the workingmen of both countries refused to fight, saying: "The Swedish and Norwegian workingmen are brothers, and we will not fight, and if you send hirelings to fight for you, then we will cease work and prevent you from securing supplies for your mercenary army." As a result the people of Norway and Sweden met on the borderline, and instead of murdering one another, embraced and vowed eternal friendship.

Workingmen! this army demands your service. It will give to us all the privilege of having a home, with all its sacred ties and affections. It will give to us education, and art and beauty—all these things, and more. But before this end is attained we must give our lives and our hopes to the service of this army. A long and weary struggle may be before us, but we must be staunch and true, and determined that: Though the Gods of heaven, the masters of earth and the demons of hell be arrayed against us, we will be true to the greatest cause that ever inspired men and women to noble words and deeds.



THE GENERAL STRIKE

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

Extracts from speech at Meeting Held for the Benefit of the Buccafori Defense at Progress Assembly Rooms, New York, March 16, 1911

Comrades and Fellow-Workers:

I came tonight to speak to you on the general strike. And this night, of all the nights in the year, is a fitting time. Forty years ago today there began the greatest general strike known in modern history, the French Commune; a strike that required the political powers of two nations to subdue, namely, France and the iron hand of a Bismarck government of Germany. That the workers would have won that strike had it not been for the copartnership of the two nations, there is to my mind no question. They would have overcome the divisions of opinions among themselves. They would have re-established the great national workshops that existed in Paris and throughout France in 1848. The world would have been on the highway toward an industrial democracy, had it not been for the murderous compact between Bismarck and the government of Versailles.

We are met tonight to consider the general strike as a weapon of the working class. I must admit to you that I am not well posted on the theories advanced by Jaures, Vandervelde, Kautsky and others who write and speak about the general strike. But I am not here to theorize, not here to talk in the abstract but to get down to the concrete subject of whether or not the general strike is an effective weapon for the working class.

There are vote-getters and politicians who waste their time coming into a community where 90 per cent of the men have no vote, where the women are disfranchised 100 per cent and where the boys and girls under age of course are not enfranchised. Still they will speak to these people about the power of the ballot, and they never mention a thing about the power of the general strike. They seem to lack the foresight, the penetration to interpret political power. They seem to lack the understanding that the broadest interpretation of political power comes through the industrial organization; that the industrial organization is capable not only of the general strike, but prevents the capitalists from disfranchising the worker; it gives the vote to women, it re-enfranchises the black man and places the ballot in the hands of every boy and girl employed in a shop, makes them eligible to take part in the general strike, makes them eligible to legislate for themselves where they are most interested in changing conditions, namely, in the place where they work.

I am sorry sometimes that I am not a better theorist, but as all theory comes from practice you will have observed, before I proceed very long, that I know something about the general strike in operation.

Going back not so far as the Commune of Paris, which occurred in 1871, we find the great strike in Spain in 1874, when the workers of that country won in spite of combined opposition against them and took control of the civil affairs. We find the great strike in Bilboa, in Brussels. And coming down through the halls of time, the greatest strike is the general strike in Russia, when the workers of that country compelled the government to establish a constitution, to give them a form of government—which, by the way, has since been taken from them, and would cause one to look on the political program of Russia at least as a bauble not worth fighting for. They gave up the general strike for a political constitution. The general strike could and did win for them many concessions they could gain in no other way.

While across the water I visited Sweden, the scene of a great general

strike, and I discovered that there they won many concessions, political as well as economic; and I happened to be in France, the home of all revolutions, during the strike on the railroads—on the state as well as the privately owned roads. There had been standing in the parliament of France many laws looking toward the improvement of the men employed on the railroads. They became dissatisfied and disgruntled with the continued dilatory practices of the politicians and they declared a general strike. The demands of the workers were for an increase of wages from three to five francs a day, for a reduction of hours and for the retroaction of the pension law. They were on strike three days. It was a general strike as far as the railroads were concerned. It tied up transportation and communication from Paris to all the seaport towns.

The strike had not been on three days when the government granted every demand of the workers. Previous to this, however, Briand had issued his infamous order making the railroaders soldiers—reservists. The men went back as conscripts; and many scabs, as we call them over here (I don't know what the French call them; in England they call them "blacklegs") were put on the roads to take the places of 3,500 discharged men.

The strike apparently was broken, officially declared off by the workers. It's true their demands had all been granted, but remember there were 3,500 of their fellow-workers discharged. The strikers immediately started a campaign to have the victimized workers reinstated. And their campaign was a part of the general strike. It was what they called the greve perlee, or the "drop strike"—if you can conceive of a strike while everybody is at work; everybody belonging to the union receiving full time, and many of them getting overtime, and the strike in full force and very effective.

This is the way it worked—and I tell it to you in the hopes that you will spread the good news to your fellow-workers and apply it yourselves whenever occasion demands—namely, by making the capitalist suffer. Now there is only one way to do that; that is, to strike him in the place where he carries his heart and soul, his center of feeling—the pocketbook. And that is what those strikers did. They began at once to make the railroads lose money, to make the government lose money, to make transportation a farce so far as France was concerned.

Before I left that country on my first visit—and it was during that time that the strike was on—there were 50,000 tons of freight piled up at Havre, and a proportionately large amount at every other seaport town. This freight the railroaders could not move. They did not move; and when they did, it was in this way: They would load a trainload of freight for Paris and by some mistake it would be billed through to Lyons, and when the freight was found at Lyons, instead of being sent to the consignee at Paris it was carried straight through the town on to Bayonne or Marseilles or some other place—any place but where it properly belonged. Perishable freight was taken out by the trainload and sidetracked.

The conditions became such that the merchants themselves were compelled to send their agents down into the depots to look up their consignments of freight—and with very little assurance of finding it at all. That this was the systematic work of the railroaders there is no question, because a package addressed to Merle, one of the editors of *La Guerre Sociale,* now occupying a cell in the Prison of the Saint, was marked with an inscription on the corner, "Sabotagers please note address." This package went through posthaste. It worked so well that some of the merchants began using the name of *La Guerre Sociale* to have their packages immediately delivered. It was necessary for the managers of the paper to threaten to sue them unless they refrained from using the name of the paper for railroad purposes.

Nearly all the workers have been reinstated at the present time on the railroads of France.

That is certainly one splendid example of what the general strike can accomplish for the working class.

Another is the strike of the railroaders in Italy. The railroaders there are organized in one great industrial union, one card taking into membership the stenographers, train despatchers, freight

handlers, train crews and the section crews. Everyone who works on the railroad is a member of the organization; not like it is in this country, split up into as many divisions as they can possibly get them into.

There they are all one. There was a great general strike. It resulted in the country taking over the railroads. But the government made the mistake of placing politicians in control, giving politicians the management of the railroads. This operated but little better than under private capitalism. The service was inefficient. They could make no money. The rolling stock was rapidly going to wreck. Then the railroad organizations issued this ultimatum to the government, and it now stands: "Turn the railroads over to us. We will operate them and give you the most efficient service to be found on railroads in any country." Would that be a success for the general strike? I rather think so.

And in Wales it was my good fortune to be there, not to theorize but to take part in the general strike among the coal miners. Previous to my coming, or in previous strikes, the Welsh miners had been in the habit of quitting work, carrying out their tools, permitting the mine managers to run the pumps, allowing the engine winders to remain at work, carrying food down to the horses, keeping the mines in good shape, while the miners themselves were marching from place to place singing their oldtime songs, gathering on the meeting grounds of the ancient Druids and listening to the speeches of the labor leaders; starving for weeks contentedly, and on all occasions acting most peaceably; going back to work when they were compelled to by starvation.

But this last strike was an entirely different one. It was like the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn. Some new methods had been injected into the strike. I had spoken there on a number of occasions previous to the strike being inaugurated, and I told them of the methods that we adopted in the west, where every man employed in and around the mine belongs to the same organization; where when we went on strike the mine closed down. They thought that that was a very excellent system. So the strike was declared. They at once notified the engine winders, who had a separate contract with the mine owners, that they would not be allowed to work. The engine winders passed a resolution saying that they would not work. The haulers took the same position. No one was allowed to approach the mines to run the machinery.

Well, the mine manager, like mine managers everywhere, taking unto himself the idea that the mines belonged to him, said, "Certainly the men won't interfere with us. We will go up and run the machinery." And they took along the office force. But the miners had a different notion and they said, "You can work in the office, but you can't run this machinery. That isn't your work. If you run that you will be scabbing; and we don't permit you to scab—not in this section of the country, now." They were compelled to go back to the office. There were 325 horses underground, which the manager, Llewellyn, complained about being in a starving condition. The officials of the union said, "We will hoist the horses out of the mine." "Oh, no, we don't want to bring them up. We will all be friends in a few days."

"You will either bring up the horses now or you will let them stay there."

He said, "No, we won't bring them up now."

The pumps were closed down on the Cambria mine; 12,000 miners were there to see that they didn't open. Llewellyn started a hue and cry that the horses would be drowned, and the king sent the police, sent the soldiers and sent a message to Llewellyn asking if the horses were still safe. He didn't say anything about his subjects, the men. Guarded by soldiers a few scabs assisted by the office force were able to run the pumps. Llewellyn himself and his bookkeeping force went down and fed the horses.

Had there been an industrial organization comprising the railroaders and every other branch of industry, the mines of Wales would be closed down today.

We found the same condition throughout the west. We never had any trouble about closing the mines down. We could keep them closed down for an indefinite

period. It was always the craft unions that caused us to lose our fights when we did lose.

I recall the first general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes, when all the mines in that district were closed down to prevent a reduction of wages. The mine owners brought in thugs the first thing. They attempted to man the mines with men carrying sixshooters and rifles. There was a pitched battle between miners and thugs. A few were killed on each side. And then the mine owners asked for the soldiers, and the soldiers came. Who brought the soldiers? Railroads manned by union men; engines fired with coal mined by union men. That is the division of labor that might have lost us the strike in the Coeur d'Alenes.

It didn't lose it, however. We were successful in that issue. But in Leadville we lost the strike there because they were able to bring in scab labor from other communities where they had the force of the government behind them, and the force of the troops.

In 1899 we were compelled to fight the battle over in a great general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes again. Then came the general strike in Cripple Creek, the strike that has become a household word in labor circles throughout the world. In Cripple Creek 5,000 men were on strike in sympathy with 45 men belonging to the millmen's union in Colorado City, 45 men who had been discharged simply because they were trying to improve their standard of living.

By using the state troops and the influence of the federal government they were able to man the mills in Colorado City with scab millmen; and after months of hardship, after 1,600 of our men had been arrested and placed in the Victor Armory in one single room that they called the "bullpen," after 400 of them had been loaded aboard special trains guarded by soldiers, shipped away from their homes, dumped out on the prairies down in New Mexico and Kansas; after the women who had taken up the work of distributing strike relief had been placed under arrest—we find then that they were able to man the mine with scabs, the mills running with scabs, the railroads conveying the ore from Cripple Creek to Colorado City run by union men—the connecting link of a proposition that was scabby at both ends! We were not thoroughly organized. There has been no time when there has been a general strike in this country.

There are three phases of a general strike. They are:

A general strike in an industry.

A general strike in a community, or

A general national strike.

The conditions for any of the three have never existed. So how anyone can take the position that a general strike would not be effective and not be a good thing for the working class is more than I can understand. We know that the capitalist uses the general strike to good advantage. Here is the position that we find the working class and the capitalists in: The capitalists have wealth; they have money. They invest the money in machinery, in the resources of the earth. They operate a factory, a mine, a railroad, a mill. They will keep that factory running just as long as there are profits coming in. When anything happens to disturb the profits, what do the capitalists do? They go on strike, don't they? They withdraw their finances from that particular mill. They close it down because there are no profits to be made there. They don't care what becomes of the working class. But the working class, on the other hand, has always been taught to take care of the capitalist's interest in the property. You don't look after your own interest, your labor power, for without a certain amount of provision you can't reproduce your labor power. You are always looking after the interest of the capitalist. While a general strike would ignore the capitalist's interest and would strengthen yours.

That is what I want to urge upon the working class: to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possible? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time.

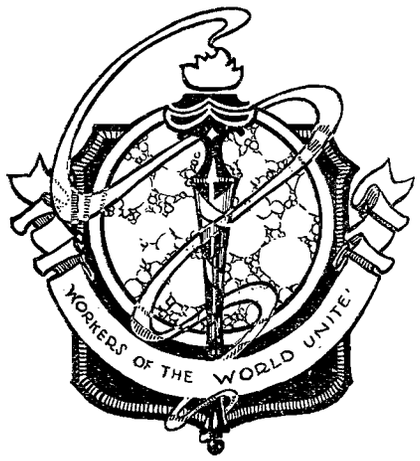
There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against

us; to be in a position to control the power of government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to totally abolish the secret service and the force of detectives. That is the reason that you want the power of government. That is the reason that you should fully understand the power of the ballot.

Now, there isn't anyone, Socialist, S. L. P., Industrial Worker or any other workingman or woman, no matter what society you belong to, but what believes in the ballot. There are those—and I am one of them—who refuse to have the ballot interpreted for them. I know or think I know the power of it, and I know that the industrial organization, as I stated in the beginning, is its broadest interpretation. I know, too, that when the workers are brought together in a great organization they are not going to cease to vote. That is when the workers will *begin* to vote, to vote for directors to operate the industries in which they are all employed.

So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive force. It can be used, and should be used, equally as forcefully by the Socialist as by the Industrial Worker. The Socialists believe in the general strike. They also believe in the organization of industrial forces after the general strike is successful. So, on this great force of the working class I believe we can agree that we should unite into one great organization—big enough to take in the children that are now working; big enough to take in the black man, the white man, big enough to take in all nationalities; an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate state boundaries, to obliterate national boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world. (Applause.)

The A. F. of L. couldn't have a general strike if they wanted to. They are not organized for a general strike. They have 27,000 different agreements that expire 27,000 different minutes of the year. They will either have to break all of those sacred contracts or there is no such thing as a general strike in that so-called "labor organization." I said "so-called." I say so advisedly. It is not a labor organization, it is simply a combination of job trusts. We are going to have a labor organization in this country. And I assure you, if you could attend the meetings we have had in Philadelphia, in Bridgeport last night, in Haverhill and in Harrison, throughout the country, you would agree that industrialism is coming. There isn't anything can stop it.





VINCENT BUCCAFORI.

SHALL THIS MAN SERVE TEN YEARS IN SING SING?

BY

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

DURING the strike of the express drivers in New York City last November, Peter Roach, one of the strikers, was shot and killed by a strike-breaker who, from the seat of one of the police-protected wagons, fired a volley of shots into the angry crowd which impeded his progress. This strike-breaker and murderer came up for trial last week. His plea was self-defense and when the jury retired they needed TWO MINUTES to return a verdict of acquittal.

A little over a week ago Fellow Worker Vincent Buccafori, an Italian shoe worker, was tried before Judge Wm. Kelly and a jury of petty capitalists in the Brooklyn court house. He was also charged with murder. His plea was self-defense, and a clearer case of self-defense could hardly be produced in any court of law.

All of the witnesses for the state, even the hostile superintendent of the factory, who eagerly prompted the prosecutor during the progress of the trial, were compelled to admit on the witness stand that Buccafori acted to protect his very life when attacked by the infuriated foreman with a murderous weapon. Yet he was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to ten years in Sing Sing.

Ten years in Sing Sing for a worker who defended his life against a brutal foreman! And freedom for a strike-breaker and a thug who defended the property of the express company!

Justice is indeed blind, blind but businesslike.

One of the strongest impressions made by the three days' proceedings was the methodical quality of the law.

Like a game of cards, in which a man's life was at stake, one felt that the outcome depended not upon the merits or abstract justice of the case, but upon the adroitness and personal ability of the contending attorneys. Nor could one suppress the further feeling that to them it simply meant another "case" to be won, another scalp to be hung on the belt, another point in their professional careers.

It was all quite impersonal. The man tried was not a Harry Thaw nor a William D. Haywood. The case was to them neither a big sensational scandal nor an important labor case and there was not much notoriety in it for any of the parties concerned.

But into the isolation of the quiet courtroom like a breath of strong sea air, came continually the undercurrent, the rush and roar of the class-struggle, and one felt that under the mask of the law unseen forces were demanding the life of this man, that

he was being made an example of before other Italian workers, that whether the court and the lawyers realized it or not this was a LABOR CASE and that it should be and, let us hope, will be a *great labor case* in which all the forces of labor will unite as one man to save a humble worker in their ranks, who but for his union activity would never have been forced into the limelight of publicity and before the bar of American Justice.

The witnesses on behalf of Buccafori were his shop mates and several foremen from other factories where he had been employed, who testified as to his exceptional ability as a worker, his general reliability and peaceful disposition. The witnesses for the state were two police officers, two superintendents of the J. M. Dodd factory, and an Italian workingman who had acted as an "interpreter" in the prosecutor's office but who had to speak through an interpreter himself in court.

Buccafori also testified in his own behalf and his calm, quiet demeanor and frank statement of what occurred won the respect of all and made his own best witness. A more touching appeal or more graphic statement of the fact could hardly be written than his story, which in substance was as follows:

He had worked continuously in this country for six years, had been employed for six months in the factory of J. M. Dodd. No fault was ever found with his work, he was one of the best paid in his line in the shop and his ability had even been commended by the foreman, with whom he never had any trouble until a union was organized in the shop and Buccafori became the shop representative. The Saturday preceding the shooting marked the beginning of the controversy.

A man gave Buccafori dues for the union. Robert Vitelli, the foreman, was passing by and demanded to know if Buccafori belonged to the union. Upon receiving an affirmative reply he said, "Well, then, on my word of honor you will have to go during the week." Buccafori returned to work Monday as usual, but was left without work until five in the evening when Vitelli assigned him some work with the remark, "When you finish this you can go. I give you this work simply to finish the week. I want you to understand you belong to the union," and he tapped Buccafori none too gently with a shoe last.

On Wednesday, when the work was finished, the superintendent, Mr. Treat, insisted upon his reinstatement, saying that membership in the union was not sufficient grounds for discharging an efficient worker.

The foreman's petty authority being thus overriden, his resentment became personal and vindictive against Buccafori.

Thursday the foreman again attempted to force him to leave but the superintendent interfered the second time and he was retained. Let us continue Friday morning's story in Buccafori's own words:

"The next morning I went to the shop, sat down at my bench and waited for work. Mr. Treat came in and I gave him my piece book for the office to pay me. Then the foreman came in, gave me my pay envelope and told me to take my tools and go, as I was a spy for the superintendent.

"I protested that I needed work, had a wife and family and that Mr. Treat had told me to work. Then the foreman said, 'By the holy Virgin, don't you want to go?' He caught me by the vest and punched me in the mouth, which started blood to flow. Other workers interfered, but the foreman ordered them back to work. 'I will fix this man myself,' said Vitelli, and made for the only door in the shop. He rolled up his sleeves and picked up a heavy last. I turned to the men and said, 'Companions, you are witnesses of how the foreman has treated me. I am going down to the boss to tell him.'

"The foreman advanced and stood near the door, although he had no business there. At these words he advanced towards me with his hand raised, waving the last. He made motions to strike me and I pulled out my revolver. I fired at the elevator door away from the foreman, to frighten him off. He kept advancing, however, and I fired two more shots on the floor, but when the foreman continued to advance and was very near me, I became alarmed at being struck and I fired at him, although I did not intend to kill him."

As to his reasons for carrying a revolver, which are important only in that they adduce lack of malicious intent to kill, Buccafori said, "I bought the revolver from a friend five years ago. He was hungry and needed the money. I did not carry it till several months before the shooting. I then carried it because I had money on my person. I used to keep money in Patti's bank but the bank failed and I lost $300. Then I resolved to keep the money about me. I carried the revolver to prevent robbery, as I had two and three hundred dollars about me.

"On the day of the trouble I had with me $138, $25 in Italian money which I intended sending as a Christmas present to my parents in Italy, and a gold watch and chain."

Assistant Prosecutor Martin's speech to the jury was the touch of a master hand on all the prejudices that provincial Americanism has against the Italians.

He sneered at the "cool, calm, suave, Italian manner" of Judge Palmieri, the defendant's lawyer. He spoke of the workingmen witnesses for the defense, as those who had cringingly eaten from Wilt's (Vitelli) hand when he was alive but turned on him in death, and of the the traitorous D. MARINO, the shoe worker who has used every effort to convict Buccafori, as "the only man of the Italian race in that factory with the American spirit of fair play." He spoke of the superintendent as "this clean young American," and pleaded, "Are you going to take the word of these Italians and say to the Americans, 'You are liars' ?". He spoke feelingly of the family of the deceased. But he forbore to tell that Wilt's wife refused to visit him in the hospital, that his funeral had a lone mourner, a man who worked in the shop, and that his widow is now preparing to remarry. Finally he characterized the dead man as "a decent fellow. He must have been, to be a foreman."

The judge's charge to the jury outside of the formal defining of the law, was a stereotyped definition of the freedom of contract and that union affiliations had nothing to do with the case.

The jury was out for fourteen hours. The first ballot taken resulted in eight for acquittal, but the long vigil and no particular concern in the case except the desire to finish it wore the jury down finally to a verdict of manslaughter in the first degree.

Then the judge, a heavy, ponderous type of Irish politician, announced that "I am as much in favor of labor unions as anybody. But American labor unions do not countenance murder. They do not believe that every controversy between employer and workingman justifies the shedding of blood. I sentence the prisoner to the state prison at Assining for a term of not more than ten years and two months and no less than nine years and one month."

An appeal has been taken by the union and the friends of Buccafori.

Let us hope that before the second trial, labor (union and otherwise) will speak for itself in unmistakeable terms, that no judge will be their spokesman, and that as a determined and aroused working class they will see that justice is done and Buccafori is freed.

Ten years in Sing Sing is as serious as the death penalty in this case. In fact, electrocution is more merciful—for imprisonment means a lingering, torturing death. Electrocution is at least a release from life.

Buccafori is a young man—29 years old. But he has worked nearly all his years as a shoe worker, with his father in Italy during his boyhood and in the factories of America. He is of slight build, delicate physique, and is today weak and ill from his long confinement and nervous strain. He is a courageous, self-controlled man, however, and stood the long wait while the jury were out with remarkable fortitude that his wife's spirits might be sustained. An intelligent worker of radical tendencies, he has a clear comprehension of the union movement with which he is allied. When I visited him in the Raymond street jail he expressed BUT ONE REGRET. THIS WAS "THAT THE STRIKE WAS LOST."

No story of the case would be complete without a word of a figure in the background. She is twenty-four years old, little more than a girl, a frail little flower of a woman—not the Madonna but rather the Beatrice type of Italian womanhood, yet faithful, burning with devotion for the man and the cause. Over six hundred dollars of the funds needed for the defense were raised by this frail woman, Mrs. Buccafori, as she sat in the back of the courtroom and listened to the workings of the ponderous machine of the law grinding out in an unknown tongue, minute by minute, the fate of the one nearest and dearest her. I sat

with her until two o'clock in the morning, until I could stay no longer, but she remained until she fainted on the courthouse steps in the gray of the morning.

Of such material as this is the revolutionary woman's movement built!

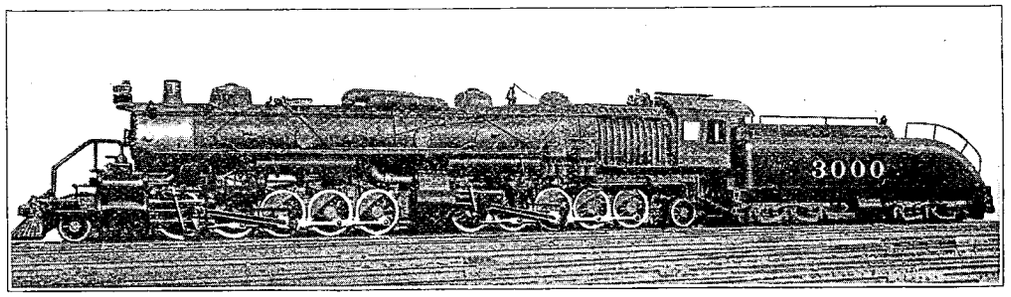
And now to you, Comrades, I appeal on behalf of the man and the cause. An injustice that cries aloud to all with red blood in their veins has been committed.

Note.—Contributions for the Buccafori Defense Fund should be made payable to Charles Linfante, 10 Troy avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE LARGEST LOCOMOTIVE IN THE WORLD

BY

J. A. JONES



NUMBER 3000, the new locomotive that has just been turned out of the Santa Fe shops here in Topeka, made its initial trip over the division between here and Emporia on Thursray, March 23rd.

Number 3000, shown in the photograph, is nearly 122 feet over all and weighs, with its tender, three hundred and fifty tons. It has ten pair of drivers in sets of five pairs each and a pair of trailer wheels under the fire box and another pair under the pilot.

Over twenty-five years ago, Anatole Mallet, a professor of Paris, France, invented and patented the articulated locomotive, which consists of two sets of engines, each operating its own group of driving wheels, both attached to one boiler.

This invention, with the invention of Walscheart's valve gear, better known as the "monkey motion," invented and patented in Belgium in 1844, has laid upon the shelf until long after the expiration of the patents. It was not until the winter of 1903 and 1904 that a design embodying these two principles with that of the compounding of the two sets of engines (the forward, the higher pressure, the rear, the low pressure) were prepared for the B. and O. and an engine combining all these features, was built by the American Locomotive Works at Schenectady. Thus rejected inventions have become the cornerstone for revolutionizing the railroad industry. Railroad men know it means less jobs for them.

The use of such an engine as this was limited to hill work such as pushing trains up grade out of division points, usually situated alongside some river or lake. No human machine could stand the strain of a 100 or 150 mile division when these monster engines evaporated 7,000 gallons of water and burned four tons of coal per hour.

But on the Santa Fe, oil is used and mechanical stokers are proposed for other districts where oil is not available. Thus is eliminated the necessity for the Rough Neck of the strong back. In the words of the Santa Fe officials, "The door of Opportunity was now open" to our white collared friends who have been frozen out of their pencil-pushing jobs by the different mechanical adding and calculating machines. Evidently it is hoped that, in time, the prevailing type of Tallow Pot, now employed, may radically change to that of the average office worker.

This new type of locomotive possesses two distinct advantages. They do not make it necessary to scrap the old style engines on the junk piles to make way for the New. They can be and are, made over at less cost than the price of a new unit of the same additional power, and one crew's wages are always saved.

A section of boiler is built and mounted on wheels and engines, the whole conforming to the old unit. The necessary connections are then made and the work is finished.

The second advantage arises from the fact that these engines eliminate the need of switching through trains at division points. A smaller engine pulls the train across a level division and one in proportion to the power needed to overcome the grade of the next division, is coupled on, saving the labor and time of switching crews and pushers and, in some cases, road crews.

These engines are known as Non-Slipping. Under scientific observation, it was found that the Low Pressure engine does not start slipping until the High Pressure engine has stopped and vice versa. With both engines working under high pressure less slipping actually takes place than under normal conditions when engines are working compound.

Changing to high pressure in all cylinders makes it possible to take up all the slack in a train and make a straight pull at a dead weight.

The old method wherein the old mechanism was used, called for a great deal of skill to start a train. It is a well known fact among railroad men that no matter how gently a train is started or stopped, something in transit is damaged and the Claim Agent has to settle the bills. With the new engines, no backing up to get slack for a run is ever needed. The perfected ability of the new machine is all that is required.

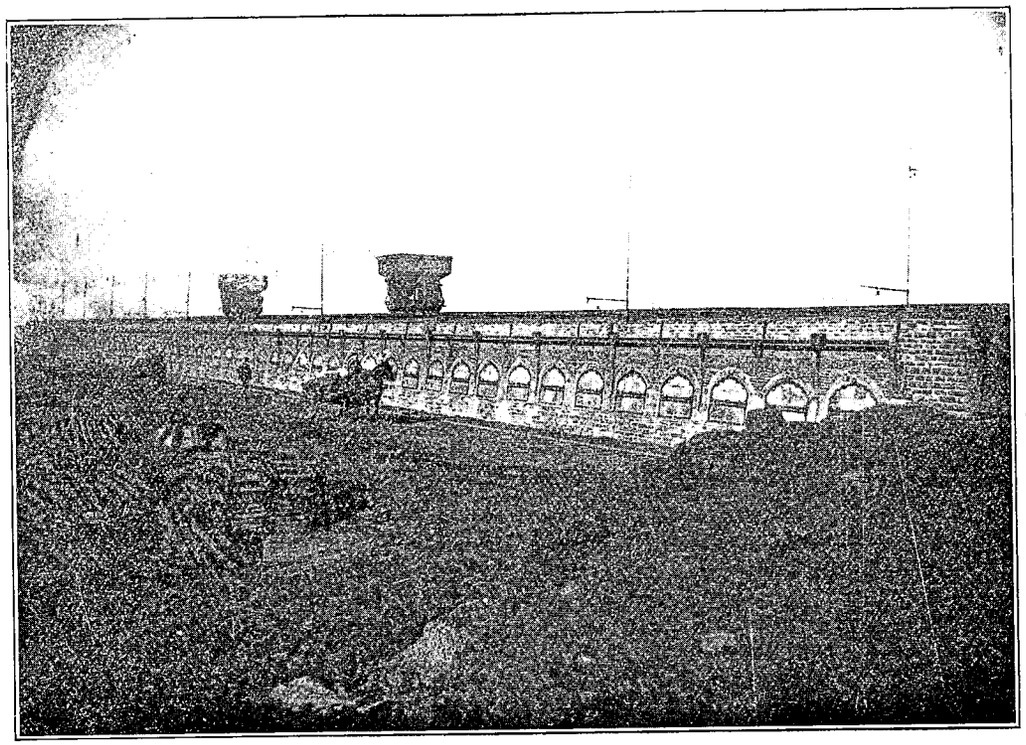
The special ability formerly possessed by the fireman is now put into the machine.

The particular ability formerly needed in the engineer is now embodied in the machine.

The special skill of the old Switching Crews is now contained in the new system that has established "standardized trains" and that places different engines of type and capacity conforming to the energy needed to overcome the grades of each special railroad division.

Thus another invention is compelling another group of workers to wake up.





COKE OVENS.

REVOLUTION IN THE COKE INDUSTRY

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY

COKING drives off the gases in coal without burning up the carbon. During the last three years a revolution has been under way in the coke industry. It is not the work of pestiferous labor agitators nor of wicked trust promoters, but of machines.

Up until the advent of the by-product coking process and the machine, coke ovens were built about the shape of a beehive, hence the name, beehive oven. At first they were very small, and as late as twenty years ago ovens were built eight feet in diameter. But the size was gradually increased until nearly all of the lately built beehive ovens are over twelve feet in diameter, twelve and one-half being a common size.

Coke ovens are built in rows, the spaces being filled so that the front presents the appearance of a solid wall of masonry with arched doors about every sixteen feet. Excepting for the small, round charging hole in each oven the top is level and carries a track upon which runs the charging car from the coal tipple.

In nearly all old-time coke plants the ovens were built against a hill or rise in the ground. This was to economize heat and give solidity to the ovens. But modern practice is to build two rows back to back. This gives solidity and conserves heat even better than by the old plan.

When a batch of cold ovens, new or old, are to be started, or "fired," as they say around the coke works, fire is kept burning in them for several days, until the walls of the ovens are hot enough to ignite coal. After being charged, the first thing is to "level." This leveling is done by hand with a big, heavy scraper and the "leveler" just pushes and pulls until the coal is level in the oven. The hot

walls of the oven ignite the coal and often within an hour, especially if the oven is charged soon after being drawn, smoke will begin to come out of the charging hole, and in seven or eight hours, a big flame. A never-to-be-forgotten sight is three or four hundred ovens on a dark night, each one vomiting a column of flame, while over them hovers a canopy of smoke like a great black pall.

When the coking is complete, the coal has become a solid, nearly white hot cake, about sixteen inches thick and the diameter of the oven. The first step is to water the oven until the hot cake is black on top and only a very dark, cherry red toward the bottom. The chief reason for cooling the coke is to prevent it from burning to ashes, which it would do if drawn out in the air while white hot; but incidentally the cooling makes it easier for the drawer to stand up in front of the oven and causes cracks in the cake, making it possible to tear it asunder.

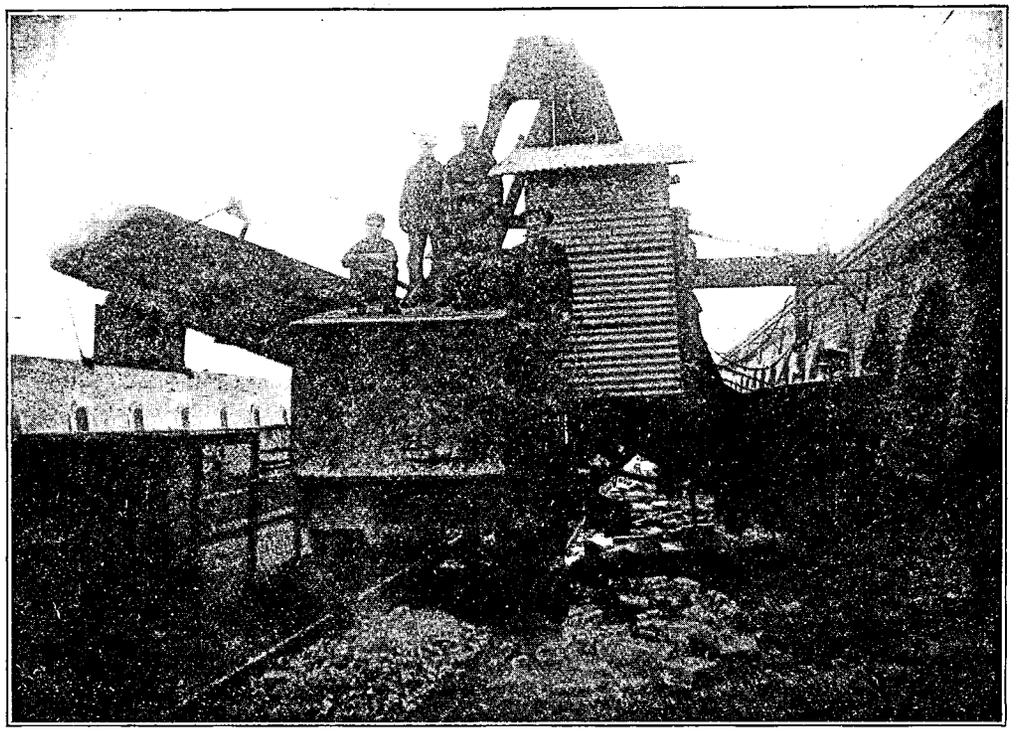
This, still red hot, cake of coke sixteen inches or more thick and twelve feet or more in diameter, is attacked by the drawer with bar, hook and scraper as he stands in front of the oven. His hook is his chief reliance, and he has several of varying length, the shortest for near the door and the longest for the back end of the oven. The handle of the hook is of round steel with a link shaped ring at the end. The business end of the hook is of rectangular steel five-eighths of an inch thick, one and a quarter inches wide, about eight inches long, perfectly straight, turned at a right angle to the handle and sharp at the end.

He bounces his hook seeking a hold, and when he gets a "bite" he jerks with all his might until he tears the piece loose and draws it into the big, heavy iron wheelbarrow which stands directly under the oven door. When the barrow is full, it must be wheeled to the railroad car across the yard or on to the stock pile, if for any reason there should be stocking.

The bed of coke must be quarried, but the quarryman works at a terrible disadvantage. He must keep at a distance from his red hot quarry, the distance increasing until at the last he is fourteen or fifteen feet away. Yet he cannot keep far enough from the oven to escape the stream of heat, dust, steam and sulphurous fumes pouring out of the oven into his face.



COKE DRAWERS—OLD WAY.



ELECTRIC COKE CONVEYOR—LOADING CARS.

Three to four hours, acording to his strength and his luck, hard tugging in front of the oven will finish the job, for which he receives about $1. Two ovens are a hard day's work, though two one day and three the next, fifteen a week, is a regular thing. There have been exceptional cases where strong, two-legged mules pulled four a day—for awhile. As might be expected, they are terrible drinkers.

Company doctors point to the good health enjoyed by the coke drawers. The fact is that unless one has the strength of a horse and a constitution like iron he would never get the first oven pulled. No physical examination that could be devised could select the strongest and toughest as surely as they are selected by the coke puller's hook.

Three types of coke drawing machines are developing. Two of these are designed to draw coke out of the standard beehive oven. Because of the large volume of flame and heat retained and the thorough combustion of the gases, the beehive shape is by many coke men considered the best coker, hence the efforts to adapt machines to it. Another reason is that these machines can be used at existing beehive plants with no alteration in the ovens.

One of these beehive machines consists of a steel spade fixed to the end of a piston moved back and forth by gears. Near the end of the spade is a knuckle on the same principle as the barb of a fish hook. The spade is forced between the coke and the bottom of the oven for some distance and then withdrawn, bringing with it all coke which got over the knuckle. This machine has been declared a success and is in use every day at several big works.

The other beehive machine works on the same principle as the man with the hook, tearing and clawing the coke from the top the same as the hand-drawer.

For the hitherto laborious work of leveling beehive ovens there has been devised a machine that looks something like a big steel umbrella. It is mounted on a car running on the same track that carries the charging larry. As soon as an oven is charged it is run up and the folded umbrella let down into the oven through the small charging hole on top. As soon as it is down the umbrella is opened and made to revolve by means of an electric motor, and the ribs of the umbrella acting as sweeps, quickly and perfectly level the oven. The umbrella is refolded, withdrawn and the car run out of the way until another oven is charged.

But the machine which is revolutionizing the coke industry cannot be used with a beehive oven. It must have a specially constructed rectangular oven. Plants of this type are known as "push ovens," because the distinguishing characteristic of this type is that it pushes the coke out of the oven, and the same machine levels the oven.

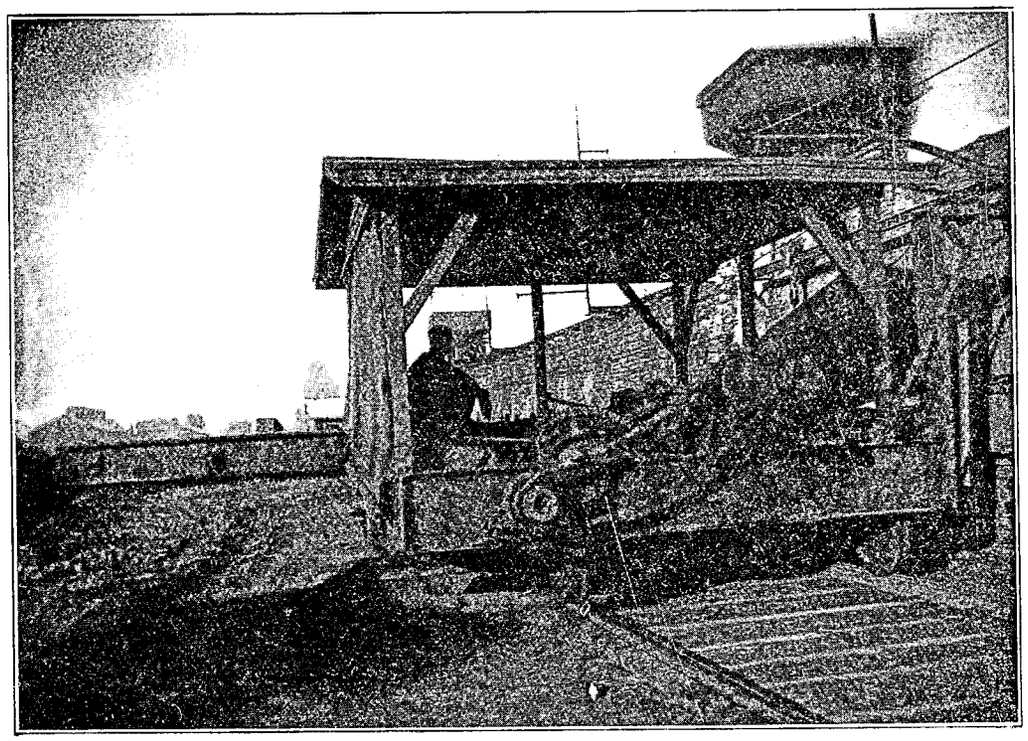
At the best "push" plant I visited, the ovens were five feet wide and thirty-two feet long, giving about twenty per cent more floor area than the largest practicable beehive oven. These rectangular ovens for the "push" machine are open their full width at both ends and provided with double doors lined with fire brick. The beehive door is always built by hand after each "draw."

The coking process is essentially a roasting process and goes on in very much the same manner that a joint of meat roasts in your stove oven. The object of coking is to drive off the gases without consuming the carbon. The beehive shape gives the space for the thorough combustion of the gases and the accumulation of a large body of flame and heat. So the rectangular oven imitates as nearly as possible the shape of the beehive, and instead of a straight arch like a tunnel or sewer, it rises from each door toward the center at an angle of about forty degrees, which gives ample room for combustion and the accumulation of heat.

At one side of a row of these rectangular ovens is a wide track along which rolls a heavy steel carriage upon which is mounted the ram which pushes the coke out of the oven. On the other side of the row and between the ovens and the railroad track is another track carrying a combined screen and conveyor.

All the water man has to do is start the watering apparatus and it automatically, by the action of the water itself, moves back and forth. At all old plants a man must stand and hold the watering pipe, moving it about.

When an oven is ready to draw, the carriage carrying the ram is moved into

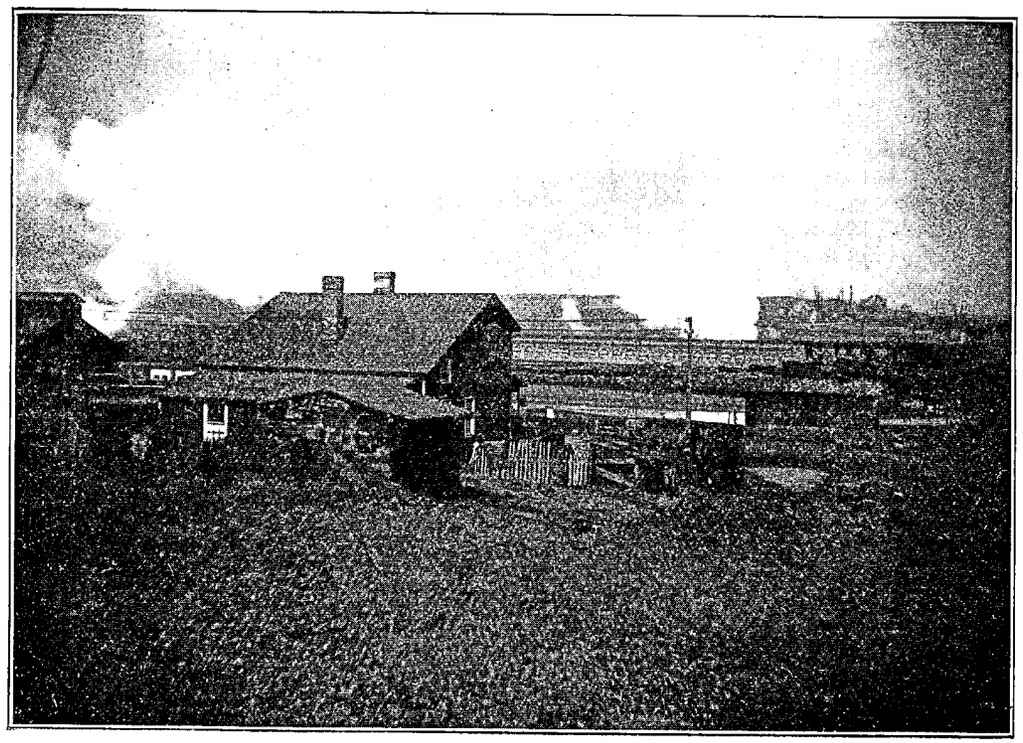


ELECTRIC PUSH MACHINE—FROM OVEN TO CONVEYOR

position in front of the oven, moving with its own power. The machine is nothing more than a big ram with a rectangular head. The thick stem of the ram telescopes on itself and the uninitiated seeing it reach the length of a thirty-two-foot oven wonders where it is coming from.

While the machine is being "spotted" a couple of other men are placing the screen and conveyor in position at the opposite side of the oven. As soon as the signal is given that the conveyor is ready, the man on the machine gives the controller handle a jerk, the motor starts and in one minute the five ton of coke is not only out of the oven, but screened and in the railroad car. As soon as the oven is charged, the ram is started again, this time raised up, and one trip in and one out levels the oven as smooth as a cement sidewalk, and ram and conveyor pass on to another oven. Given enough ovens and changes of men, this machine will draw coke every hour of the twenty-four. Working single turn, twelve men will operate 100 ovens on forty-eight-hour coke. To pull the coke alone by hand would take twenty-five men, to say nothing of leveling, bricking up, wheeling it to the cars and forking.

This is a real labor-saving machine, doing the slavish, exhausting work and actually lightening the burden of the workers that remain at the coke plants where such machines have been installed. At its best coke works are dirty, smoky, smelly places, but at a machine plant, such as I have described, the work is wholesome, pleasant child's play compared to a hand operated yard. There is no doubt in my mind that the men required to run a machine coke plant will be of a higher, economic and intellectual status than those that furnish the labor power at an old style hand plant. Here is a case where slightly skilled workers have displaced or are displacing the roughest of unskilled labor and their status is an improvement over those they have displaced. On the other hand, we saw that the semi-skilled or slightly skilled laborers that displaced skilled molders lost status as compared with those they displaced. Thus the leveling goes on. The leveling which will soon make industrial organization as easy as craft organization is now.



WHERE A COKE WORKER LIVES.

UNITED STATES STEEL PROFIT SHARING AND PRODUCTION

BY

JOHN D.

WALL STREET bankers state regarding the profit-sharing plan inaugurated by the United States Steel Corporation that no conscientious banker would advise any of the employees of the Steel combine to put his savings into common shares of the company. They state that the stock that the steel workers subscribed for is equal to a fourth mortgage on the house.

The Steel Trust is capitalized as follows: $304,000,000 first mortgage bonds (owned by Andrew Carnegie and not traded in).

Second mortgage consists of $312,000,000 sinking fund 5 per cent bonds, which are owned by J. P. Morgan and associates.

Third mortgage of $360,314,100 7 per cent preferred stock, also controlled by Morgan and his friends.

Fourth mortgage consists of $508,495,200 common stock (which the employes are allowed to subscribe for).

It is also true that the employes are allowed to buy the preferred issue, but the offerings of the directors of this issue are not on such a large scale as with the common stock. This means that interest and dividends must be paid on, in round figures, $976,000,000 before a dollar can be disbursed to common shareholders. Wall Street points out repeatedly that the big Steel Trust has under its charter the right to trade in its own shares, which enables it to come when necesary to the support of the market in them. Bankers want to know if the blocks of stocks which the employes have received the right to subscribe to have been acquired in the open market and at what prices, or did some of the inside speculators hand it over?

George W. Perkins, who was let down gracefully by Morgan on Jan. 1 last, was one of the biggest speculators in the stock in the history of the company.

So was W. E. Corey, who was deposed from the presidency of the company by J. P. at about the same time. Corey's successor, James A. Farrell, is a Catholic, who does not smoke, drink or eat heavily, and who works cheerfully from eight o'clock in the morning until long after sundown daily.

Besides that Farrell lives with his first wife and Wall Street figures it is getting so moral that in the near future only J. P. will be allowed to "stable a concubine."

The International Harvester Company, another Morgan property, has allowed the employes to buy the common stock of that corporation, of which there is $80,000,000 outstanding. Before that sum can receive any return there are $60,000,000 preferred issue which is a prior lien on the property.

Wall Street has always asked the question as to where the working people got the better of the bargain. The bankers have always figured that the process was one developed by George W. Perkins, who was active in the Civic Federation, to hamstring the workingmen in the Morgan industrial concerns. Besides that they note that it prevents strikes, talk of better shop conditions, and is a positive detriment to the men.

In view of the profit-sharing scheme which the Morgan corporations have put into practice, perhaps it would be well to quote Judge E. H. Gary, who is now practically the head of the corporation, who said last week in an interview given out to the Wall Street reporters:

"Our company is now operating about 50 per cent of capacity, but this is equal to 85 per cent five years ago, because of the gigantic strides machine production has made in that period. Railroads of the country are now using 40 per cent of the corporation's output and I expect in the near future to see even that increased."

* * * *

James J. Hill announces that the Great Northern Employes Investment Company certificates have already been taken up, and the locomotive engineers constitute the bulk of certificate holders. The certificates are issued in the multiples of $10 to $5,000. They pay 7 per cent in dividends.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Lesson VII—Wages

THERE are several ways whereby wage-workers may try to improve their conditions today. In Lesson V we discussed Low Prices and their effect upon the condition of working class life. We discovered that as the prices on the necessities of life fall, wages fall proportionately because of the competition among wage-workers for jobs.

It would be impossible for an employer of labor to arbitrarily lower wages, just as it is impossible for capitalists to arbitrarily raise the prices on commodities. The conditions must be favorable to such a rise or fall in prices. It is the Army of Unemployed men and women that force wages (or the price of labor-power) down when the cost of living falls. We were unable to find where low prices would benefit the working class.

In discussing prices in the last two lessons, we have not said much about WAGES, \or the price of labor-power. Labor-power is a commodity just as stoves, coats or flour are commodities. And the value and price of labor-power are determined exactly as the price and value of all other commodities are determined.

Wage-workers are always trying to get higher wages, or a better price for their labor-power.

It is easy to understand that the gold miner who secures a rise in wages from $2.00 to $3.00 a day, leaves less surplus value for the mine owner. He receives back MORE of his product. And the aim of socialists or revolutionary workmen and women is to become owners of their ENTIRE product.

Confused economists have repeatedly claimed that a rise in wages was no benefit to the proletariat. They insisted that the capitalists would raise prices on the necessities of life so that the workers would be just where they were before.

But in Value, Price and Profit, Chapter II, Page 17, Marx says: "How could that rise of wages affect the prices of commodities? Only by affecting the actual proportion between the demand for, and the supply of, these commodities."

"It is perfectly true, that, considered as a whole, the working class spends, and must spend, its income upon necessaries. A general rise in the rate of wages would, therefore, produce a rise in the demand for, and consequently (TEMPORARILY) in the market prices of, necessaries.

"The capitalists who produce these necessaries would be compensated for the risen wages by the rising market prices of their commodities."

Note, Marx says that TEMPORARILY the prices on necessaries would probably rise, owing to the INCREASED DEMAND for food, clothing and better houses; not because the capitalists decided to raise prices. And then note what begins to follow immediately:

"What would be the position of those capitalists who do not produce necessaries? For the fall in the rate of profit, consequent upon the general rise in the price of wages, they could not compensate themselves by a rise in the price of their commodities, because the demand for their commodities would not have increased. . . . .

"Consequent upon this diminished demand, the prices of their commodities would fall. In these branches of industry, therefore, the rate of profit would fall. . . . .

"What would be the consequence of this difference in the rates of profit for capitals employed in the different branches of industry? Why, the consequence that generally obtains whenever, from whatever reason, the AVERAGE RATE OF

PROFIT comes to differ in the different spheres of production.

"Capital and labor would be transferred from the less remunerative to the more remunerative branches; and this process of transfer would go on until the supply in the one department of industry would have risen proportionately to the increased demand, and would have sunk in the other departments according to the decreased demand.

"This change effected, the general rate of PROFIT would again be EQUALIZED in the different branches. As the whole derangement originally arose from a mere change in the proportion of the demand for, and supply of, different commodities. The cause ceasing, the effect would cease and prices would return to their former level and equilibrium. . . .

"The GENERAL RISE in the rate of wages would, therefore, after a temporary DISTURBANCE OF MARKET PRICES, ONLY RESULT IN A GENERAL FALL in the RATE OF PROFIT WITHOUT ANY PERMANENT CHANGE IN THE PRICES OF COMMODITIES."

We will use a concrete illustration to explain Marx's point. In a mining camp the miners secured a gain in wages of from $2.00 to $3.00 a day. The man who ran the only restaurant in the camp thought he could raise the price of board from $4.00 to $5.00 a week. For a week or two the miners paid the advanced price, but the third week a new restaurant was opened by a man who heard of the "prosperity" in this particular camp and inside of two months there were FOUR restaurants competing for trade in Golden Gulch. This competition among the restaurant keepers forced board down to $3.00 a week. Some of them moved away until board fell to the AVERAGE rate of board in that state.

As long as prices were better there new investors came to Golden Gulch, and when they fell below the average price for board investors went away.

Marx says that when workmen and women get higher wages, they spend this increase in better food, better homes and better clothing. This stimulates the demand for food, clothing and houses. More capitalists begin to invest in food production, in houses and in the manufacture of clothing. The competition among capitalists often brings the prices on these things down BELOW the rates charged before the workers received their increase, until these capitalists find they can make more money in other fields, when they invest in other industries and prices fall to what they were before the rise in wages.

On the very last page of Value, Price and Profit, Marx says again:

"A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities."

"The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages."

"Trade Unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of stimultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

Questions:

If you were getting three dollars a day for digging gold out of a mine and you secured $4.00 by striking, would there be as much surplus value left for your Boss as before?

On what do wage-workers usually spend their money? On luxuries?

If the working CLASS is able to force up wages two dollars a week to every man and woman will they spend the increase on automobiles, trips to Europe or upon more and better clothing and food?

What happens when there is a sudden increased demand for a commodity? Does the price of this commodity rise or fall (temporarily)? If the capitalist producing this commodity for which there is a suddenly increased demand is able to get higher prices for it, will this attract other capitalists into the same field of production in the hope of securing bigger profits?

What happens when several big capitalists fight for a field of production where prices are high?

Do these capitalists remain producing a commodity after its price falls so low that they cannot make the average rate of profit?

When they go into another sphere of production do prices on this commodity fall to normal again?

Why cannot a capitalist raise prices at his own will? Suppose a wealthy ranch owner has a splendid stock of horses when the U. S. troops are sent down to the Mexican borderline. Horses are very scarce, since automoblies have won favor with the leisure class. He sells these horses at an enormous price. There is still talk of war. What does every other ranchman in the country plan to do when he hears of the profits of the lucky owner of the horses? Do they all go into the COAL BUSINESS?

EVEN if there is still rumor of war. will the price on horses be as high in a few years as it is now? Why not?

NOTE to those taking up the Study Course. We are going to publish in the June number of the REVIEW the best six or seven hundred word article from any one of the Study Clubs showing WHY Low Prices Do Not Help the Working Class. We shall also be glad to publish the names of classes or comrades who send in particularly good articles on this subject. We will also pay $5 cash or send $10 worth of books published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co. for this article, and $5 cash or $10 worth of our books will be sent to the Study Club sending in the best 1,000-word article on "Why Capitalists Cannot Arbitrarily Raise Prices" and on the best article of 1,000 words on "Why Higher Wages Benefit the Wage Workers." Typewrite your articles, if possible, and send them in early if you want to see them in the June REVIEW.

BOHN ORGANIZING LOCALS

WHENEVER Comrade Frank Bohn finds an unorganized local, he organizes one. At Port Allegany, where they took him to lecture on March 26th, he held a lecture in the afternoon and also spoke for the young people in the evening. He found the sentiment so strong in favor for Socialism that he organized a local and started the comrades on the road to do more good work for the couse.

At Six Mile Run, the miners were out of work, but a good crowd greeted Bohn at the lecture hall. Waynesboro also held a successful meeting, while New Philadelphia, New Castle and Fredonia report three of the best meetings they have had in years. At New Castle the comrades were and are fighting terrible obstacles but the friends write that they are in the fight with the courts to win.

No man on the road has accomplished more or better lasting results for the Socialist movement than Frank Bohn. Where the sentiment for Socialism is strong but the comrades have been unable to organize a local, Comrade Bohn crystallizes the sentiment and starts them out doing bigger things.

Weak locals find him a most valuable man. On Sunday he is willing to hold two meetings for the comrades where it is possible and he is always glad to show the comrades how to form a local and to get those interested into the movement.

Comrade Bohn will be in Michigan and Indiana in May and June. If you are a good hustler get together a few friends and write us for a date. You only need to take 200 tickets (each good for a three month sub. to the Review) to secure a Bohn date. We donate 100 copies of the Review, which sell for $10.00 and help pay your hall rent. We do all the rest and you will have 200 people in your town receiving the Review for three months. This is a Follow-Up System that pays in all places. If your local is dying out or you have none, write for a Bohn date and get him to help you build up the movement in your town.

COMPULSORY COMPENSATION OR STATE INSURANCE—WHICH?

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE most notable example of judge-made law is the introduction by the courts of the new rules of evidence, so as to protect the employers against the claims for damages by employees injured while at work. Before the year 1837, the common law made no distinction in cases of this nature between an employee and a stranger. An employee who suffered personal injuries while at work owing to some accident could hold the employer responsible in damages the same as if he were a stranger. The only defence that could avail the employer was that the injury was caused wholly or in part by the employee's own negligence. But a twist was given to the rule of contributory negligence. Instead of being merely available as a defence, to be so pleaded and proven to the employer, it was changed by the courts to mean that the workingman must plead and prove his freedom from contributory negligence. This is one of the "freedoms" conferred on the workman by the courts.

With the growth of industry and wealth, there arose a deep conviction in the minds of the judges that the preservation of profits was more important than the preservation of life. With that sanctimoniousness and pomposity which invariably accompanies Byzantine servility, the courts proceeded to lay down new rules. Due regard was paid to the divinity that hedges about capital and to the unmarketable nature of human life. In 1837, Lord Abinger of the English Court of Exchequer, promulgated, in the case of Priestly v. Fowler, the doctrine of "fellow-servant" negligence. The case was of a butcher's boy injured by a driver of a wagon of the same employer. By a process of plausible and specious arguing, Lord Abinger arrived at the conclusion that an employer should not be held liable for injuries to an employee caused by the negligence of a fellow-servant. This rule was seized upon by the capitalist courts and made infamous by their bloody interpretations. It was extended to include acts of superintendents who stood in the place of the employer and made a recovery by an employee a gamble of great hazard and rare occurrence.

This "fellow-servant" rule was made part of the American common law in 1842 in the Farwell case which arose in Massachusetts and, in 1851, in the New York Court of errors. Since then it has become the law of the land. And the sovereign American people have had as much to do with the making of this law as they have now with the sending of troops to Mexico. The part of the people is to pay with blood and property so capital may reign.

Not satisfied with thus despoiling the workman of his ancient rights against his master, the courts proceeded to draw the few teeth out of such remnants of the remedies which still availed the workman. They have devised a new rule and made it into a law. It is known as the "assumption of risk" rule. It meant that if the injury was due to some risk or danger which was a necessary and inherent part of the work, why, the workman could not hold the master liable. And even if the injury was due to some occurrence which the master could prevent, the workman could not recover against his master, if he continued working with the knowledge of his employer's negligence. It must also be borne in mind that even if the workman had no knowledge of the risk arising out of the negligence of his employer, but if such risk

was "obvious," whatever the word may mean, then notice to the workman will be implied. See that twist? First "knowledge" is implied. Out of this implication a "consent" is implied. And out of this implication a "free contract" of assumption of risk is implied. Three successive implications resulting in a contract! In this way were the burdens arising from the dangers forming part of the work or arising from employer's negligence, and which should have been borne by the industry itself, placed entirely on the shoulders of the employees. The workman must take all the chances of getting maimed or killed and he can look for relief to no one. This doctrine of "assumption or risks" is based on the theory of an implied contract. The workman when he enters employment is presumed to assume a consent to the obvious and necessary risks and to such dangers of which he has knowledge. It is significant that the capitalist state, and particularly the American capitalist state, which claims to conserve inviolable the "free will," "free contract" and other divinities of pure individualism, should attempt such violence to a man's "free will" as to force upon it "assents" and "consents" of which it knows nothing. It shows in lurid light the futility and hypocrisy of all capitalist ideology.

The rise of the class-conscious working class movement marks the beginning of the retreat of the capitalists from the uncompromising position towards their maimed and killed employees to which they had advanced by the aid of capital's most faithful handmaid—the courts. One European government after another, haunted by the red spectre of the social revolution, enacted laws for the protection of the safety of the workmen, and to insure some measure of compensation to an injured workman without regard to the question of fault or negligence. The measures were of twofold character. First, laws for the obligatory insurance of workmen, the premium being paid by the employer, employee and the state. Second, laws providing for compulsory compensation of the injured workman by the employer regardless of employer's negligence. As will be shown, compulsory compensation offers to the workman far less than obligatory insurance.

Already in 1838 Prussia passed a law granting compensation to railway employees for all accidents. A similar railway law was enacted in Austria in 1869 and in Switzerland in 1875. In 1871, the provisions of the Prussian railway law were extended throughout the German Empire. In 1877 Switzerland enacted a similar law for the factory workers. The English Employer's Liability law was passed in 1880. In 1883 Germany passed the law of obligatory insurance of workmen against sickness. This was followed in 1884 by an accident insurance law and in 1889 by a law providing for insurance against old age and invalidity. Austria followed with similar laws in 1887-8. Norway in 1894 introduced obligatory State Insurance against accidents. England passed the Compensation Act in 1897 to be followed in 1898 by France and Denmark and in 1901 by Holland and Sweden, and in 1905 by Belgium. One of the last countries to adopt some measure of relief for maimed and killed workmen was England. And naturally it adopted a measure of compulsory compensation, a so-called Workmen's Compensation Act. The act of 1897 was drawn by Joseph Chamberlain and advocated by Lord Salisbury, then Prime minister of England. It provided compensation only for workmen engaged in certain dangerous occupations. The English courts proceeded with an alacrity in which only our own courts can excell them, to take out of the act such little starch as was to be found in it. Not satisfied with the elimination of the act to dangerous occupation, the courts excluded by interpretation, from the operation of the Act occupations which were manifestly included. For instance, a plank placed on a ladder and window sill did not constitute scaffolding within the meaning of the act, said the courts. Planks supported by trestles eight feet high were not scaffolding, either. The Court of Appeals held that painting the outside of a house is not repairing it, thus putting an occupation pursued by a large class of men outside of the Act. Then the courts picked up the "two weeks" clause and what they did with it was a marvel. The Act provided that no workman could claim compensation under the Act unless the injury "disabled him for at least two weeks." And we are informed by Mr. Low, who investigated the working of the act, for the United States Government, that in England:

"The court of appeals has held that a workman who has been employed for less than two weeks by the same employer, is not entitled to compensation under the provisions of this Act." The Act read that a workman could not recover if he was disabled for less than two weeks. The courts read into it a meaning that a workman could not recover if he had worked less than two weeks for the same employer, even if he was disabled for life.

Moreover, the Act excluded the recovery by a workman, if the injury was due to his "willful misconduct." Willful misconduct frequently meant the slightest violation of any of the numerous "shop rules" adopted by the employer.

In 1907 the English Compensation Act was so amended as to include workers in "all employments." How little it really meant "all employments," was shown in the express exclusion of "out-workers," i. e., workers who took work home, and also the exclusion, by legal interpretation of the numerous class of workers whose employment was precarious and who seldom worked for the same employer more than two weeks.

* * *

In considering the character of American legislation on the subject, the fact of the limited powers of American legislatures must be always borne in mind. European legislatures are sovereign both in theory and in fact. No so our Congress and State legislatures. Suspended over their deliberations and acts are, like the sword of Damocles, the written Federal and State constitutions, and the authority, arrogated to themselves by our courts, to nullify laws regularly passed by declaring them unconstitutional. It has, however, been fairly well settled by judicial decisions that our legislatures have the power—(1) to limit or abrogate the fellow-servant defense; (2) to limit or abrogate the defense of contributory negligence or impose the burden of proof upon the employer; (3) to limit or abrogate the doctrine of the assumption of risk of violations of law by the employer. Bearing this in mind, we will examine, at a glance, how the American worker fared in the American legislatures and courts. The following states have passed laws limiting or abrogating, wholly or in part, the fellow servant rule: Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Wisconsin. Undoubtedly, there are other states that have legislated on the subject very recently, but I have not the data at hand. Even as I am writing these lines, I learn that to-day, April 4th, 1911, New Jersey legislature enacted a Workmen's Compensation Act. In 1907-8, Congress enacted a law affecting employees of interstate commerce carriers. It limited or abrogated the defenses of fellow servants, assumption of risk and contributory negligence. The act also provided compensation for government employees injured in its employ.

A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in Maryland in 1902, but was declared unconstitutional. On the other hand, a law imposing additional liabilities on railroads for the benefit of passengers was upheld by the courts. From the latest reports, the Montana mining act, providing what may be called obligatory insurance of miners against accidents, is still in force.

* * *

In 1909, the New York Legislature appointed a commission, which became known by the name of its chairman as The Wainwright Commission, "to inquire and report into the working of a law in the state of New York relative to the liability of employers to employees for industrial accidents and into the comparative efficiency, cost, justice, merits and defects of the laws of other industrial states and countries relative to the same subject." The commission opened its session for a public hearing in New York City, in January, 1910. The question before the commission was—What remedy or relief shall be given to a worker or those depended on him, in the event when he is disabled or killed while at work? The various labor bodies organized a conference to convey to the commission the sentiments of organized labor. The Socialist party, Local New York, also bestirred itself. The Socialist party ought to be heard. The Socialist party ought to take a stand and agitate in favor of progressive labor legislation. On this there was no division of opinion. But a strong divergence of views

manifested itself on the policy to be adopted. The majority, led into opportunistic channels by comrade Morris Hillquit, decided on sending a committee to attend before the Wainwright Commission and to present the views of the Socialist party. This led to my resignation from the committee. My reasons for such action were given at the time, in the New York Call in an article entitled "Lobbying for 'Labor Laws.'" I took the stand that the Socialist party which was for many years, bitterly denouncing and is still continuing to denounce, labor organizations for sending representatives to lobby for labor laws, cannot now stultify itself adopting the policy of lobbying for labor laws. I wrote in part:

"Shall scientific lobbying become a part of the Socialist program? Let us be candid with ourselves. Lobbying is none the less such when, instead of seeking to influence a legislature, you seek to influence a legislative committee.

"Lobbying is now legalized. The law provides that a lobbyist attending at Albany must be duly registered. Why not have a Socialist party lobbyist registered at Albany? Every argument that is advanced in favor of attending at public hearings before legislative committees holds good in favor of lobbying. The Socialist lobbyist would inform the public how the Socialist party stands on important questions. It would serve to disseminate Socialist ideas."

The revolutionary Socialists urged the policy of going among the workers with a program of insurance against accident, and, by persistent agitation and education, to create a strong sentiment for such a measure, a sentiment which the capitalist class will not dare to defy. However, Comrade Hillquist had his way. A lobbying committee was appointed. Thereupon the committee asked for and was granted authority to enter the Labor Conference. To this there was no particular objection, though it was well known that the majority of the conference consisted of old party political hacks. The Socialist Committee, now unhampered by any baggage of "revolutionary phrases," proceeded to draw a Workmen's Compensation Act. This work was accomplished with a celerity and dispatch that fairly made one's head swim. The draft was solemnly presented to the commission and hailed in the Socialist press as a Socialist measure. It was modelled after the English Compensation Act. There was nothing "utopian" about it. It smacked of no "formula." The comrades were first incredulous of my criticism of the concoction, but after they had a chance to familiarize themselves with what was dished out as a "Socialist Recommendation," their disgust was all the greater. The New York *Volkszeitung* denounced it and one of its editors branded the report of the committee "a disgrace to the Socialist movement for which no party in the world would stand." The committee evidently knew that there was a British Compensation Act, but this was all it knew. It did not know that some of its provisions, as the "wilful misconduct," clause were denounced by organized labor before the passage of the act. John Wilson, M. P., secretary of the Durham Coal Miners' Association, said of the "wilful misconduct" clause: "The meaning of the words is much wider and more dangerous than the politicians who introduced the measure, and some of the lawyers who took part in the discussion, contemplated."

The wilful misconduct clause was embodied in the "Socialist" measure. The committee did not know of the remarkable interpretation given by the courts to the clause requiring not less than two weeks disability, to mean than no workman could recover for any injury which occurred during the first two weeks of his employment, even if he was disabled for life or killed. It made a "one week" clause part of the "Socialist" recommendation. It was blissfully ignorant of the pitfalls dug in the British act by the British courts. It took the British act, pitfalls and all. Finally the committee did not know that the main result of the British Compensation Act was to restore the law of negligence to what it was before 1837. In pointing this out, I then wrote in the *Call*:

"The workingmen are now struggling for the repeal of the bloody doctrines of 'fellow-servant' and 'assumed risks.' The Socialists are helping them all they can, as they should. Now every step in that direction is hailed by our opportunistic comrades as a 'Socialist Victory,' the 'revolution in the making, showing what 'Socialists at work' can accomplish. It is well to point out to our friends of the right that the origin of these doctrines is, historically speaking, only of yesterday. That the day before yesterday capitalism got along without those doctrines very well indeed, thank you. And, other things being equal, when those doctrines are repealed, capitalism will thrive to-morrow just as well as before."

The main point for which I contended at that time, and am still contending, was that the Socialist party should have urged upon the workingmen to demand a measure of obligatory state insurance after the plan of most of the continental countries and not the English plan of compensation by the employer. And I will state right here, so it may not appear that I am trying to settle old scores, that this question is still very much alive. Our N. E. C., advised by Comrade Hillguit, who was the moving spirit of the New York Committee, appointed the same comrades who were on the New York Committee, on the National Compensation Act Committee. They are all good comrades, but mighty bad musicians. They are repeating and will continue repeating the mistakes for which we paid here dearly. And a discussion of the subject in the press therefore is very timely.

(*To be continued.*)

DEMANDS OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY

Translated for the Review from the Official Proclamation of the Organizing Junta by Prof. Frederic M. Noa, Oklahoma, City, Okla.

THE Mexican Liberal party is not striving to place any man in the presidency of the republic. It is for the people to select their rulers as they see fit.

The Mexican Liberal party is striving to win rights for the people and considers economic freedom as the basis of all rights.

As a means of obtaining economic liberty, the Liberal Party proposes to rise up in arms against the political and capitalistic tyranny which is oppressing and degrading the Mexican people; to wrest from the power of the capitalists the land which has been appropriated by them, in order to deliver it, regardless of sex, to the millions of human beings who compose the Mexican nation; to ennoble Work so that it may no longer be the shameful drudgery of the prison, but, on the contrary, the systematic and wholesome effort of free men and women devoting themselves to the production of social wealth; that is, the organization and education of the productive nation.

The demands of the Liberal party are very broad and far-reaching, but it is content to obtain the following for the people in the next armed conflict: Food, education and welfare for all—men and women—by securing possession of the land, and obtaining the reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages. These blessings in themselves will confer the power of gaining more easily others, and later still others.

The progress of humanity has no limits and for that reason it is impossible to predict how far the popular demands will extend during the next insurrection, but the least that can be conquered is the land free of masters, that is, it shall be for the use and enjoyment of all. This accomplished, the other remaining masters, the masters of industry, commerce and politics, will very quickly disappear through the sheer force of circumstances.

The program of the Liberal party promulgated by the Junta on the first of July, 1906, may be reduced to the following: Land for all, food for all, liberty for all.

The Junta makes an appeal to all men and all women who sympathize with the ideals and labors of the Liberal party to enroll themselves as members of the same; to do this they need only sign the attached coupon, send it to this office, and pay monthly the amount which they themselves agree to remit.

HAYWOOD DRAWING RECORD-BREAKING CROWDS

NEWS FROM THE LOCALS AND THE CAPITALIST PRESS

Warren, Ohio.—We had a rousing big meeting, almost one thousand, Sunday, and Comrade Haywood's subject, "The Coming Victory of Labor," was just the medicine for the occasion. We could have sold 100 more REVIEWS. Hope for future successful work of your valuable monthly.

O. M. BALDWIN, Sec'y.

Piqua, Ohio.—Comrade Haywood has delivered his lecture. More than a lecture; it was a heart-to-heart, man-to-man talk—a message that touched deeply each human within hearing.

He discussed at length Capitalism, Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism, and Socialism. He brought each out in such a clear light, that long after the meeting was over, men, strangers to the cause, stood about the streets in groups, unmindful of rain and mud, discussing as they never before discussed, arguing as they never thought to argue along the lines of that Unionism-Socialism-Haywood's address. Impromptu speakers had no opposition. They were of one mind. Haywood was—is—right.

Comrade Haywood gave us a powerful address. His arguments were conclusive, logical. Points to his arguments were driven home by irresistible force. He is a human tornado—a cyclone. But, where he destroyed arose beautiful things.

If we live—if Haywood lives, we shall some day have him back in Piqua.

GEO. F. CABLE, Sec'y.

East Liverpool, Ohio.—The big miner has been here and gone and he sure pleased them all from the ground up. His line of talk fitted in at just the right place. We have listened to a lot of Socialist speakers, but the Class Struggle in the Red had not been put up to us in a way that was strong enough, but he surely made his points so clear that even the "pure and simplers" could understand.

F. E. VERNIA.

Pottsville, Pa.—To say Bill's meeting was a success is only putting it mildly—it was a roaring success. Over 700 present.

C. F. FOLEY, Sec'y.

Rochester, Pa.—We think the Haywood meeting a grand success. Over 700 present, in spite of storm and rain.

C. H. LINDNER, Sec'y.

Scranton, Pa.—The entire audience were with him. He spoke two hours and the benefits of such a meeting cannot be overestimated.

O. E. MUSSELMAN, Sec'y.

Altoona, Pa.—The meeting was a success. Considering the work accomplished, it was a record-breaker. The audience numbered over 500 and on a rising vote for Industrialism they stood to a man. "Going some."

R. LOVE, Sec'y.

Rock Island, Ill.—"He came, he spoke and he conquered." We had a fine house and hope The Fighting Magazine will keep Comrade Haywood in the field, as he certainly wakes up the "dead ones." It was a sure success.

EDGAR L. OWENS, Sec'y.



THE CLASS WAR IN ENGLAND

BY

TOM MANN

THE progress made by the workers in the great class war in any one country is of necessity a matter of perennial interest to the fighters in the same cause in other countries.

The character of the struggle varies considerably at different periods, largely as a result of the "state of trade." When capitalist industry is brisk, and the percentage of unemployed workers is small as a consequence, the attitude of mind is different to that which obtains during the periods of industrial stagnation.

This year of 1911 is witnessing in Britain a considerable spell of commercial and industrial activity. In all branches of textile industry, trade is busy; also in engineering and shipbuilding, and in the tin plate trade of South Wales exceptional activity prevails, most of the mills running three shifts in 24 hours, and many new mills are in course of erection. Mining is becoming active, the disputes being comparatively few at the hour and the transport industry is necessarily relatively busy because general industry is so.

The net results of the various adjustments of wages during the past ten years is, that the workers have suffered a reduction of wages equal to £90,000 a year. On top of this the purchasing power of that wage has decreased by ten per cent in the same period, whilst the profits of the capitalists have increased by three and a half million of pounds per annum (£3,500,000). The total annual income of the United Kingdom is two thousand millions of pounds (£2,000,000,000). Of this the entire body of mental and manual wage workers of the country receive one-third, and they constitute fully 80 per cent of the total community.

The aggregate wealth of the country is being added to rapidly year by year, even during periods of industrial depression, but the capitalist class possesses 90 per cent of the total. Thus the sum total of ten years' parliamentary effort, trade union activity and every other kind of ameliorative effort is, that the standard of life of the workers is lower than it was ten years ago, and the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists is greater now than it has ever been in the history of the country.

Not only have these forces been unequal to raising the standard of life and so checking exploitation, but the robbery of the poor by the rich has considerably increased. Of course, whilst this is absolutely true as shown even by government reports as well as expert statisticians not connected with government, and fitting in every particular with what is seen by a careful observer, it is the case that some small sections of workers have improved their wages and reduced their working hours, but no public speaker in America need hesitate to use the statements I have made.

That the decreased purchasing power of wages here as elsewhere is largely due to the increased gold supply there is no room for doubt, which means if there had been no development of the South African gold mines, the workers of the world would not be experiencing such severe hardships as they now do; and concurrently with an enormous addition to the gold supply, which, being the fixed standard of value, affects the workers adversely when it is relatively abundant—there has also been an enormous application of labor saving devices in every department of industry which has also adversely affected the workers, not merely because many have been entirely thrown out of work as a result, but even more in consequence of relatively high wage men being dislodged by the machines and these men, though kept at work, being reduced in wage by one-third to one-half or more. An instance may be given: At the beer-brewing town of Burton-on-Trent, when the beer barrels were made by hand labor, the coopers who made them averaged three pounds (£3) a week,

now the average wage of the cooper making barrels by machinery does not average more than twenty-seven shillings a week (£1.7s). During the same period in the same industry the Trustification process has been at work extensively and always to the advantage of the profit receivers at the expense of the wage receivers.

The average wage of the brewery workers does not exceed one pound a week at Burton, and there are many thousands of men in Lancashire and Yorkshire who get no higher wage, and most of them are working 55 1-2 hours a week. It is impossible for a sane mind not to see where the cure lies for this low standard. It is to be found in LESS WORK AND MORE MONEY; no polished language is required in order to state it, no high sounding terms from the pages of orthodox or heterodox works on political economy. It is all in the simple sentence, LESS WORK, MORE MONEY, and no worker on earth is so ignorant as not to understand the meaning of that sentence, not one tired laborer in a foundry or chemical works, not a seamstress or typist, not a child worker anywhere but can tell immediately the meaning of LESS WORK AND MORE MONEY.

And this it is that is wanted now, wanted at once, to relieve humans of the burden of excessive physical toil, and to bring within their reach real necessaries and some comforts. Less work and more money will do it.

We wish to provide for the unemployed and fifty methods are devised, which it is proposed shall be forced upon an unwilling government as soon as possible; but if only those who are now at work would demand and get more money for less work, there would immediately, as a result, be work and money for the at present unemployed. We wish to obtain a greater result of the labor we perform, and at least check the exploitation of the capitalist; this would be the natural result of getting more money for less work.

And as regards Britain, there has not been so favorable a time for taking action as the present year of 1911 for fully twenty years. Not since the period of the great dock strike of London in 1889 have the conditions demanded and favored action as they do now. The necessity for action is greater now than then, the wealth procured is vaster, the share the worker gets is less, the meanness of life of fully one-half the people is so distressing, so torturing, and so inimical to all true progress, that whatever there is of manhood in the nation must find vent somehow to prevent the explosive effects of over pressure.

How then can we secure more money for less work? This is only a complex question because of the absence of class solidarity on the part of the workers, but it must be admitted this absence is serious and may be the one cause—there can be no other—that may prevent effective action being taken to secure more money for less work this very year.

No person, able to exercise his mind on the efficacy of organized action over a large enough area, in workshops, mills, factories, mines, etc., can advance one valid argument against the certain effects of concerted action on the part of the workers. DIRECT ACTION, by definite refusal to work more than an agreed upon time, backed up by all necessary behavior that would characterize an intelligent working mass, is all that is required. There is no necessity to call upon any government for, powerful as governments are, they can never be as powerful as the people, agreed amongst themselves, and resolved upon a given line of conduct. As William Morris put it—"For what are we waiting?" till we shall say "We will it," and by so "willing it" and applying it, every unemployed person could be included in the ranks of the industrious and as a result of thus removing competition for employment, the power to enforce more money for less work is immediately obtained.

Workers' Organizations.

It is well known that in Britain, as elsewhere, there is only a minority of the workers organized; of the ten millions of men eligible for industrial organization only one-fourth of them are members of trade unions, naturally these are, in the main, the skilled workers, who have associated together with a view to maintaining for themselves the advantages accruing to skilled workers, when definite restrictions are placed upon the num-

bers able to enter and remain in the trades.

We have had experience enough to know that the difficulties of maintaining a ring fence around an occupation, which secures to those inside the fence special advantages, are rapidly increasing, and in a growing number of instances, the fence has been entirely broken down, by changes in the methods of production. We know, further, that there is no trade or calling that is really immune from the revolutionizing effect of changing methods, but so slow are we to get out of ruts that the majority of trade unionists still remain sectionally isolated, powerless to act in single sectional bodies, and incapable of approaching each other and merging and amalgamating forces for common action, this it is that is responsible for the modern practice of entering into lengthy agreements between employers and workers. Sectional trade unions being incapable of offensive action, and gradually giving way before the persistent power of the better organized capitalist class, they fall back upon agreements for periods of from two to five years, during which time they undertake that no demands shall be made. As one agreement approaches termination the employers prepare the way for another, so as to chain down the organized workers more completely than it is possible to tie down non-organized workers, who can, at least, if so disposed, take mass action or individual action without becoming legally liable to fine or other punishment.

During the past two years agreements of this kind have been entered into by the coal miners, the cotton operatives, the engineers, the railway men and others and the build of the human animal being what it is, the officials of the unions for the most part seem not only willing to be identified with agreements of this kind, but they have been mainly responsible for the rank and file endorsing the same.

Naturally, it means that those who favor such action are not out to fight in the class struggle, and to the extent to which they are the deciding factors in affairs, the working class are reactionary and indolent. If such persons were destined to control in the future the organizations they are at present identified with, a strong case would be made out in favor of ignoring such bodies altogether and the building up afresh of a movement that should possess the fighting spirit and that should be out to conquer the economic situation.

Fortunately there are excellent reasons for knowing that the reactionaries will not be allowed to dominate much longer. The well-known battle of the boiler makers is very significant; the fact that three times over, with considerable intervals in between, they resolutely rejected the terms approved of by their executive and by the employers, and finally triumphed, is a lesson that needs repeating in several other organizations to finally and thoroughly establish the rank and file as controllers of their own organizations. Three times in six months have the members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in different districts, taken decisive action on their own account, and scored as a consequence, although they are bound by a five years' agreement to take no such action. Again, the miners of Aberdare district in South Wales, also tied up by agreements, boldly threw over all namby pambyism no matter from what source it came, and made their power felt. In like manner the 12,000 men of the Rhondda Valley, South Wales, took the bold initiative and determined to fight the matter out, which decision afterwards received the backing of the Miners' Federation. All these are instances telling in plainest terms that the unions are not entirely moribund, and that there are many of the rank and file who will not quietly bow down either to the master class, nor yet to the union officials.

It does not follow that all the men who have so taken action are highly intellectual class conscious revolutionaries, but it does warrant the conclusion that they are exactly the right kind of material out of which revolutionaries are made. and with a little coaching, accompanied by other advantages of civilization, such as the increase of coal cutting machines and corresponding decrease in number of men employed in getting coal, and the ever extending machine methods in engine shops and shipyards, reducing skilled men to the standard of the unskilled, these surroundings, coupled with a helpful agitating educator to point the moral, will prove to be nature's way of evolutionary revolutionary development.

In November last a conference of trade unionists was held in Manchester, the object being to discuss the limitations of the trade union methods and to agree, if possible, upon a plan of action. The invitation was accepted by 80 unions and 16 trades councils, who sent 180 delegates. No stipulation was made in the invitation, but it was found that of the 25 persons who took part in the discussion only one differed from the prevailing spirit that INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM was the necessary outcome of present day conditions, and when the following resolution was submitted two only voted against it and all the rest for it.

The resolution was as follows: "That, whereas the sectionalism that characterises the trade union movement of today is utterly incapable of effectively fighting the capitalist class and securing the economic freedom of the workers, this conference declares that the time is now ripe for the industrial organization of all workers on the basis of class—not trade or craft—and that we hereby agree to form a Syndicalist Educational League to propagate the principles of Syndicalism throughout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing unions into one compact organization for each industry, including all laborers of every industry in the same organization as the skilled workers."

How far reaching this is will be seen when it calls for the skilled to make common cause with the unskilled and become brother workers and brother fighters in *the same* organization. Members of the amalgamated engineers, boiler makers, pattern workers, typographical workers, masons, bricklayers, carpenters and other skilled workers were represented at the conference and the delegates voted for the resolution.

As showing the trend of events on the side of practical achievement in the direction indicated the following is full of interest:



A. A. PURCELL.

The chairman of the conference at Manchester was Albert A. Purcell, the general secretary of the French Polishers' union. He had filled this position for a number of years, during which time a vigorous policy had been pursued in conjunction with other unions in the furnishing trades. As a result of the effective advocacy of Comrade Purcell and some other active spirits, an amalgamation of ten unions in the furnishing trades has now taken place, and beginning with the 1st of January, this year, Mr. Purcell became the organizer for these amalgamated bodies of which the French Polishers union is one. The same tendency is showing itself in many other unions.

Following upon the Manchester conference the Derby Trades Council convened a conference on industrial unionism when the same resolution that was carried at Manchester was carried unanimously at Derby.

To be Continued.

EDITORIAL

Working-Class Socialism. That is the only Socialism that really counts. Slowly yet steadily the wage-workers of all capitalist countries are coming to realize that they are enslaved by the private ownership of the machines they use. Little by little they are coming to see that they can secure freedom and happiness, each for himself, only by uniting in a relentless struggle against the common enemy, capitalism. And while this class of wage-workers is daily becoming more intelligent and self-conscious, its numbers are all the while recruited by the process of industrial development. Every new machine helps make class-conscious proletarians out of skilled artisans who until the machine appeared thought themselves more capable and more deserving than the common laborers. Every new consolidation by which organized capital does away with useless little capitalists hurls these capitalists and their children down into the mass of wage-workers, where they will suffer hardships until they learn to rebel. Gradually conditions are preparing for the greatest social upheaval the world has ever known. Until now civilization and industrial progress have been possible only through the mastery of the few, the slavery of the many. We are just reaching the point where the many who do the work must grasp the power to control the conditions of their work and the ownership of the things they make or the whole structure of society will collapse. We the wage-workers are the only power that can end our own slavery. And we can end it only by bringing the great mass of wage-workers in all capitalist lands to a clear realization of our common interests, of our common aims and of the Class War that can not end until the capitalist class is overthrown.

The Work of the Socialist Party. The Socialist party of this country or any other country has one good reason for existence and only one. That reason is to help on the coming of the Revolution. Especially in the United States, where the organizations of wage-workers on the economic field are weak, scattered and divided, and too often in the hands of "leaders" who are bribed directly or indirectly by the enemies of labor,—here there is double need that the voice of the Socialist Party be clear and uncompromising. And that it soon will be so we have firm faith. The unanimous welcome given Comrade Haywood by the Socialist wage-workers of every city where he has spoken on Industrialism within the last three months speaks volumes for the growth of revolutionary ideas and tactics within the party. If ours were a party of office-seekers rather than revolutionists, Haywood and the Review would be unwelcome guests. But, it may be asked, do we not favor political action? Surely we do. We hope to see millions of votes cast for Socialist nominees in the United States in the near future. But we want them to be Socialist votes, cast by voters who recognize the class struggle and line up intelligently on our side. And the most important work that our elected candidates can do is to keep the clubs of the police and the bayonets of the soldiers off the men and women of the revolutionary unions, while they fight out the issue with the capitalists in the shops, the mines and the freight yards.

Our Volunteer Army. Our greatest source of strength as a party,—a power that we are only beginning to utilize, is the volunteer army of Socialist enthusiasts, each earning his own living under a capitalist master and working for Socialism in his few hours of leisure because he loves the work and the cause. The "Appeal Army" and our own co-operative publishing house are two great and conspicuous successes resulting from this mighty force. Thus far the party organization seems to have been forgetting to utilize the same force to anything like the same advantage, except in a few localities. The real lesson to be learned from Milwaukee is not opportunism but efficient volunteer work. And the only way in which this volunteer work can be utilized is by local autonomy in the greatest possible measure. Last month we commented favorably on the plan by which the Texas comrades put an end to factional quarrels and utilized an immense amount of hitherto wasted energy, by giving more power and responsibility to the local organizations, and we urged that the National dues be reduced,

so as to leave the hard-earned sums contributed by party members to be used where they could be fertilized by volunteer work. The need for this action is becoming more and more apparent by reason of the recent conduct of our national officers. Persistent charges have been urged for many months against the national secretary and it seems to us that the real cause of these charges is that the National Executive Committee and National Secretary have been entrusted by the party with many thousands of dollars over and above what was actually needed for carrying on the work of the office, and that consequently the national secretary found himself in a position where charges of favoritism in the appointment of employees and organizers could easily be made. We believe that the remedy, which will once for all make impossible the recurrence of such a state of things, is to cut down the income of the national office to what is really needed, and to entrust the use of most of the party's money to the comrades in the Locals who are doing the really important work.

Chicago Starts the Referendum.—On April 11, after a prolonged debate, the 21st Ward Branch of Local Cook County (Chicago) decided by a two-thirds vote to initiate the motion published on page 638 of last month's Review. Meanwhile letters from other states indicate that the same action is being taken elsewhere. If you agree with us that this action is necessary, bring the matter up in your Local, and the necessary number of seconds required to bring the question to vote will soon be secured. The party has already about 80,000 members and the National Secretary estimates that at the present rate the number will be 100,000 by the end of the year 1911. On the basis of present dues this would give the National Executive Committee $60,000 a year to spend; on the basis of the proposed amendment, $24,000. But the other $36,000, if the amendment carries, would be used by the various state committtees to build up their membership. With scarcely an exception these state committees are hard pressed for money, so that they are not able to keep organizers in the field, while the weaker ones are not even able to command the full time of a state secretary. In nearly every case the extra $36.00 per hundred members per year would add immensely to the efficiency of the state office, and this added efficiency would result in a rapid increase of members, so that within a year or two the revenue of the National Office would be as large as now, while the party membership and the fighting strength of the party would be more than doubled. Every state is already organized with the exception of Mississippi and the Carolinas, which can be organized within a year, and Delaware, which might well be attached to Maryland for organization purposes. The National Organizers are now working almost entirely within organized states, and the state committees ought to control them and pay them. This they can and will do if this amendment carries. And the vitally important work for these organizers to do is to develop in every city and town a self-governing Local of clear-headed socialists who will keep up an unending campaign of propaganda and education. These methods will build up a party that will be a terror to the capitalists and a rallying point for the wage-workers. Let us discard outgrown systems and utilize the tremendous energy now going to waste.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

ENGLAND. A Safe and Sane Strike. The strike of the London printers has about come to an end. It illustrates in most of its phases the old way of striking and the old way of losing. It began with a good deal of enthusiasm. Most of the London printers walked out. The provincial printers declared themselves ready to strike in sympathy. If they had done so the strike would have been won almost immediately.

But the employers were too wily to allow things to come to such a pass. The strike had come on slowly as the result of long negotiations. The masters had been amply warned. They had had a chance to lay their wires. And that they had laid them well was soon made apparent. The provincial printers were soon tied down with new agreements which were guaranteed to hold them for some years. So there could be no sympathetic strike.

This done the employing printers of London raised the cry of provincial competition. In the smaller cities of England wages are naturally lower than in London. "If we grant your demand for an eight-hour day," said the London employers, "we cannot compete with provincial concerns." Of course the London printers understood the game, but they saw orders for printing actually going outside of London and being filled at lower rates than those set by the London trade. So there was nothing to do but to make the best of a bad situation. Many of them compromised by accepting a fifty-hour week. Others are still out, but have no prospect of success. When the strike is over many shops will have been transferred from the union to the nonunion list.

As representatives of a form of unionism which is advertised as "practical," the English craft organizations make a very poor showing.

RUSSIA. Professors on Strike. In darkest Russia the revolution is getting a new start. Comparative "prosperity" is giving the Russian proletariat a chance to gather its forces for renewed activity. From all over the dominion of the Czar comes the same story of the formation of unions and the carrying on of vigorous propaganda.

One evidence of the revived spirit of the Russian people is peculiarly interesting. In all capitalist countries we have seen attempts to reduce the learned proletariat, especially that section of it engaged in the profession of teaching, to the position of humble lackeys of the government. It has remained for Russia to exhibit to the world a group of scholars with as much courage and independence as a union of brick-layers or hod-carriers.

The government of Premier Stolypin sometime ago ordered the police of the various departments to put the universities under strict surveillance. The order was carried out. Spies, policemen and Cossacks began to attend university lectures to see that nothing was said contrary to government regulation. Every appearance of free teaching was done away with.

The result has astonished the world. At the University of Moscow 110 professors walked out. The university is absolutely tied up.

Whether this strike will end successfully seems very doubtful. A nation can get on longer without learning than it can without bread or clothes. Moreover the government is using all the methods of the industrial capitalist. It is importing strike-breakers from France. An institution called the French Institute has been started by the scab professors. But the nature of this institute has been widely revealed and it will probably have great difficulty in securing students. The student class of Russia will know how to boycott a scab product.

FRANCE. The Red Flag in the Champagne Country. For two months past the cables have throbbed with news of riot in the departments of Marne and Aube. American dailies have told their

readers of scenes that recall the old revolutionary days. At Damremy on Jan. 17th 3,000 wine growers wrecked two of the largest wine cellars in the district. Thousands of bottles of champagne were smashed. The streets literally ran with expensive wine. And the waters of the Marne were enriched with plentiful libations. Presses and casks were left in a confused and worthless wreck. Two days later the same scene was reproduced at d'Hautervilliers.

On March 19 even more violent uprising occurred at Bar-sur-Aube, in the department of Aube. The cellars of wine merchants were wrecked, official demands for the payment of taxes were burned in huge bonfires, and the red flag was hoisted on the city hall. The municipal officials of sixty neighboring towns resigned from their offices. On April 9 fresh outbreaks occurred throughout the region.

Soldiers were hurried into the districts affected, but they were powerless. They dared not, at first, even arrest the leaders of the insurrections. The latest news, however, is that they have taken into custody Emile Moreau, one of the most revolutionary of the wine growers.

On the face of them these tales sound preposterous. Here is a peaceful population. The Socialist party of France has been trying for years to get hold of the small proprietors and peasant workers of the wine regions. The Confederation General du Travail has made repeated efforts to organize them. Both have had but slight success. But now of a sudden this whole peaceful, plodding population has risen, done damage to property that makes the sabotage of the railway employes look like nothing, and triumphantly hoisted the red flag on its municipal buildings.

What does it all mean?

The only explanation given to the readers of American dailies is the statement that the trouble all results from a commercial war between the departments of Marne and Aube. The statement is correct enough and it does explain some features of the situation.

For the past twenty years the situation of the wine dressers, small proprietors and wage earners alike, has grown steadily worse. In 1908 there was a crop failure and affairs reached a crisis. The inhabitants of the province of Marne took the initiative. This province is situated at the heart of the old province of Champagne. Its inhabitants evolved the notion that if they could secure the exclusive privilege of labeling their wine champagne their problem would be solved, prosperity would return to them. Such a solution, would, of course, work to the detriment of the four other departments included within the boundaries of the old province. But they were not solicitous of the welfare of their neighbors. In January, 1909, a governmental decree delimiting the champagne district to the department of Marne went into effect.

This decree has naturally aroused bitter opposition in the other departments affected. In the department of Aube resentment has been particularly bitter. Therefore in this department the rioters have sometimes borne banners inscribed, "Down with Delimitation." Then, on April 8, when a committee of the Chamber of Deputies advised that all the departments in the province of Champagne be included in the delimited district, there was naturally an outbreak in the Marne region.

So it goes. Marne and Aube are pitted against each other. It would be impossible to find a better example to illustrate the truth of the econmic interpretation of history. The wine growers of both provinces declare solemnly that they have eternal right on their side.

But after all is said this opposition between Marne and Aube does not explain the events of the past two months. To be convinced of this it is but necessary to recall that the rioting began in the Marne region, the district which already has the benefit of delimitation and hence is seeking no territorial advantage.

In reality this violent war which is focusing the attention of the entire world is a class war.

Big business has entered the champagne region. And where big business enters it always does its perfect work. Where twenty years ago were thousands of small proprietors all living in comparative prosperity there are now a few great capitalists and a great population of pov-

erty stricken peasants. The champagne riots represent an uprising of the poor against the rich.

To be sure many of the poor are "proprietors." So in a certain sense the scenes of violence enacted in France are analagous to the night riding expeditions which we witnessed in Kentucky a couple of years ago. But the Kentucky nightriders were comparatively well-to-do plantation owners. No one would call the French "proprietors" well-to-do. They no longer really represent the middle class. So there is a difference.

The vine bearing land of the region under discussion is divided into extremely small holdings. In the department of Marne, for example, there are 17,739 proprietors holding together about 15,538 hectares. Of these 14,430 own less than a single hectare (about two and a half acres) apiece. Formerly each one of these small proprietors pressed the wine from his own grapes, bottled it, gave it the treatment necessary to produce the qualities desired, and sold it in the open market for a good price.

But some years ago artificial methods for producing the effervescence characteristic of champagne were discovered. From that time on the small producer was doomed. At present the champagne business is absolutely controlled by a few great houses. Here, as everywhere, concentration has proved economical. The processes connected with the production of champagne are very complex. After being bottled the wine is seasoned for four or five months. Every day each separate bottle has to be shaken. At the end of this period it is treated chemically until exactly the required flavor has been produced. All these processes are now carried on on a large scale at a few centers like Reims, Epernay and Ay. The small proprietor merely produces the grapes and sells them to an agent of a large wine house. A single concern at Epernay, that of Moet and Chandon, possesses cellars which are described as containing thirty kilometres of the racks on which the bottles are arranged while the wine is seasoning. In this one town 2,000 laborers are constantly at work in the cellars.

Under these circumstances the individual proprietor has been reduced to the position of producer of raw material. He no longer produces wine; he produces grapes. These he sells to an agent representing one of the large wine houses. The champagne country is parceled out among buyers much as a good deal of our farming country has been during the past few years. The price of grapes is settled by the agents before the season opens. Therefore the small proprietor is absolutely at the mercy of the great wine merchant.

The prices paid to producers have steadily fallen. In 1889 the price of a cask of wine at the point where it was produced was 1,600 francs. By the year 1901 it had fallen to 94 francs. This fairly represents the fall in the price of grapes. For the individual producer no longer sells wine, he sells his grapes by the "cask." That is, he sells his grapes in lots of 400 kilos, or enough to produce one cask.

Under these circumstances the great wine merchants have grown enormously wealthy. An instance is cited of a buyer who cleared 50,000 francs in two weeks. Of course the returns of the wine houses themselves are much greater.

Besides procuring grapes at ridiculously small prices they import immense quantities of cheap wines from the south of France and from Algeria, give it chemical treatment, decorate it with the proper label, and sell it for champagne. About 35,000,000 bottles of real champagne are produced each year; but over 100,000,000 bottles are shipped out of the champagne country.

The actual producers of the grapes, on the other hand, find themselves in ever increasing poverty. The labor of caring for vineyards is immense and the expense connected with it is also large. A single hectare of vineyard demands an annual outlay of about 3,000 francs. Under present conditions the return for the product is often less than that sum. The budget of a representative small proprietor shows that during the past ten years he has actually suffered a loss of nearly 12,000 francs.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

NOW that the Socialist party has taken another long stride forward, as was revealed in the municipal elections last month—when Butte, the largest city in Montana; Berkeley, Cal., the famous college city; Flint, Mich., which is largely dominated by J. P. Morgan and associated capital; Victor, Col., the storm center of the great battle between the Western miners and allied capital that was climaxed by the labor victory in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case, and many other places were wholly or partially carried by the Socialist party—the working people are being regaled with some more talk about a new national labor party to be formed.

This time the news comes from Philadelphia and it is very frankly announced that the principal reason that the labor party is to be brought into being is to check the growth of Socialism as illustrated in the April returns. No less a personage than ex-President Roosevelt is to head the new movement to smash the red spectre and as no denials have come from that gentleman it appears that Barkis is willin'. Very glibly the public is assured that the American Federation of Labor is to serve as a basis upon which the new party is to be founded, just as though the Federation is a nice little package that may be wrapped up in brown paper and placed in Mr. Roosevelt's pocket.

Of course the bitter attacks that have been made upon the Socialist party by Gompers and his friends for many years naturally lead the unwary to believe that the A. F. of L. is owned by Gompers and is hostile to socialism. Outsiders don't seem to realize that socialism is making immense strides in nearly all affiliated international unions, despite the fact that in some of those organizations the radical element, among them many socialists, have seceded or were forced out and established rival unions.

The truth of the matter is that no national labor party can be established in this country by the A. F. of L. and certainly not with the co-operation of Theodore Roosevelt. Several years ago such a party could have been started and it might have stood fair chances of gaining success, but the opportunity has passed forever and the Socialist party is now universally recognized as *the* labor party, no matter how much it may be hated or misrepresented by its opponents.

The large numbers of trade unionists who have been flocking to the Socialist party all over the country during the past few months (I understand that the dues-paying membership increased 20,000 between January 1 and April 1 and is now 78,000), led by the miners and building craftsmen, explains why more victories are being achieved at the polls and why the old political bosses of the Penrose stripe are becoming panicky and plotting to launch a fake labor party to stem the tide toward socialism.

In America nothing succeeds like success. It's a national attribute that the people's attention is always attracted by a winning side and they frequently become partisan thereto over night. That is a historical fact, and so when Milwaukee fired the first big gun last November it wasn't surprising to see the masses begin to move in the direction of the new party and produce results in Butte, Berkeley, Flint and dozens of other places. And these in turn will wield a certain influence in keeping up the ratio of gains at the fall elections, so that by the time 1912 swings around the S. P. will most likely have considerably more than 100,000 dues-paying members and an organization that will be invulnerable.

Now, on the other hand, fancy Roosevelt, the father of the open shop, trying also to wean a labor party. What platform will it place before the people, who is going to finance it, and who will be its spokesmen? These questions must be answered with something more substantial than hot air. It required years of hard battling to build up the Socialist party, and it can be accepted as a cer-

tainty that a majority of the trade union officials have no hankering to engage in any adventure of that kind, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

The third year of the life and death struggle on the Great Lakes between the seamen and the Lake Carriers' Association, backed by the United States Steel Corporation, has begun in earnest. Throughout the winter months the trust has resorted to every imaginable scheme to keep its ranks of strike-breakers intact, while the unionists plastered the cities and towns for hundreds of miles along the lakes and inland with huge posters, urging workingmen to remain away from the shipping offices.

But despite the close surveillance of the trust, the unionists broke the ranks of its "free and independent" work people. At Buffalo, Cleveland, Duluth and a number of other places many of its strike-breakers went on strike, singly and in bunches as high as a hundred men, while many of the recruits gained by the master class are not to be depended upon as "independents," as will be demonstrated later on in the season.

One of the most significant incidents of this famous battle between the working class and a few but powerful capitalists is that the pilots, who were depended upon to act as loyal strike-breakers are revolting and forming a secret organization. They are passing a propaganda leaflet from hand to hand, much in the same way as the workers of Russia are spreading intelligence among each other under cover, deploring their unenviable position and urging a revolt against centralized capitalism.

Meanwhile the small ship-owners who have been dragged into the Lake Carriers' Association are slowly and steadily being strangled. The steel trust has been increasing its tonnage and will soon be entirely independent of its allied capitalists, whose ships will be rotting behind breakwaters or up the rivers. Some are desperately talking about engaging in the ocean trade as "tramps," but they are doomed, just as are the small steel and tinplate plants that were inveigled into pulling chestnuts from the fire for the trust.

Whether the seamen will be able to wrest decent conditions from the trust is problematical. Things seaward are not as they were in the good old days when the able-bodied sailor was a more or less heroic figure. Jack Tar of song and story has had pretty much all the poetry knocked out of him by the inventive and prosaic genius of modern capitalistic development.

But it is well worth while watching the struggle on the Great Lakes, if for no other reason than to compare the militancy of centralized capital with the segregated efforts of the crafts that are employed on and along the lakes.

The trials and tribulations of the electrical workers, which have created much havoc among all the international unions, may be adjusted. The St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. endorsed a plan, which was outlined by Vice-President Duncan, to hold conventions of the Reid and McNulty factions in the same city on the same date. The executive council of the A. F. of L. subsequently unreeled another yard of red tape and endorsed the St. Louis convention's endorsement and took another step by suggesting that, as both factions were bound constitutionally to meet in September, Minneapolis be chosen as the place of assemblage.

The Reidites have agreed to the plan and the McNultyites are holding a referendum vote on the selection of the convention city. The general belief is that all differences can be adjusted by the delegates of both factions who come fresh from the rank and file. The Duncan proposal is that both conventions appoint committees to hold joint sessions and thresh out all differences and report to their respective bodies, and then combine both conventions and work out details, which is a good scheme.

Recently a court in New York state rendered a verdict against International Association of Machinists, District No. 15, that establishes a villainous precedent. A year or so ago the machinists went on strike against an unfair concern in the New York district, which concern imported strike-breakers and housed them in the plant. Then, because the

pickets won some of the strike-breakers over to their side, the firm went into court and obtained an injunction prohibiting picketing. This was followed by a damage suit to reimburse the company for the expense to which it was put to run its plant with scabs. The plaintiff not only secured a judgment for a liberal amount to pay for housing and feeding its strike-breakers, but the obliging court also tacked on several hundred dollars additional to defray the expenses of the company's attorneys. The case cost the New York machinists about $5,000.

By the way, the machinists are about to hold an international election. President O'Connell will be opposed by W. J. Johnson, a Socialist, who at the last session of Congress secured concessions that means the eight-hour day for 23,000 men.

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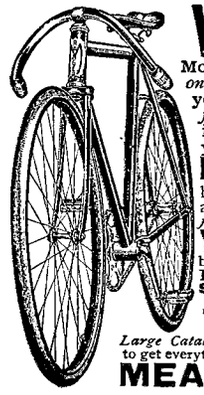
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NEWS AND VIEWS

Helping the Striking Coal Miners in the Irwin District. The letter from Alphons Olbrich, Philadelphia, about the way the Locals in Philadelphia are sending aid to the striking miners of the Irwin District, was crowded out last month. Comrade Olbrich writes that the 17th, 19th and 20th Ward branches of the Socialist party in Philadelphia have been doing splendid relief work for the friends in Westmoreland County. Five thousand cards were printed by the comrades and distributed and later the district was canvassed for donations. The results of four Saturday canvasses were as follows: $33.75, $54.39, $25.88 and $59.27, or $173.29 in cash. The committee has two wagons going the rounds for them bearing two muslin signs six feet by three feet reading: "Irwin, Westmoreland Coal Miners' Relief Committee. What Will You Give in Clothes?" Only one-half of the 19th Ward was covered when the committee reported seven big wagon loads of clothing and from 350 to 400 pieces of canned goods. A police officer advised us one day to go to the station house as he thought we could get a lot of cast-off uniforms. We called several times, one officer always referring us to another, and we were told that if the city hall knew what we were doing we would be stopped. They said we would "incite the people to riot."

We expected we would be stopped after that. On Saturday, February 18, we canvassed the territory in which Wm. J. Glenn resides. But the magistrate was out, and all this was done in the police district where the lieutenant and the magistrate vowed last summer that no more Socialist meetings should be held. In our canvassing we have found out that the poorest workers, those nearest to the down and outs, are the most cheerful givers. The further we go from them the worse are our donations. Big houses mean little or no donation and small houses big donations. One canvasser met a workman, either Polish or Hungarian, who asked what we were collecting for. When he understood he tore off his overcoat and insisted upon its being accepted. He also gave a small sum of money. Such a spirit assures future success for the working class. Another good sign is the worker's want-to-be-shown attitude. He investigates for himself. The work of canvassing is great work for raising the enthusiasm among local comrades. We got several non-socialists—young men—to help and they became so sympathetic and enthused that they want to join the party. We want to congratulate the friends in Philadelphia for this splendid work. Too many of us have been busy with minor labor troubles to help our friends in the Irwin District who are putting up one of the gamest fights in the history of the labor movement. If any of our other friends want to get into the game and do something to help the strikers out, write Alphons Olbrich, 2604 N. Fifth street, Philadelphia, Pa., and he will see that you are put in touch with the relief committee.

How to Get an Eight-Hour Day.—In your February issue of the Review Local Portland initiates a movement for an eight-hour day for May 2, 1912. I have a proposition to suggest which I hope you will consider. If there is anything impossible about it, if it won't work, write me why. Let us join in educating the workers and in persuading them to hit at the same time. Instead of going out on strike, starving ourselves and our families, let us simply all take the eight-hour day and quit after eight hours' work, whether the factory whistle blows for quitting time or not. Of course, this will mean a lockout. Well, when the managers advertise for workingmen we will apply for jobs and then we will quit work after eight hours of work again. Perhaps in this way we can take the eight-hour day without starving while we fight and without letting scabs take our places. I know this is so simple that it looks suspicious. What do you think about it?—From COMRADE WAMSER, of Chattanooga.

From the Coeur D'Alene, Ida., S. P. Platform preamble

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This requirement is not imposed upon our candidates through lack of confidence in their fidelity as a whole, but to safeguard against those who seek office at the hands of the party with intent to discredit it.

We can imagine what a jolt the above will be to the old party candidates. It is a lesson in party democracy that every worker will understand and trust.

Scout Drenk, of Elkhart, Ind., writes: "Your letter of the 29th asking me how the REVIEW sells is received. Answer is: Send me fifteen more of the April number instead of May. I will order for May later."

J. F. Hardie, of Oklahoma, writes: "Lay on McDuff. Have just read 'In Prison With Herve,' and Kerr's splendid editorials. Also the other articles and they are all fine. Yours for a bloodless revolution."

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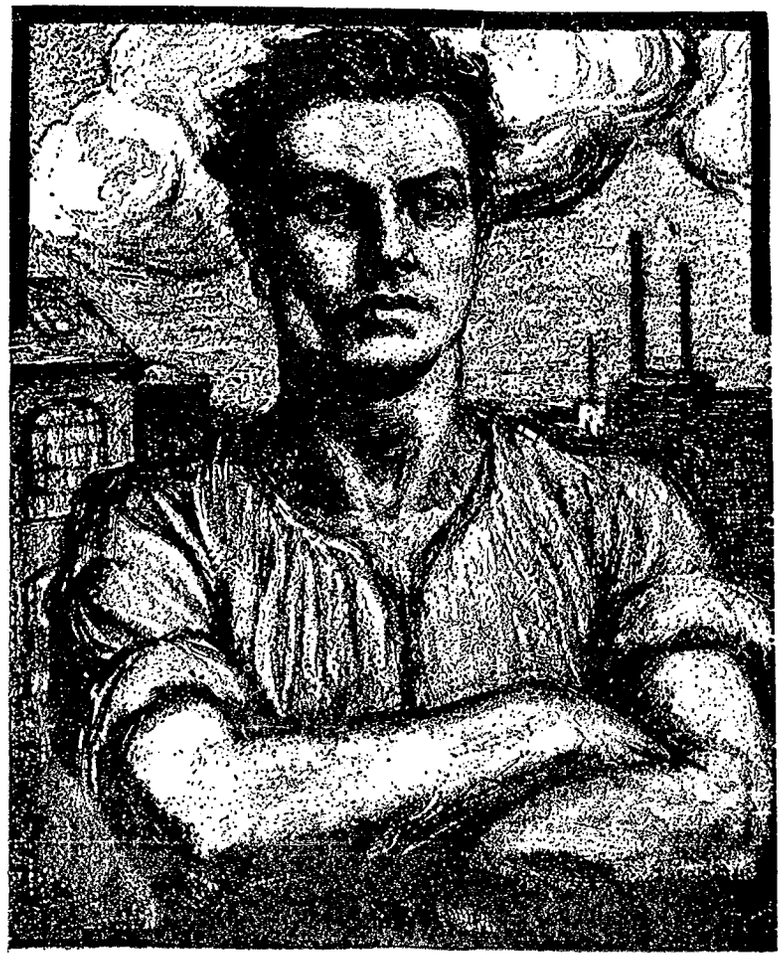
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



GET READY

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

WHEN THE WORKERS FOLD THEIR ARMS

By ED MOORE

Mexico, or more properly Diaz, challenged for barbarity, does not answer convincingly.
CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Editorial)

The unanswered challenge, with ample proofs, corroborated by engravings from photographs taken in Mexico, will be found in **John Kenneth Turner's** book

Barbarous Mexico

What the Newspapers Say:

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Oregon Journal PORTLAND: The writer . . . claims that there is neither free speech nor free press, that Diaz is "unanimously elected" because his opponents are never allowed to live to come to the polls; slavery of the very worst type exists, coupled with starvation and crime, and all this for the glory of Diaz. He furthermore claims that these things could not exist if Diaz did not have the support of the United States, threatening when insurgency raises its head, to call to his aid a powerful army of United States soldiers. Now all this might be passed over with the usual comment "sensational," if Mr. Turner did not substantiate his statements with such a tremendous array of facts and figures and photographic illustrations as would extract conviction from the most prejudiced unbeliever.

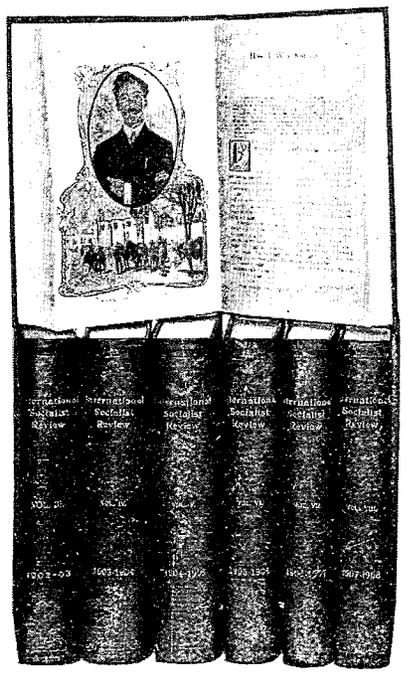
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each; for Volume III $2.75; for volumes IV and X $1.75 each, and for volumes V, VI, VII, VIII and IX 50 cents each. If to be sent by mail, 25c a volume must be added for postage. No discount from these prices, not even to our own stockholders. The net price of 50c each on volumes V, VI, VII, VIII and IX, including all issues from July, 1904, to June, 1909, inclusive is much less than the actual cost of printing and binding. We offer the reduction to close out the volumes quickly.

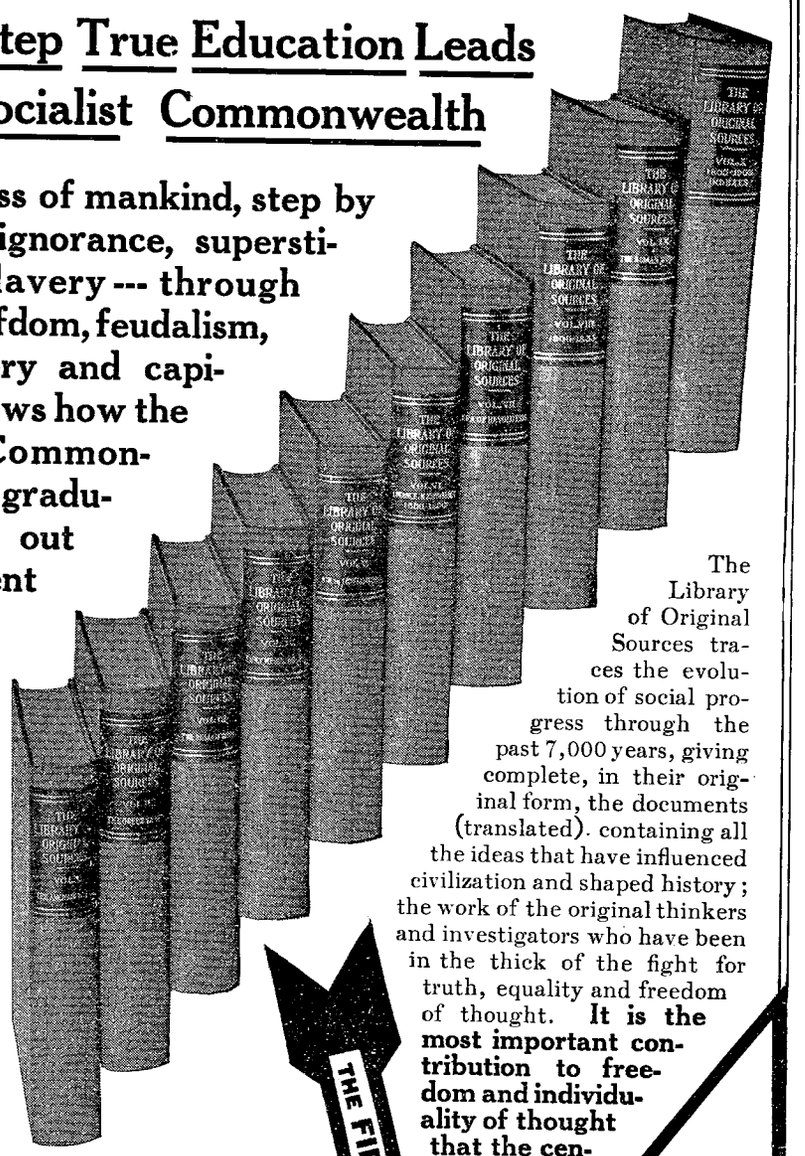
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI. JUNE, 1911 No. 12

GET READY

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

TO REVIEW the kidnaping of John J. McNamara and his associates is like reading a brief chapter of my own life. McNamara, like myself, was secretary-treasurer of a militant labor organization and therein is the mainspring of the unlawful seizure of his person and the charges of crime against him.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the organization of which McNamara is an official, stands between the Erectors' Association and cheap labor power, just as the Western Federation of Miners stood against a reduction of wages in the Coeur d'Alene, Leadville, Cripple Creek and all the mining districts throughout the metaliferous regions. The membership of the miners and that of the Iron Workers are men of tough fiber, men with iron in their blood, men who shake hands with death many times in the course of a day's work, men the very nature of whose labor develops an individualism, a spirit of self-reliance and independence. Naturally men following hazardous vocations have temperaments of high tension and will not willingly bend their necks to the yoke nor meekly submit to coercion. When the overwhelming power of capitalism backed these men to the wall and compelled them to organize their forces to keep from being crushed, a mutual social relationship was established that even the mighty Steel Trust could not shatter.

When my comrades and I were arrested, I said, "There are a thousand Moyers and Haywoods in the ranks, who will, if we are killed, carry on our work." Mr. Darrow, when pleading before the jury that tried me, voiced this sentiment, "If you hang Bill Haywood there are a million working men who will take up the banner of labor at his grave and carry it on to victory!"

In this case the Structural Iron Workers will prove as loyal to their victimized



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JOHN J. McNAMARA.

brothers as the miners were to us. The working class will be as true to one of their class and to their cause now as when I was on trial for my life.

We are all defendants in every case where a worker is to be tried and the capitalist class is the plaintiff. It matters not that this process comes through the courts of the state of California, the finger board points unerringly to the powers behind the prosecution.

Let us follow the footprints. Early on the morning of October 1, last year, the Los Angeles Times building was wrecked by an explosion. Fire finished the destruction. Twenty-one human lives were lost. It was the general belief that the building was blown up by an explosion of gas.

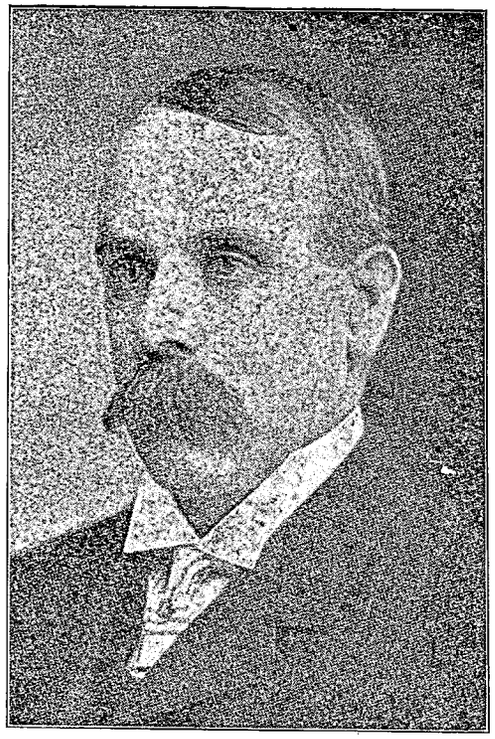
The Times strongly condemned this contention and blamed the trade unions. For years this paper has been a union baiter. The owner, Harrison Gray Otis, is styled the "Human Gray Wolf." There is nothing he so enjoys as tearing with his fangs at the heart of a union man. When his building was destroyed there was no word of pity for the bereaved families of the unfortunate victims. The old Gray Wolf sat on his haunches and howled, "Dynamite! Trade unions!" The longer and louder he howled, the stronger grew the membership of the unions. The Boss Brewers withdrew from the Gray Wolf's pack known as the Manufactures' and Merchants' Association. The breweries were organized. Then another howl went up from the ashes of the Times. He called the Brewery owners a set of cowards.

The Socialists, ever vigilant and persistent in their propaganda among the workers, announced that they hoped to carry the city election in Los Angeles. The Gray Wolf saw his finish and at that junction the Lewellyn Iron Works was blown up. The footprints of the conspiracy now take a different course. The Typographical Union is not charged with this crime. The disaster of the Times Building becomes an incident. The service of the State of California is sidetracked. The human bloodhounds of the National Erectors' Association are on the job.

The Steel Trust has no fight on against the typesetters, not yet. The crushing of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is the work of the hour. They must be routed and disbanded as were the miners of the Steel Trust, the iron ore miners of Minnesota and Michigan. The Iron Workers must be crushed like the striking seamen of the Great Lakes who convey the ore of the Steel Trust. All organizations of men who have come in contact with iron have felt the IRON HEEL of the Steel Trust—from the miner who toils in the windowless dungeons producing the raw material to the iron worker who swings on the steel girder in the sky.

That your calling is one of danger, that you have helped to build a mighty nation, that you are an important factor in industry, that you have contrived to bring happiness to the many—all this is nothing in the balance if you have by any means lessened the profits of the Steel Trust.

This is your crime. You will be sur-



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Int. Ass'n. Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

rounded some Saturday night by private detectives and charged with murder, and "murder is murder," so Mr. Roosevelt says, and as one who shot a fleeing man in the back, he ought to know, if his conscience speaks the truth.

The manner by which your arrest is accomplished is of no consequence. "To hell with the Constitution." What does a constitution or two mean to the Mine Owners' Association or the Steel Trust? And besides, has not the United States Supreme Court in the case of Pettibone said that kidnaping was a just and lawful procedure?

So to be well within the law the Pinkerton and Burns vampire agencies have adopted kidnaping as their favorite **modus operandi,** and thus it happens that these birds of prey say, "Habeas corpus be damned, we'll give 'em post mortems."

The detectives were taking no chances when they arrested James N. McNamara and Ortie McManigle. They were seized in Detroit, Mich., and smuggled to Chicago. There they were held in secret, without counsel, and denied every constitutional and legal safeguard. No rich man has ever been treated in such a manner. The arrest of John J. McNamara at Indianapolis was even more dastardly in its conception. He was seized in his office at Indianapolis while attending a meeting of the Executive Board of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Burns, the press agent, detective, was assisted by seventy or eighty of the regular police and private forces of Indianapolis. The building was surrounded. Burns and several of his force invaded the office, forcibly seized John J. McNamara, hurried him into a waiting automobile in which he was carried to a police court.

Refusing his demand that he be permitted to secure the services of an attorney, the police judge announced that, as the governor of Indiana had honored the requisition issued by the governor of California, the prisoner could at once be transported to that state, to be tried upon the charge of murder, it being alleged that he had aided in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building.

The sleuth-hounds again placed McNamara in the automobile, rushed him



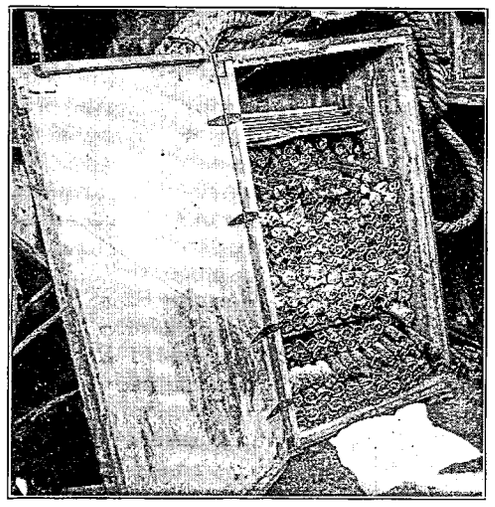
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WILLIAM J. BURNS.

out of Indianapolis and across the boundary line of the state. Handcuffed and chained, he was put aboard a fast train for Los Angeles, where he arrived Wednesday, April 26. There he was placed in a tank in the Los Angeles County jail. After the abduction of McNamara, Burns and a part of his gang returned to the office of the Iron workers, where the remaining members of the Executive Board were still imprisoned. A locksmith was impressed into service and the safe of the organization was bored with a diamond drill. Its contents were not stolen for the use of the authorities of the State of California; THEY WERE TURNED OVER TO WALTER DREW, the attorney of the Erectors' Association. It was not until 3 o'clock the following morning that the members of the Executive Board were allowed to leave their office. The next day, when President Frank Ryan asked the chief of police for

the keys of the office, the chief was compelled to acknowledge that he did not have them. THEY WERE IN THE POSSESSION OF WALTER DREW, THE GENTLEMAN WHO REPRESENTS THE CHIEF PERSECUTORS IN THE CASE.

It is evident to every observing mind that the Iron Workers are not to be prosecuted by the State of California for complicity in the destruction of the Times Building. The judiciary is to be used by the Erectors' Association in the same manner as several state courts were operated by the Mine Owners' Association.

The abduction of our brothers was so nearly like that of Pettibone, Moyer, St. John, Adams and myself as to almost furnish a parallel case. Three of us were arrested in Denver on Saturday night after the courts were closed, and confined in the Denver County jail. We demanded, as did McNamara, that some one of our attorneys be sent for, so that we might take counsel with them. We were likewise denied this constitutional right. Extra precautions were taken to prevent our arrest becoming publicly known. We were held in the county jail until 3 o'clock in the morning, then taken to the warden's office, where we met for the first time. We were handcuffed and put in three separate carriages under heavy guard and driven to the Oxford Hotel, the nearest to the depot. At 6 o'clock Sunday morning we were placed aboard a special train and hurried away to the State of Idaho. The special train was a contribution of the railroad company, which likewise provided for a clear track, which enabled us to make the journey in twelve hours less than the schedule time. It will be remembered that upon our arrival in Boise, Idaho, we were conveyed to the Idaho State Penitentiary, an institution where none but convicted criminals were confined. After the usual preliminaries of being registered and searched, we were conducted to the cell-house and placed in the condemned cells under the death watch. Up to this time we had not seen a lawyer and had not been in a court. I recount these facts to show the utter disregard of the capitalist class for constitutional provisions when



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DYNAMITE "FOUND" BY DETECTIVES
In a Barn Near Tiffin, Ohio, and Said by Detective Burns to Have Been "Cached" There by the Same Men Who Blew Up the Los Angeles Times Building.

their ravenous appetites are whetted for a feast of the blood of the working class.

The key had no sooner turned in the door of the penitentiary than Governor Gooding announced that we would never leave the state alive. It was but a short time afterwards that Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, denounced us as "undesirable citizens," words which in effect meant that we should be put out of the way. And now this blatant hypocrite, in the current issue of the "Outlook," under caption "Murder Is Murder," severely criticises the labor leaders who have come to the support of John J. McNamara. The ivory merchant says, "I have no idea whether the men arrested on Mr. Burns' statements are or are not guilty." Further on Mr. Roosevelt says that it is grossly improper to try to create a public opinion in favor of the arrested men, simply because the crime of which they are accused is committed against a capitalist or a corporation. Mr. Roosevelt seems to forget that every man is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty.

This distinguished member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen overlooks another scoopful when he disregards the efforts of the subsidized press of capitalism. From Boston to Los Angeles these hirelings have left nothing

undone which might create a prejudice against the labor leaders. Mr. Roosevelt has certainly done his share in this regard. We cannot forget that he has been the pliant and willing tool of the ruling class in every act of his public life. As Governor of New York he used the militia against the Croton Dam strikers. As President of the United States he prevented the organization of men in the government employ and furnished the federal troops to the mine owners in Nevada, Arizona and Alaska. With this record the workers can well afford to ignore any advice coming from Roosevelt.

Workers of America, if you would save the life of John J. McNamara and his brother union men, you must act and act quickly. If you would protect yourselves from the acts of terror perpetrated by the private detectives, criminals and thugs of the ruling class, speak now or forever hold your peace. You can compel those responsible for the kidnaping of the iron workers to comply with the law of the land. It is within your power to make the authorities proceed in accord with the rules they themselves have made. A general strike of all workers is the means to be applied. The complete suspension of all production on the day the trial begins will be a wholesome lesson and one that the capitalist class will never forget.

If the agitation for a general strike is vigorously carried on, the iron workers will be returned to their homes and their constitutional rights preserved.

This outrage of capitalism is bringing together the man on the girder in the sky and the man in the dark recesses of the earth. From the prison cells in Los Angeles, from Preston and Smith in the penitentiary of Nevada, from Cochrane and the other victimized seamen of Buffalo, from Buccafori in Brooklyn, comes the mighty cry for "one big union." One big union can and will, if necessary protect the lives of the working people, stop the mills of injustice by stopping the wheels of industry in every mine, in every factory, and on every building and every railroad in the land.

WHEN THE WORKERS FOLD THEIR ARMS

BY

ED. MOORE

DEATH is grinning in anticipation of the harvest he is going to reap when the "American interests" let loose the dogs of war to overrun Mexico.

Famine is preparing to collect her dividends in the places laid waste where shot, shell and sabre have done their murderous work to uphold the "sacred right" of speculators, bankers and the business interests, generally and individually, to gather unto themselves the wealth the labor the working class brings forth.

Pestilence is calculating whether she shall go along in the old way to collect the premiums Death and Famine pay to her as her percentage of profits from wars for patriotism, or whether she shall modernize her industry and adopt scientific management to get more victims for a smaller number of more virulent diseases.

At well spread boards, where there is every dainty that the culinary art can concoct from the raw materials of nature, sit magnates scheming how to excite the workers of the United States to an unreasoning anger against the workers of Mexico for the purpose of throwing them into the pit of war to murder each other.

In rented homes, made cheerless by poverty; sneaking up alleys, timidily begging for food; by the sides of railroads, and clinging in fear and desperation to the brakebeams and bumpers are the workers of the United States who will have to carry the guns and produce the food to send an army into Mexico.

Whatever "American interests" are in

danger in Mexico, they certainly do not belong to the workers who are on half-time, out of a job, and who are hoboing it.

If a bullet from a gun in the hands of a worker from the United States kills a Mexican worker, Madero's wife will not be left a widow in destitute circumstances with hungry children to feed. If a bullet from a gun in the hands of a Mexican worker kills a worker from the United States, it will not be the wife of a Morgan who will be left a widow.

The lassies left all forlorn by the laddies killed in a war to secure dividends for Taft, Morgan & Co., and profits for Madero and his cousins and his aunts, will not be the hothouse buds of fashionable society in the United States and Mexico.

Workers of the United States have nothing but their lives to lose in Mexico. If American capitalists have anything to lose in Mexico, it is what they have stolen from the workers. Mr. Morgan and his gang are now conspiring to hang an official and two members of a labor union that the Steel Trust wishes to destroy.

We workers have a war in the United States against Mr. Morgan and his class. Shall we be patriots or fools if we let ourselves be coaxed or bullied to murder Mexican workers to enable Morgan to get more money to pay kidnapper and thief Burns to manufacture evidence to hang workers who have combined to make the Steel Trust pay them something more than starvation wages and to treat them with at least as much consideration as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals force their owners to give to jackasses?

A never ceasing war is going on in all countries between the workers and those who rob them. In every country the Socialist Party is organizing the workers in their own army. It is equipping them with the most modern and highest powered weapon to use in capturing the governments of the robbing class—the Capitalists. This weapon is the ballot.

While enlisting the workers and drilling them in the use of the ballot, the Socialist Party in its school of tactics, is perfecting the general strike mass movement as the most effective and practical attack upon the brutal wars the capitalists make the workers fight.

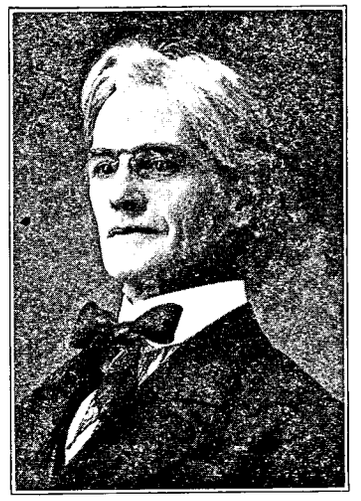
Not A Shot Can Be Fired If The Workers Only Fold Their Arms. No Worker Can Be Kidnapped If The Workers Fold Their Arms. No Perjuries And "Plants" Will Avail The Erectors' Association And Morgan's Steel Trust If The Workers Fold Their Arms.

Is it not glorious, do not your hearts throb with joy, Comrades and Fellow Workers, to know that all murderous wars shall cease when The Workers Fold Their Arms!





DANIEL SHOVLIN.
MINER.
City Treasurer.



LEWIS J. DUNCAN.
AGITATOR.
Mayor.



THOMAS J. BOOHER,
MINER.
Police Judge.

WHY THE SOCIALISTS WON IN BUTTE

BY

JACK KEISTER

THE workers of Butte City, Montana, have put men of their own kind into office. On the 3rd of of April, the usual spring election was held and despite the fact that some of the slimiest crooked work ever attempted by tricky politicians was pulled off and gotten away with, the Socialists won, electing their candidates for Mayor, City Treasure, Police Magistrate and five Aldermen.

This unexpected victory means that the seed of discontent that has been many years in the sowing, is firmly planted and has taken root. For years persecution has been the lot of the radicals in the mines of Butte. For them this victory is doubly sweet. Taught by experience that it is but folly to expect appreciation from the workers for their efforts, they have labored on and trusted to the future. They knew the time must come when conditions would force the workers to pay heed. It has come sooner than expected. The laws of evolution have been silently, but none the less surely at work.

In Butte capitalism has reached its highest development. Not many years ago this was a prosperous city. A very large part of the profits of the copper kings was being spent in battling with each other for possession of the mines. Millions were at stake and almost the entire political machinery of the state (the judiciary included) was drawn into the fight, corrupted and sold outright to the highest bidder.

Competition was truly the life of trade in this case, but at an awful cost in morals. The Amalgamated Copper Co., backed by the Standard Oil Co., won the fight and now has possession of the mines in Butte.

While the fight was on, money was plentiful and the small business man waxed fat and sassy, but it is different now. As soon as Standard Oil had gobbled up the mines the small business man began to get his. Competition having been eliminated in production, attention was naturally turned to distribution.

Already the mining company has

taken over the larger stores and the small business men are desperate. The more economical production that goes with combination has killed some of his trade. The mining company has reached out and taken part of what is left and to cap the climax the public morals, as the result of the good old times of yore, are such that graft in the city government has become an institution. For years, to be a city official and not to graft, has been merely to confess a lack of intelligence.

A debt of one and one-half million dollars hangs over the city and credit has almost been destroyed.

In the meantime, all has not been well with the workers of Butte. The high efficiency of production that modern industry exacts has thrown thousands of men out of work. Gray hairs are a ban, soft snaps have been abolished and past service forgotten. Men who for years did the masters bidding and were rewarded with fat jobs are now getting a taste of the class struggle. All that does not spell profit must be eliminated. Competition was king but Profit rules now. The king is dead! Long live the king!

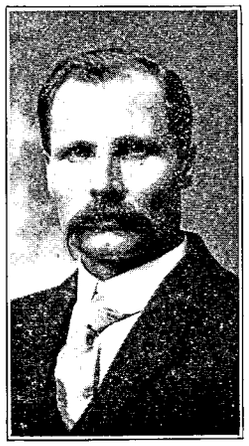
Such is the condition that Butte finds itself in today. About the first of the year some of the old time reds of Butte who had their ears to the ground decided to try and crystalize this discontent into a Socialist victory at the spring elections.

A propaganda paper was started and ten to twelve thousand copies distributed from house to house once a month until just before election, when the routes were covered every few days. It took hard work and lots of it, but it showed the way. The result was a socialist victory. The socialist candidate for mayor received almost twice as many votes as his nearest opponent. The size of the vote was a surprise to all. A very large part of this vote is not a socialist vote, but a sympathetic vote, and sympathy means that conditions are ripe for propaganda work. One member of the party puts it this way, "This is not a victory, but rather an opportunity for victory, and the opportunity lies not so much in the offices as it does in the open minds of the workers. Honesty in office (desirable as that is) will not prove that there is a class struggle in society. To make rebels of men, we must train them to think." Truly the opportunity to make rebels of the miners of Butte is such now as is seldom found. To make the most of this opportunity is the ambition of the "Reds" of Butte.

Of the eight men elected, five make their living by working in the mines as miners, one is a shoemaker working at his trade each day, one is an ex-minister of the local Unitarian Church and one is the business agent of the local Workingman's Union. If their past conduct is anything to judge by, these men can be depended on to put the interests of the working class first in all things. All



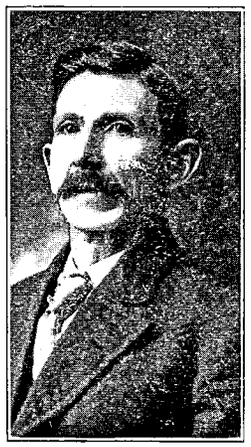
ARTHUR E. COX.
MINER.
Alderman.



ANDREW RISSEL.
MINER.
Alderman.



FRANK CURRAN.
MINER.
Alderman.



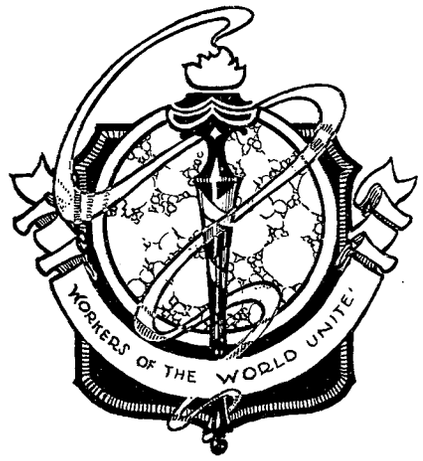
HENRY S. DAVIS.
LABORER.
Alderman.

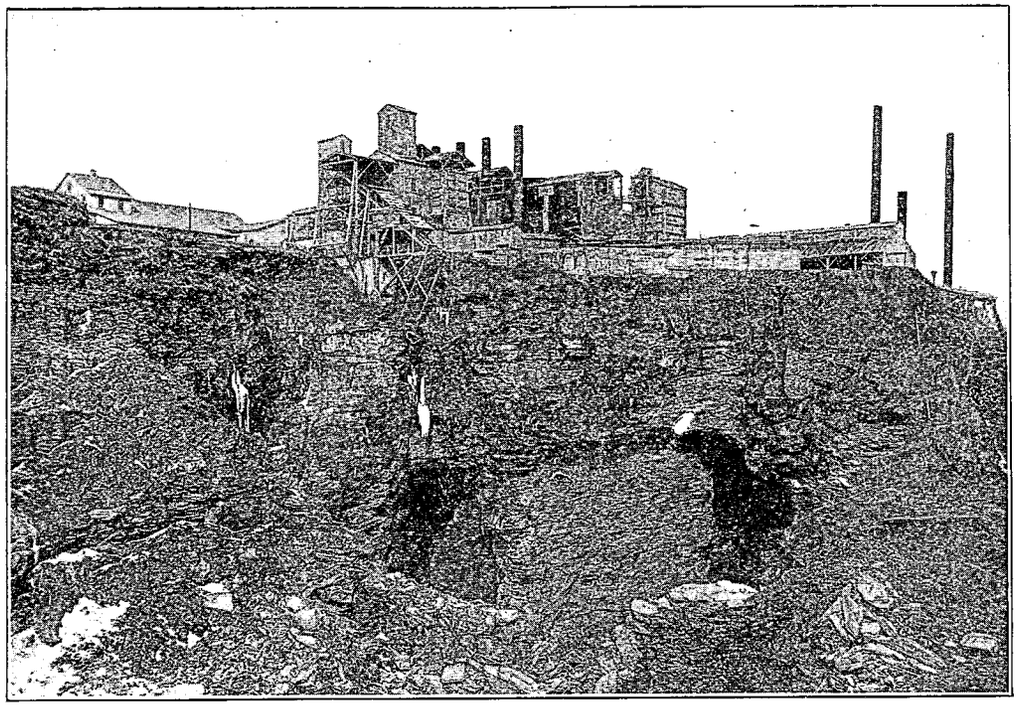


HUGH McMANUS,
SHOEMAKER.
Alderman.

have been wage workers all their lives except the mayor-elect and he should have little trouble in reasoning from the workingman's point of view, for he was fired out of his job as a preacher because he would not obey orders. He is the one public man of Butte that had the courage to take the platform in defense of Moyer, Haywod and Pettibone when they were on trial in Idaho for their lives. That act almost cost him his meal ticket, but Lewis J. Duncan is not a quitter. Some time later when Emma Goldman was billed to speak in Butte and the use of the halls in the city was denied her, Preacher Duncan offered her the use of his church and he lost his job. The workers of Butte believe that they have men in control that they can depend on.

All of these eight men are firm believers in the principles of industrial unionism, and were supported alike by Socialists and I. W. W. men. No people have had the necessity of the right kind of unionism more clearly demonstrated to them than the industrial slaves of Butte. Jurisdictional fights have sapped their energy for years while the mines slaughter men by the wholesale. Yet in spite of their shortcomings the unions are a power in Butte and the victory of April 3rd could not have been, without their protection to the workers. Success on the political field is not going to blind the workers of Butte to the necessity for industrial organization. They realize as Debs does, that "Without such economic organization and the economic power with which it is clothed, and without the industrial co-operative training, discipline and efficiency which are its corollaries, the fruit of any political victories the workers may achieve, will turn to ashes on their lips."





PRIMITIVE CEMENT PLANT—ABANDONED.

THE CEMENT MONOPOLY

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

AMERICA is the one land of which it can be said: "They are ever eager to try some thing." It is this propensity to leave the old and cleave to the new that has made America the foremost nation in the world. The very name "American" has become a synonym for initiative, boldness, tenacity of purpose, mental acuteness, breadth of economic design and rapidity and excellence of economic accomplishment.

We gave the world the railroad; electric power applied to industry on a large scale; put the germ theory of disease to practical use in Cuba and Panama; developed the automatic machine and the industrial trust. And these things are bringing about economic and social revolutions over the entire civilized world.

During this period of transition from an old to a new economic order; when the forces of society are in a state of flux, unrest and turmoil; fear and worry are an accompaniment of the daily life of all classes. The worker fears he may not have; the capitalist worries that he cannot hold. Economic security is a term undefinable.

Machinery developing toward the automatic stage turns thousands of skilled workers downward to a lower plane; while "efficiency in management," steadily reduces the number of unskilled needed to do the world's work.

The Trusts occupying an impregnable economic position are mercilessly assimilating their smaller competitors. The struggle is now carried on in plain sight. The blows dealt with naked weapons.

The powerful care not to conceal their designs. Craft and cunning are a necessary protection to the weak only.

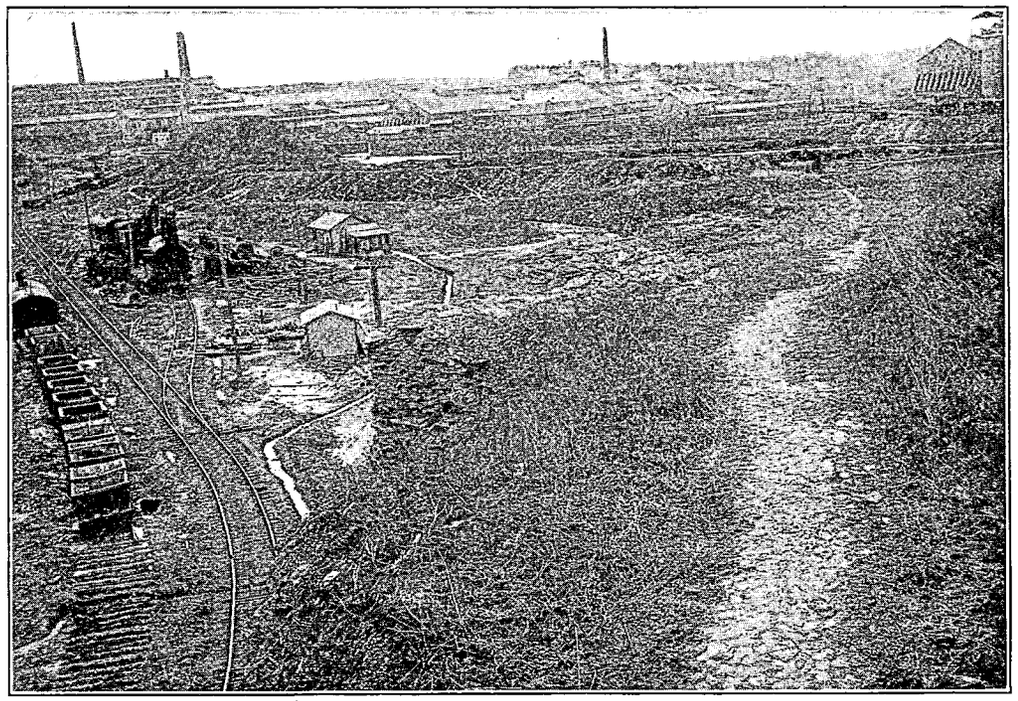
We are so busy in this mighty land—so busy piling up wealth for those who "toil not nor spin" that too few of us sense the import of the economic and political developments going on about us. Meanwhile startling changes are taking place and mighty forces are preparing for battle. Out of this change and conflict a new era will emerge; a true and just civilization be builded. For we are standing, as it were, upon a pinnacle of a height of accomplishment, poised for a leap forward that shall carry us over the chasm that separates the anarchy of the now from the order of the Industrial Democracy that is coming.

From time to time, new factors have entered into our economic life which have brought remarkable changes in their train. Steel products, cheapened by the application of modern scientific methods, worked a revolution in building of all kinds and quickened the pace of progress.

During the last fifteen years, cement, as a building material has come forward and by its adaptability to form and simplicity in use, has so grown as an industry that it now ranks second to steel and unquestionably will soon be the leading basic industry.

Unless one devotes some time to a survey of the Cement Industry, one cannot comprehend its immensity nor realize the revolutionary part it is to play in our industrial life. The inexhaustible supply of raw material; the cheapness of the finished product and its durability make it the most economical material for building. It is a creation of science. Man is thus enabled to melt the everlasting rock and mold it into forms and foundations upon which, though ten thousand years pass with leaden feet, civilization may securely rest.

It is not to be marveled at that such a factor should necessitate readjustments in our economic life. To the workers the vital question is: What effect will this have on the job, the means of making a living? The answer must be: "Hundreds of thousands of skilled workers will be reduced to the level of the laborer. Carpenters, masons, stonecutters, ironworkers, bricklayers, painters, tinworkers and many others will find their opportunities for profitable employment disappearing in proportion as the use of cement in-

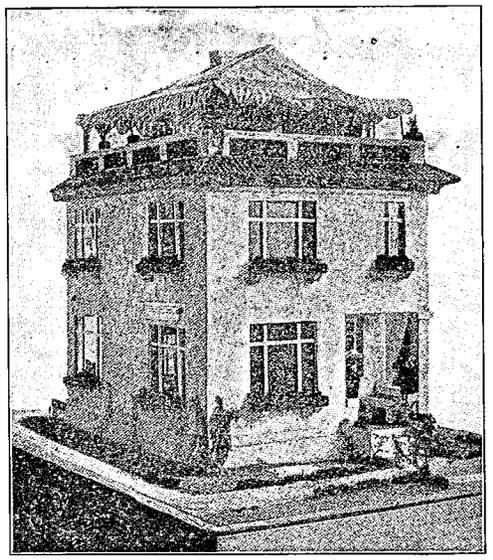


A MODERN PLANT—COVERING MANY ACRES.

creases. The Building Trades are a powerful division of the craft union army. The substitution of cement in building operations will ruin their trades. It is like the automatic machine in the glass-blower's trade. Before its advance they must recede. With the decline of the skilled workers, the craft unions must also decline.

As with the worker, so with the constructing contractor. The number of such will be reduced. The time is not far distant when the Cement Trust will take constructing contracts direct. It can employ the highest skill, the most talented designers, the greatest engineers.

We are entering upon an era of economy. Cement is economical. Other building material, particularly lumber, grows dearer as the supply diminishes. Then, too, we are demanding better sanitation, safer construction and durability. Cement answers all these requirements. A congesting population demands better secondary highways for transportation. Cement roads will live in history. The farmer finds innumerable uses for cement and life on the farm is made more attractive by the intelligent use of this wonderful material. Edison's invention of molds for house construction has opened up a great field for cement. Soon we shall see cement houses taking the lead. It will be a good thing for the workers. Such houses will be more habitable because they will be less responsive to weather changes; will be sanitary, easily cleaned, vermin proof, fire proof, and beautiful as well as cheap. The invention is a triumph for science. Without the knowledge which chemistry gave to man, cement could not have been invented.



POURED CEMENT HOUSE.

It would not be likely, in this age of trusts with hundreds of millions of profits seeking reinvestment, that an industry of such magnitude and promise could continue to develop without attracting the attention of the money gods. However, it was not until about 1900 that the big interests turned their attention seriously to the growing industry. During the decade past, they have persistently sought control. Now in the producing field a great struggle is raging. A large number of little fellows are waging hopeless war with one giant. A familiar story, only with a new setting, but with the same principal actors and the same coldly, cruel outcome: the survival of the stronger.

In 1903, the industry having grown so great, the government decided to investigate the resources of the United States in cement material. The report was published in 1905. Bul. 243, Dept. Interior. This report showed vast deposits of cement material in forty-eight states and territories, with the best and most accessible deposits in the Lehigh district, Pennsylvania. The output of Portland Cement in 1905 was about 20,000,000 barrels. Half of this was produced around about Allentown, Pa., the center of the Lehigh District. Since that date production has increased with giant strides. In 1910, the Atlas and the Universal Companies alone produced 20,000,000 barrels.

The Atlas was the greatest producing company in the field in 1903. Naturally it grew as the demand for cement increased. At the beginning of 1910, it had become an enormous concern. Its main plant at Northampton, Pa., covered almost a square mile. Its business was carried on through over fifty-two selling departments. The tremendous producing capacity of the Atlas enabled it to secure the great Panama Canal contract. The contract price was so low that no other company could touch it. This contract was of great advertising value. Business

came to the Atlas in ever increasing volume. But its prosperity proved to be its undoing.

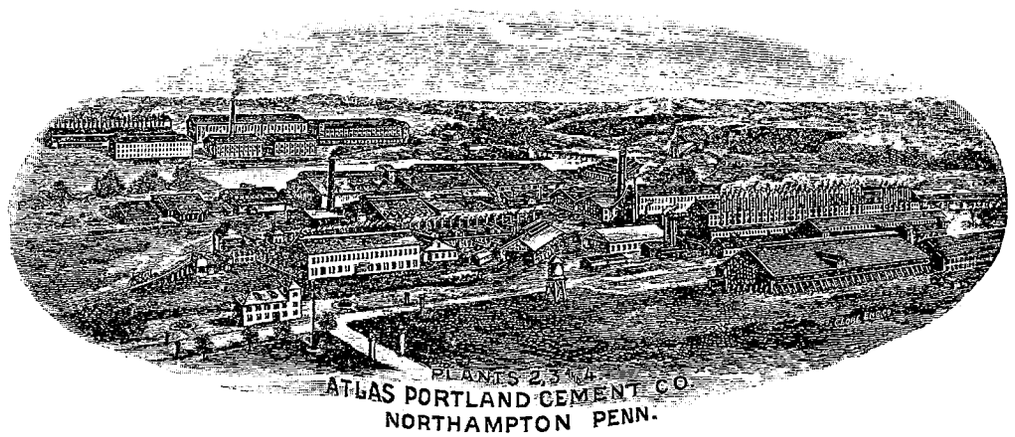
The Billion Dollar Steel Trust had been watching the progress of the cement industry and soon came to recognize that it was destined to become the leading basic industry. As the system of concrete construction grew and steel came to be used, the trust saw that cement was a natural complement to steel and a proper product for the Trust to monopolize.

As usual, the Trust utilized the discoveries of other concerns. The Clinton Iron & Steel Co. of Pittsburg first began to make a grade of Portland cement, using furnace slag as a base. After their



Courtesy, Rock Products.

FARMERS ARE GETTING TO BE CONCRETE ENTHUSIASTS.



success the Illinois branch of the Trust began to make cement by the same process. Later the Universal Cement Co. was organized with great plants at Pittsburgh, Pa., and Buffington, Ind, In less than six years the output of the Universal Co. was 40,000 bbls. a day, second only to the great Atlas Co., which in 1910 advertised an output of 50,000 bbls. daily. It was but natural that the Steel Trust should seek control of a rival with a business so prosperous and a future so bright.

In June, 1910, the Atlas Co. was operating its three plants at Northampton, Pa., Hudson, N. Y., and Hannibal, Mo., at full capacity. Pres. Maxwell, its directing intelligence, was a man of some prominence in the financial world. He was reputed worth $20,000,000. Suddenly, in July, the Atlas shut down its mills at Northampton. 5,000 men were idle. The reason given out was "a reorganization in the staff of managers." Very little news could be had concerning future intentions. In December, Pres. Maxwell died suddenly in New York. The papers said he died of a broken heart, his condition induced by the loss of the Atlas Co, in which the greater part of his fortune was invested. Then the papers stated guardedly that control of the Atlas had passed to J. P. Morgan & Co.—the Steel Trust. Maxwell's estate was estimated at between two and three millions. Here was a great captain of industry stripped of a splendid property in a few weeks and his career of usefulness ended. But the manner in which he was crushed is interesting. The Steel Trust had swallowed its great rival in the cement business in the identical way it devoured its big steel rival—the Tennessee Iron & Coal Co., in 1907.

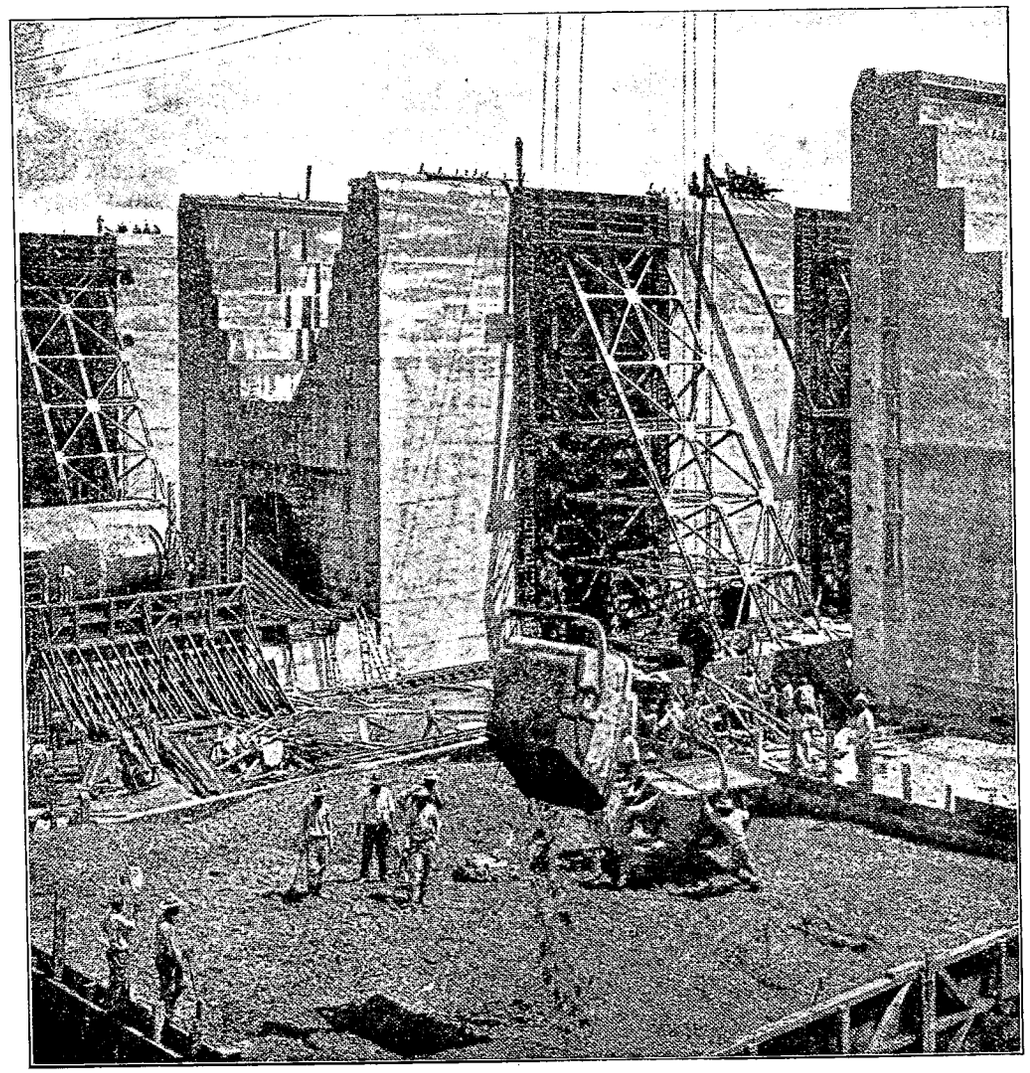
Senator Owen, in his great speech in the Senate, the last day of the late congress, said, "The Big Interests can expand or contract the credit of the nation at will."

The Atlas was carrying on a tremendous business, necessitating constant improvement and additions to producing capacity. Huge shipments were made daily to Panama, but the government was slow to pay. To make betterments and carry its immense stock, the Atlas was forced to borrow money; $12,000,000, it is said. As security, Pres. Maxwell put up gilt edged railroad and industrial stocks. Suddenly his loans were called. He could not cover. He was foreclosed upon. Then the fact was made known that the Steel Trust had acquired the Atlas. All this the papers told. Rumor also had it that 1,000,000 bbls. of cement were rejected by the government as below grade. It was hinted that the Atlas had been deliberately trapped. Socialists, knowing the power wielded by J. P. Morgan & Co. understood. If as the papers intimated, the government delayed payment and rejected a great quantity of cement at a time when the Atlas was badly extended financially, it was simply the working of a new plan. What more simple than to tip the proper party in the War Department in Washington, to delay payment? What more easy than to intimate to the cement inspector that Atlas brand was off grade? Does any informed person doubt the practicability of such a plan?

And so the Atlas was devoured and the Cement Monoply created.

Its shadow rests upon the little fellows. "The small cement companies, only last month, complained to the Inter State Commerce Commision that the Pennsylvania Railroad was making a special rate to the Universal Cement Co., and had refused to make a corresponding rate to them. In view of the fact that the Steel Trust is a heavy stockholder in the Pennsylvania, this protest has special significance, as illustrating how well the Big Interests are obeying the Roosevelt Rate Regulations." There has been feverish activity among them the past winter. There have been renovatings and extensions and reorganizations throughout the Lehigh District. The small companies are greatly disturbed. And well they may be. A competitor who could absorb the great Atlas without creating a ripple in financial or political circles, will make short work of the lesser concerns. It will be as easy as a whale swallowing squid.

But this cement affair is only an incident in the great campaign the Money Power is conducting. In other departments of industry, similar incidents are taking place. It is indicative of the fact that the Money Power is now engaged in the final attempt to wipe out competi-



CONCRETE LOCKS—PANAMA CANAL.

tion in industry and establish complete monoply.

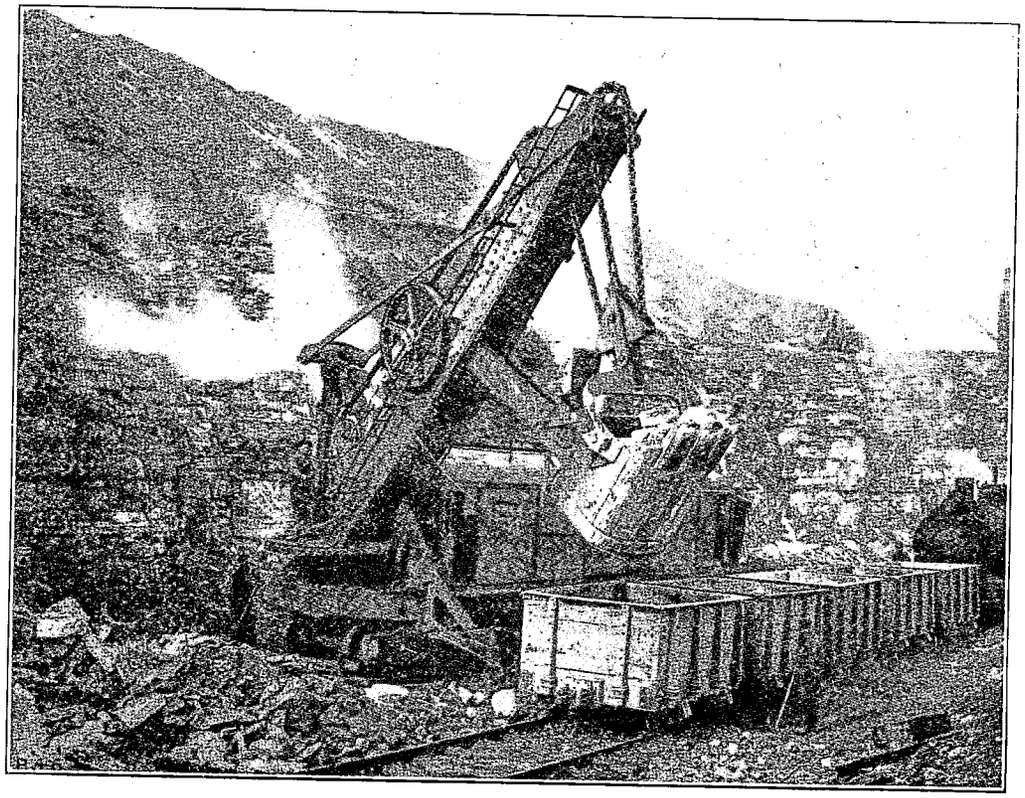
From its lair in Wall St., its influence stretches out over the nation, like the tentacles of some mighty Octopus, winding about the basic industries: the mines, railroads, steel mills and cement plants. It has the banking system in its grasp and the government treasury is its willing servitor. The last piece of legislation it needed was the Aldrich-Vreeland Bill, giving it power to create money, backed by watered stock.

With control of the basic industries in one hand and control of the money of the nation in the other, how can the little capitalist live?

But the little capitalist is not going to yield quietly. He is awake to his danger at last. Though he cannot save himself from destruction, he is preparing to fight. Through the national victory of the Democratic party, he has gotten possession of the government. The Republican insurgents are but a part of the same movement. The little capitalist class, having won political power is planning to use it. Congress now in session will undertake to carry out the wishes of the little fellows. There will be futile efforts put forth to destroy or at least, regulate the Trusts. Every "conservation" scheme will get a boost. The "Tariff" will be operated upon. The "wicked Lorimer," whose chief crime is that he lacks the finesse of a Root or a Penrose, is to be righteously evicted from the reformed Senate. The Supreme Court will—but no, we shall not attempt to guess what the "Elder Statesmen"? may do. We are not informed as to which side they are on. The Oil and Tobacco decisions will tell.

Some theorists are inclined to think that political power is superior to economic power. They are about to see it put to the test as it has never been since Feudalism was overthrown.

It is very interesting to study the mental attitude of the two strongest men in the Democratic majority in Congress. Of Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, Ray Stannard Baker says: "Champ Clark looks backward for solution. He would use Jefferson's first innaugural address as a part of the Democratic platform." Of John Sharp Williams, Senator from Missippi, he says: "Williams says: 'The remedy lies in the policy of tariff reduction and a strict and pitiless execution of anti-trust and interstate commerce laws.'"



STEAM SHOVEL LOADING CEMENT ROCK.

These are the men who speak the mind of the little capitalist class. These would turn the hands of time backward. Competition is still an economic ideal before whose throne they bow. And the "Insurgents" are but little in advance. They too look backward to competition as an economic savior from the certain destruction before them. They are not modern thinkers, so they elect to fight to restore competition.

The forces about to engage are titanic. The little capitalist has numbers and the possession of the government and no definite plans. The Big Interests have the pick of the brainy men developed in the fierce struggle for wealth and power, splendid industrial organization, and most important, control of the nation's financial resources. More than all this: these Trust leaders are alive to the trend of social development. They have abandoned competition as a principle of progress and accepted co-operation.

There can be no compromise in this struggle. The little capitalist must win to live. Yet he cannot win for the laws of nature work against him. Still his numbers make him formidable. On the other hand, the money power can stop the wheels of industry and prostrate the nation when it wills. The indications are that the present economic order will end, in America, in a convulsion.

Thinkers who have analysed the politico-economic situation see but one outcome—the inevitable—Industrial Democracy.

WHO IS THE FOREIGNER?

BY

D. BOND

THERE are but two nations in the civilized world. To which nation do you belong? Do you belong to the nation that lives by working, or to the nation that lives by owning? Some people who think they live by working in reality live by working the workers. Preachers, lawyers, capitalists and burglars are apt to be of this class.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite." That means unite in your own nation. The Chinaman, Jap, Mexican, Italian, Hungarian or Negro who works, belongs to my nation. He belongs to your nation if you both are doing needful work. On the other hand, Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, Taft, Nicholas, Edward, Diaz, Alfonso, do not belong to your nation, no matter where they are born or where they live; no matter where you were born or where you live. No matter what their race; no matter what your race.

When Taft circled the world hobnobbing with royalty, did he go down into the hut of the Russian peasant and drink his health? When he came West, how many hours did he spend in your shack consulting you about the common good? Did he call in and take dinner with you? In Los Angeles he took dinner with those who could pay $25 a plate, did he not? Those who took dinner with him do no useful work. They work you. They belong to the Morgan-Edward-Taft-Nicholas-Diaz nation. Down at El Paso did Taft consult with the Mexican peon and the American wage-slave? He consulted with the arch-fiend Diaz how best to work the workers on both sides the **imaginary** line. How to keep you

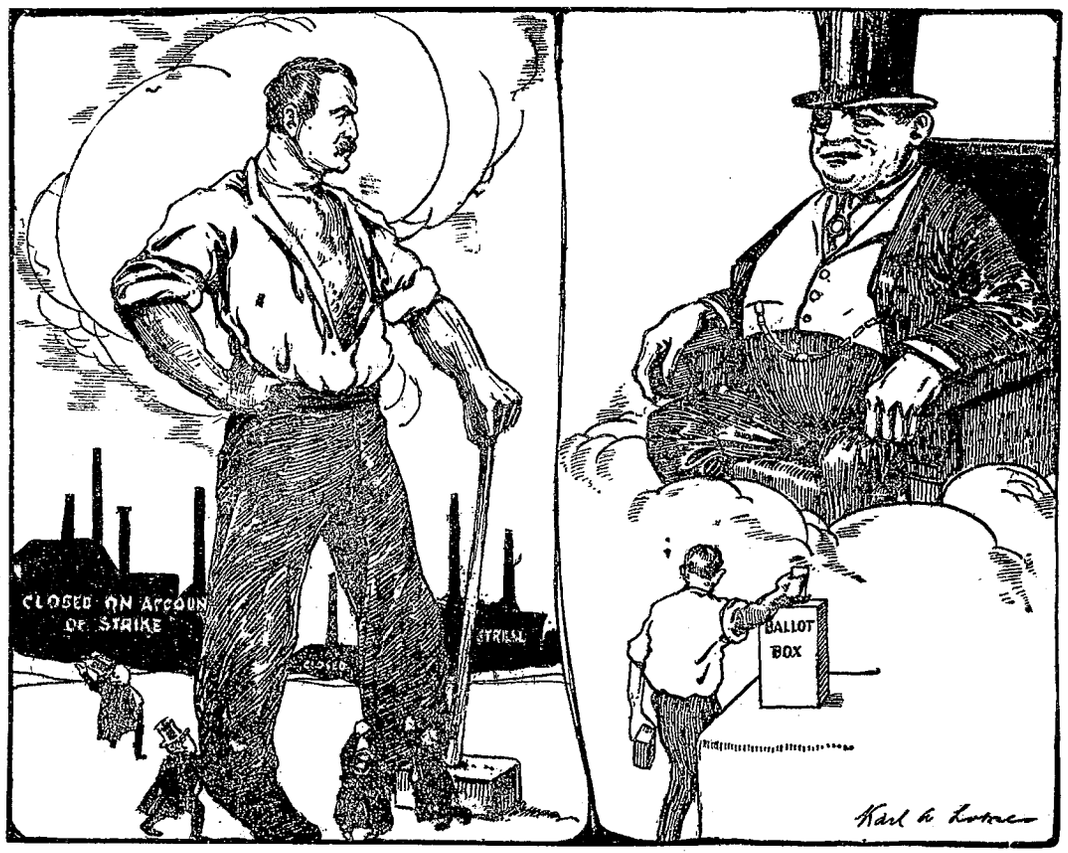
and the peon thinking you are enemies belonging to different nations. How to insure that you should despise the Greaser, and the Greaser should hate you. These two lordly Greasers were greasing both of you.

Taft and Diaz belong to one nation. You and the peon to the other. There are but two. Taft and Diaz are foreigners to you in fact. You should hold them so in thought.

Get out of your bogus patriotism. Get the genuine kind. My country is the world. Those who do useful labor are my countrymen, my compatriots. The foreigner, the enemy, is oppressing my countrymen all over the world. They are breaking the backs of strong men. They are enslaving and debauching my country women. They are grinding the lives of our poor little ones into profits for their insatiable maws. They are none of them my countrymen. I have nothing in common with them.

Workingmen, get rid of your slavish idolatry. You set up such men as Bryan, Taft, Roosevelt—you set them up as idols. While you are worshipping your idols, their pals are rivetting ever faster your chains.

WORKER and CAPITALIST



N. Y. CALL.

ECONOMICALLY POLITICALLY

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT

BY

TOM JONES

WE SOCIALISTS are very greedy people. Give us an inch and we take a yard. Give us a city and we grab a nation—if we can. In fact, we want the whole earth—for the people who do the work.

That is why you, Mr. Working Man and Working Woman, ought to be socialists. There are already over ten millions of us scattered over the globe. And we are all working every day to make you see how the wage workers can join together to take possession of the machinery of production—the factories, the mills and the mines and the railroads—to own them in common, so that we shall have the fruits of our labor; so that we shall be free from bosses and the fear of "no jobs."

When the Pilgrim Fathers came to America they established a good rule. They said, "Unless a man work, he shall not eat." But times have greatly changed for the worse.

Today the socialists want to have the wealth produced by the workers OWNED BY the workers instead of by capitalists who have never built a house or made clothes or planted harvests.

If every worker employed by J. P. Morgan owned the things he made there would be no profits left for Morgan, and each workingman would be independent and wealthy. He would never need to ask help from any one. Socialism will make such a state of things possible.

When the working people own the factories and the mines; when they own the mills and the land and the railroads, they will be their own bosses. They will be free from want, free from anxiety and forever free from the fear of becoming jobless men and women.

No matter in what city you may happen to live, go down the streets until you come to the tenements or cottages. There you may know dwell the people who produce silks and satins, who build houses and palaces, who feed the world and have nothing but meagre wages to show for it.

But as you walk up to the boulevards where are the palaces of the rich, you find the homes of those who DO NOT WORK, but who own everything.

It is Government that permits these rich men and women to own the factories and mines and allows them to appropriate EVERYTHING made by the people who work.

If you work in an automobile factory—you and your fellow-workers, your BOSS takes every automobile you make for his very own. He pays you barely enough to live on. Socialism proposes that the men who make automobiles shall OWN them. We propose to eliminate the rich man who does nothing but OWN factories, mills and mines, but who takes everything made by the working class.

Do you want to be independent? Do you want to be your own Boss? Do you want to own your own home with leisure to study, read, travel or loaf, as suits you best? Do you want to enjoy all the good things of life? Then join the Socialist Party and STUDY SOCIALISM. Join the organization that proposes that the workers shall be the kings upon earth; that proposes that men and women shall have unlimited opportunity to produce beautiful things and to OWN and enjoy them.

Socialists are greedy people. Give us an inch and we take a yard. Give us a city and we grab a nation. In fact, as I said before, we want the world for the workers. If you are a worker, you need us. Get in the game and help yourself to gain Independence, Leisure and every good thing in the world.



COMPULSORY COMPENSATION OR STATE INSURANCE—WHICH?

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

I HAVE pointed out some of the glaring defects of the British Compensation Act. But these defects may be remedied by legislation. I will take up the more fatal defects which no amount of legislation can cure, so long as the law is a compensation act and not a state insurance bill. The British Act excludes the "outworkers." The "Socialist" recommendations of our New York committee also excluded outworkers. Not that our comrades had anything against the outworkers, but the poor souls did not know better. Whenever a point was too distressing for their understanding, they simply put down "identical with the British Act." Now the outworkers embrace a numerous class of workers mercilessly exploited. More than any other group of workers do they stand in need of some relief. And, as is usually the case, they are the very last ones to be reached by it. We sing the "song of the shirt" so we may help a printer get an eight-hour day instead of a nine-hour day, but we forget all about the seamstress, and let her work eighteen hours, probably so we may have the "horrible example" always at hand. Even Socialists forget to include in their recommendations for relief the seamstress blinded by excessive toil at home.

Further, since the British Compensation Act provided that the employer shall pay compensation to his employe for bad health impaired while at work, it stands to reason that the employers and particularly the insurance companies took measures for submitting the employes to medical examinations. One may easily imagine the effect which these medical tests had in England. Workmen, otherwise efficient, were thrown out of work because, on medical examination, they showed impaired health. Without having actual data on hand, such, I surmise, were the facts. After a lecture this winter in which I discussed the subject, a British seaman present in the audience made a statement that, after the passage of the Compensation Act, every employe on his ship was examined by a physician and thirty-two stewards were discharged because of their bad health. It is doubtful whether these thirty-two and the thousands of others whose existence was made still more precarious by the Compensation Act, will view it as an unmixed blessing. I am frequently told in answer: What if some workmen are discharged; other workmen take their places; in the end the work has got to be done by workmen. I say: It is cruel; it is against every instinct of class feeling; it is against the elementary idea of class consciousness and solidarity; to shift the entire burden of unemployment on the group of workmen least able to bear it—the sick, the weak, the aged. Moreover, it adds a new element of uncertainty to a workman's existence. It makes applying for a job frequently equal to applying for a life insurance. It makes the employer watch with suspicion and the workman to conceal furtively any symptoms of the workman's impaired health.

The British Workmen's Compensation Act has not resulted in a decrease of litigation. On the contrary. Said Mr. Low:

"During the short time the act has been in existence, it has given rise to much litigation, all of which, with but few exceptions, have been initiated by the workmen. In fact, the statement can be made with propriety that the dissatisfaction with the act comes from the workman."

And even the report of the Wainwright Commission admits that it cannot be said that the act has brought a large decrease of litigation. This means that the ex-

pense, the trouble and the uncertainty of the relief have not been materially affected.

Mention also must be made of the fact that neither the British nor the New York Act provides for any remedy to the workman in the event of the insolvency of his employer, excepting making the workman, to a limited extent, a preferred creditor.

The most serious consideration was given to the question of the constitutionality of the proposed New York law. The question was how will the courts deal with the law which would mark, in principle, a radical departure in labor legislation. The most important feature of the proposed law, which imposed a liability on the employer even if he was in no way to blame for the injury to his employe, presented a most significant innovation in the prevailing theories of government, of individual rights and of the rights of property. To expect that the courts will sustain the law was to have expected that the courts will reverse the course heretofore pursued by them. It was to have expected that the courts will admit the sovereign authority of the legislature to deprive an individual of his property without due process of law, which the courts construe to mean—a judicial decree. What grounds the commission had to expect that the courts will thus abdicate that peculiar ascendency which was theirs since the times of Marshall, I failed to see. I wrote:

"There can be no question that in this country a state insurance law will have a much better chance to stand the test of constitutionality in our courts than a compensation to be paid by the employer.

"It is difficult to imagine a compensation law which would not run contrary to the established precedents contained in the court decisions, even if we should not consider the actual bias of the courts.

"In the light of those decisions, it will not be difficult for the employers to prove that the act which compels the employer to pay a compensation to his employe, regardless of the question of negligence, comes within the inhibition of the provisions of the federal and state constitutions against the taking of property without due process of law.

"Again the law will have to contain a clause that any contract between employer and employe by which the employe waives his claim of compensation against the employer shall be null and void. This clause will very likely be declared unconstitutional on the ground that it is an unwarranted interference with the freedom of contract.

"Again, the act as submitted by our committee, excepts from compensation the "outworker" and the casual worker who works in most cases less than a week for the same employer. In the clothing trade many workers take their work home. They do not come within that law. Others work in the shop and are protected. As was held by our courts this would seem to be a case of class legislation. The courts held that if the law singles out one group from a class belonging to the same walk of life and extends privileges to, or imposes burdens on, them which are not extended to, or imposed on, the others of their class, then it is class legislation and, therefore, unconstitutional.

"Imagine the court declaring unconstitutional a Socialist law because the outworkers and the casual workers were unjustly discriminated against. But that is what may actually happen."

I am and always was in favor of the workers demanding the "whole loaf," whether the demand is constitutional or not. I am and always was in favor of the workers taking any part of the "loaf" they can get. But if of two measures one has many defects which the other does not show, the fact that, in addition, it shows on its face to be in conflict with the constitutional principles laid down by the courts, will not lend it grace in my eyes. But our Socialist committee went valiantly to the front with its Compensation Act, which was very much identical with the British Act. The Wainwright commission took out the little brain and nerve the draft had, and then offered it to the legislature. The legislature sucked the marrow out of it and scraped off the meat until there remained "a rag, a bone and a hank of hair," and

in this shape enacted it into a law. It was the most preposterous Workmen's Compensation Act. Nobody wanted it. The workmen least of all. No workman was so foolish as to avail himself of its provisions. I have inquired in vain for one case. Even in the offices of the accident insurance companies the answer to my inquiries was that no such fools have been as yet found. It served one purpose, however. The time was ripe for a measure of real benefit to the workers. If, instead of being satisfied and even elated with the opportunity to consort on friendly terms with a few labor ward heelers and capitalist politicians, the Socialist committee would have inaugurated a campaign of agitation and education among the workers, there was every reason to believe that the result would have been more tangible. But the committee was not the least conscious that anything was wrong with its work. On the contrary, it was constituted into a National Advisory Committee. With a cheerful innocence and naivete, that is the reward of those deprived of understanding or knowledge, it bestowed its advice on the comrades of many states who were seeking light on the subject of compensation or insurance of the workers. The committee has helped the Connecticut comrades. The results I do not know, but very much fear. It may have had a hand in the Compensation Act passed by the New Jersey legislature. I had an opportunity to have a glance at it just before its passage. It excluded cases of "wilful negligence." How negligence can be "wilful," and how anything that is done wilfully can be negligence, only New Jersey solons can figure out. And if I remember right, it also contains a provision allowing the employer to post a notice in his shop to the effect that the shop is working under the act. If the employer will do so, the workman will be presumed to have assented to the "risk" of coming within the act regardless of whether he really wanted it or not. The British Act gives the workman the privilege of suing first under the Employers' Liability Act, and if he fails he can still avail himself of the Compensation Act. Under the New York Act the workman must choose his remedy and stand by it. The New Jersey Act leaves the choice to the employer.

On March 24, 1911, the New York Court of Appeals declared the Workmen's Compensation Act unconstitutional on the ground that it was in contravention of both state and federal constitutions in that it purported to authorize the taking of property without due process of law. The decisions did not create even a ripple of excitement. The workmen remained serenely indifferent. Says the New York Law Journal in commenting upon the decision: "We are glad to say that so far as our observation has gone there have been no signs of violent protest, no suggestion of revolutionary methods, but, on the contrary, a commendable disposition even on the part of those who not only heartily favor the legislation, but think the court is wrong in the law, to acquiesce in the result and consider what steps may be taken, notwithstanding the decision, to secure compensation for workmen in hazardous employments."

The members of our committee were undoubtedly pained to read that any one suspected the sponsors of the bill to harbor "revolutionary methods."

As for the workmen, there was no reason why they should bestir themselves. The affair was settled between a few "constructive" statesmen and labor and capital politicians. The workmen were not taken into their confidence. They remained as indifferent when the law was annulled as they were when it was passed.

* * *

If some may find fault with my strictures on comrades whose devotion to the cause is well known, my answer will be that the subject merits the most earnest consideration. I regard it too serious to be squeamish in the choice of argument. The Socialist party has before it a task of far reaching import and sublime proportions. Can the Socialist party hope of achieving its mission by the method of little confabs of some of its choice spirits with very inferior politicians of labor and capitalists variety? Or shall we adhere to the method of unflagging agitation and education of the workers, until they will give the mandate to the Socialist party by electing its representatives? This is query number one. Furthermore I hold that if the Socialist party must have conferences with capitalists and politicians, then it were more sensible if we addressed ourselves to the biggest capitalists and politicians and not to the smallest; to the Morgans and Rockefellers, the Roosevelts and Hearsts, the Gaynors and Harrisons, instead of the nameless labor skates and politicians of tenth rate variety. This relates to our policy in general.

Query number two relates to the subject in hand. It is—Shall we pursue the futile policy of agitating for compulsory compensation? Or shall we abandon this measure so full of pitfalls for the workers and which was held unconstitutional in every state where it was tried? I maintain that the Socialist party should urge upon the workers a policy of demanding obligatory state insurance of every worker against sickness, invalidity, accident, unemployment and old age. This method of relief is so superior to compensation by the employer that there can hardly be discussion on the subject.

State insurance will take from the employer all the incentive of defeating a recovery. He will no more be interested. The courts will have the least possible to do with the administration of the law. Litigation will be eliminated. The casual workers, the one-week workers, the outworkers, in short all workers will come under the law of state insurance.

Impaired health will not result in the loss of employment. There need be no medical examination, except when a workman applied for the benefit. The workman will not have to fear the insolvency of the employer and the loss of compensation in the event of a big accident.

Finally, the constitutionality of the law will have a much greater chance to be upheld. Certainly, even in that the courts will have the last guess. But it may be stated that state insurance does not come directly in conflict with the theory of government which our courts have adopted for this country. But I am urging the policy of state insurance in preference to compensation by the employer not on constitutional grounds alone, but principally on the grounds of the inherent superiority of state insurance.

Finally since the question will have to be ultimately decided under the federal constitution, the workers ought to demand first a national insurance law. We are fortunate now in having Comrade Berger in Congress. I am informed that Comrade Berger contemplates the introduction of an old age pension bill. There is no reason why he could not make it a bill for national insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, unemployment and old age. With a concerted effort, the Socialist party can arouse the working class to demand the enactment of this law. And as to the courts? I will say with Mr. Dooley: "I don't know whether the constitution follows the flag, but the courts follow the election returns."

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA

BY

FRANK BOHN



COAST SEAMEN'S JOURNAL.

WHO IS CARRYING THE HEAVIEST LOAD?



ON THE Great Lakes has been fought for two years one of the bitterest fights in the history of the American labor movement. It has been bravely fought, and, in our opinion, lost. The Steel Trust set out to smash unionism on the lakes. To attain its object it combined the methods of brute, spy, crook and habitual hypocrite. Back of the Trust was the power of the United States Government with its law of the sea. The Trust made use of the most highly developed black list ever invented and called it the "Welfare Plan for Lake Seamen." The seamen dubbed it the "Hellfare Plan."

Inexperienced boys and loafers have been hired as scabs for two years. Many lives have been lost, but it is cheaper for the Trust to lose a ship and cargo now and then than to pay living wages. Conditions of life for the workers on the lake fleets have been abominable. Independent ship owners have been forced by the Trust to adopt its methods. Quite rightly does the Coast Seamen's Journal declare that the question is one between free labor and serf labor.

But the Coast Seamen's Journal and the heroic and presistent strikers miss the point—or rather the two points. The first is that the strike is lost. If the

Steel Trust can run its ships and do business with serf labor for two years, it can do it for two years more under the same conditions. Why do the Lake Seamen not look the facts in the face and take counsel of their experience?

The special edition of the Coast Seamen's Journal devoted to the strike on the Great Lakes proclaims the second error in unmistakable language on its cover. A map of the world contains the names of the seamen's unions of all nations. Underneath the map in large print is a phrase expressing the ideal of the Seamen's Union and their Journal, "THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA."

Now the map of the world looks good to the progressive union man and no one doubts the poetic quality of the phrase quoted. Yet our fellow-workers of the Coast Seamen's Journal are in error—error so colossal that we marvel that men who are accustomed to see the horizon in every direction can be longer blinded to the simplest facts. Now the most important fact which the thinking of the Coast Seamen's Journal omits altogether is just this. Ships not only sail the sea. They also get into port. When they touch land the sailors, having had enough of water, go ashore, change their drinks and rest. Other men—long shore men—proceed to unload the vessels. Sometimes the two groups of workers fall to fighting over the question as to who is to slave for the masters. On the docks of a Pacific Coast City a few years ago these two groups of union "brothers" proceeded to shoot holes in one another. Before they had made an end of their little difficulty the ship owners had shot holes in both their unions. Let us see what is happening on the Great Lakes. The Steel Trust owns the Lake Superior mines and the railroads connecting the mines with Lake Superior. It owns the ships in the docks. It owns its gigantic mills and at least one railroad south of Lake Erie—the Bessemer. But this isn't half the story. The Steel Trust is but a cog in a wheel of that great machine of organized capital which controls industrial trusts by the score, railroads, municipal service corporations and practically the entire banking business of the nation. A few thousand Lake Seamen go on strike against this stupendous Empire of Industry, are thrashed to a frazzle—and then, with the smiling April sun which melts the ice on the Great Lakes, they come on again ready for their annual drubbing.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SEA is, we fear, but a little brothers' brotherhood. Big Brother stays on land. Big Brother Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Steel Trust sent to the hospital some years back and the crepe is now tacked on the door. Most of the other Big Brothers are now an aged, sickly lot of fellows who have undoubtedly wept copious tears for the little brother of the sea, perhaps even passed resolutions of sympathy in the union, but what have they DONE? What CAN they do? When the Lake Seamen went on strike why didn't the miners of the Lake Superior go on strike too? Their conditions are worse than that of the sailors. And the 175,000 serfs of the Steel Trust in the mills—their slavery has been infinitely more brutal than is possible in the life of a sailor, to whom fresh air and fresh water at least are free.

We suggest a change in the motto of the International Seamen's Union. Let us have "THE BROTHERHOOD OF LAND AND SEA"—of the workers of the world. Is it not much more essential for the sailors of the Great Lakes to be united with the other serfs of the same master than to be united with a federated Seamen's Union of Australia? The map on the cover of the Coast Seamen's Journal LOOKS fine. It includes the whole world. The slogan should be "THE BROTHERHOOD OF LAND AND SEA. Paint it on the outside and inside of every door to a Seamen's Union Hall. ONE UNION AGAINST THE STEEL TRUST, AGAINST THE WHOLE EMPIRE OF INDUSTRY, AGAINST CAPITALISM, AGAINST THE NEW SERFDOM THE SEAMEN HAVE SO CLEARLY RECOGNIZED BUT HAVE NOT KNOWN HOW TO FIGHT.

WHY LOW PRICES WILL NOT BENEFIT THE WORKING CLASS

BY

CLINTON L. SNYDER

Winner of First Prize Offered Study Classes.

"GIVE us lower prices, cheaper food, cheaper clothing, the grocer and clothier, the butcher and coal dealer are robbing us," is the cry that is heard on every hand. "Down with the trusts and high prices so that a working man can live."

You've heard it. Certainly. Perhaps you have been complaining along that line yourself. If so, I want to ask you a question: In the "good old days" before the trusts came, you bought a certain article, say for $10.00. You say it was worth it, and you were not robbed. True. But tell me why you gave $10.00 for it. Why could you not buy it for $8.00? Why was the article and $10.00 in money **equal in value?** Now, remember, if you cannot explain this intelligently, you cannot explain intelligently whether you pay more for things than they are worth today.

As a matter of fact, the wage-workers are the only ones that are robbed, and they are robbed in one place only, and that place is the slave pen where they work, be it factory, railroad, department store, postoffice or farm. The hand that pays you for your work is the hand that robs you. Remember that.

It is also true that lower prices will not benefit you (the worker) in the least, under industrial conditions as existing today.

In the first place, let's take just a glimpse at the industrial world and see what conditions we have to contend with. (1) In the factories and workshops, farms and railroads, everywhere, we see men, women and children toiling **long hours** over machines that have increased their productive powers many fold. (2) As a result of this labor-saving machinery, together with the necessity of those who operate that machinery, to work as many hours a day as ever, we see on the streets thousands of men out of work—looking for jobs. (3) We see labor **divided** into little ineffective craft companies, some flying their white flags of truce and merely looking on while others go to defeat after defeat single handed and unaided. (4) We see the capitalists united on the economic field regardless of craft, industry, race, color, age, sex, politics and religion—everything.

Their economic interests are identical and they know it.

That is enough. Now in the face of these conditions, do you workers who have been working and agitating spending time and money advocating measures that would merely "decrease the cost of living" do you think for a minute, that under these conditions you would be benefited by them? Not one iota.

An Illustration.

Let us say that horses require on the average about 15 lbs. of hay and 6 qts. of grain daily to keep them in average working condition. Now if you own and work a horse you must provide it with that amount daily no matter whether the prices of hay and grain be **low** or **high.** Or you must give your man "John" daily, money enough to buy hay and grain enough to keep your horse in condition. Now if the prices of hay and grain fell, you and not the horse would be the winner, as the horse would only require the same amount of feed as before.

The same with the working class. They require the same amount of necessaries

yearly, be prices low or high. When prices fall, the unemployed eager to work for even the bare necessities of life; will work for a **wage that will buy those necessities** and take the jobs away from those working.

So "low prices" will not benefit you any more than they would the horse as long as you by doing the work of two men help to perpetuate the army of unemployed which acts as an automatic regulator and reducer of wages.

When you are agitating for "lower prices on the necessities of life," you are also agitating for lower prices on the commodity you sell labor power. When the prices of the necessities of life fall, wages will follow, just as sure as the mercury in a thermometer shrinks in cold weather.

Under existing conditions, high prices for labor power and low prices for the necessities of life, would be as great a phenomenon as a river flowing up the mountain, or rocks floating on the surface of the ocean.

History.

It is argued sometimes that Socialism has never been tried and we do not know whether it would work or not. Well "low cost of living" ism has been tried, on a large scale, too, in England, after the repeal of the corn law.

How did it work? Excellent, i. e. for the employers. Wages once started downward did not stop where the cost of living did, but went still lower. Result—a lower standard of living for the workers. Who wants to see this repeated in America? Not the workers, surely.

In conclusion, I will say that it is of the utmost importance that the working class understand such things as this: "Will it benefit the whole working class?" That's the question to apply to every proposition that comes up and the way to find out whether it will or not is to apply the test of Marxian Economics. Education is the greatest need of the hour: without it, there is little hope. As education grows, organization will grow and hope will grow. An educated working-class will waste no time chasing will-o-the-wisps, but press on and on to Industrial Freedom.

Local, Peru, Ind.

THE "IRON HEEL" DRAMATIZED

BY

GRACE V. SILVER

THE "Iron Heel," Jack London's celebrated novel, dramatized by W. G. Henry, is perhaps the first strictly Socialist play ever produced. There have been other plays teaching more or less Socialism but this is the first attempt to teach the principles of Socialist economics through the medium of a play. It is a drama of the class struggle. There is not the slightest attempt to conceal from the audience until some "psychological moment" the fact that they are to hear the awful word Socialism. Nor is there any attempt to catch popular applause by the tricks of the stage. There is humor in plenty; there is wit and sarcasm; there is much argument, but it all has a purpose. There is not a dull passage in the whole play. Even the non-Socialist enjoys it and he learns much that he never knew before. So good a critic as Austin Lewis has said, "for propaganda work it transcends the best lecturer that ever was on the platform. People who could not have been persuaded to sit through a lecture listened with breathless interest to the lines of the play and showed their appreciation by tremendous applause."

"The Iron Heel" is a drama in four acts and five scenes, closely following the text of the novel. The play opens with a dinner on the veranda of Professor Cunningham's home. The Professor, who is already converted, his daughter Avis, an aristocrat by nature, Bishop Moorhouse and Ernest Everhard are introduced. Avis accuses Ernest of trying to foment class hatred. He denies the charge, and during the next twenty minutes the conversation deals with the class struggle in modern life. The Bishop clings to the idea that men "ought not to be" selfish; that capital and labor should walk hand in hand. He brands Everhard as a "bumptious fellow," and says "the church is amply capable of assisting the working class." Everhard replies with scorn: "Be true to your salt and your hire. Guard with your preaching the interests of your employers; but do not come down to the working class and serve as a false leader. You cannot honestly be in the two camps at once. The working class has so far done without you. Believe me, the working class will continue to do without you; and furthermore, the working class can do better without you than with you."

The second act, "The Machine Breakers," is a library scene. Everhard tells some business men of the middle class where they are at. They can no longer make profits on account of the trusts; they want to destroy the trusts—the great machine of modern life. When Everhard suggests that we "oust the present owners of the big machines and own those machines ourselves," they agree—till they learn that this is Socialism; then they will have none of it. Everhard then tells them where they will go—into the militia, and explains the workings of the Dick Militia Bill, of which they have never heard.

Strange as it may appear the second act dealing as it does with economics entirely, has been the best received of any portion of the play.

In the third act, "The Philomaths," Everhard tells some real capitalists of the army of the revolution, of its numbers and power, and that this army intends to take from them all that they possess. Wickson tells him that the masters will not turn over their power to the workers even if they win at the ballot box. He says:

"We will grind you revolutionists under our iron heel and walk upon your faces. The world is ours . . . and ours it shall remain as long as I and mine remain and those that come after us have the power. There is the word. It is the king of words—Power. Not God, not mammon, but Power!"

Ernest replies, in what is perhaps the strongest speech in the whole play:

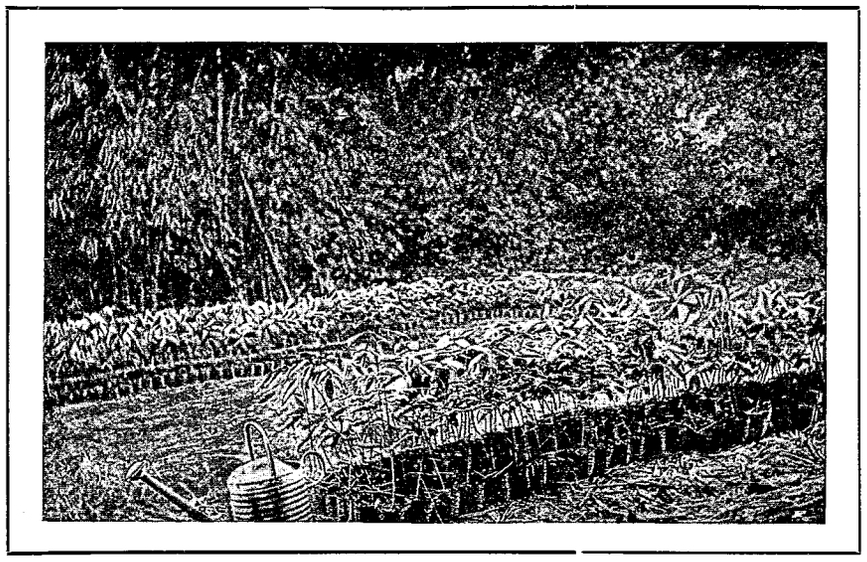
"That also we have considered, and we shall give you an answer in terms of lead. Power, you have proclaimed the king of words. Very good. Power it shall be! And in the day that we sweep to victory at the ballot box, and you refuse to turn over to us the government we have peacefully and constitutionally captured, and you demand what we are going to do about it, in that day I say we shall answer you, and in roar of shell and shrapnel and in whine of machine guns shall our answer be couched. . . . . I agree with all that you have said. Power will be the arbiter as it always has been, the arbiter. It is a struggle of classes. . . . And it matters not whether it be a year or ten or a thousand, your class shall be dragged down. And it shall be done by power. We of the labor hosts have conned that word over till our minds are all a-tingle with it. Power! It is a kingly word."

It is one of the most significant signs of the times that this closing speech to the Philomaths has repeatedly brought forth a curtain call.

The fourth act represents a meeting of the 'Frisco Reds on election night, November, 1912. Everhard and Avis settle their "affair" in a very brief but catchy love scene. Election returns are received by private wire and by telephone. They announce immense Socialist gains throughout the country. All are widely jubilant except Everhard who says:

"It looks like victory. I hope it is. But I am afraid the 'Iron Heel' will walk upon our faces. Of course, we will win in the end, but I shudder when I think of all we must go through."

More favorable election returns are received and a general jollification ensues while those on the stage joined by the audience sing the Marseillaise.



PARA RUBBER PLANTS IN BASKETS IN NURSERY ON "THE HILLS" READY FOR PLANTING.

TROPICAL AGRICULTURE

BY

LINDLEY VINTON

IN THE earlier days spices, indigo, coffee tea, and sugar were the tropical products from which were gathered the wealth of the early Dutch agricultural traders, and of the famous East Indian Company. In the British Colony of British Guinea, and in the Dutch Colony of Surinname, the old maps show the entire borders of the river divided into estates, of which the records show us there were several hundred which had made their owners millionaires.

In more recent years greater attention had been paid to the development of the fruit products. Only a few years ago bananas were a rare luxury, but with the development of refrigerator ships the importation for the United States alone requires a fleet of one hundred vessels devoted exclusively to the banana trade. The United Fruit Company during the past year paid 18 per cent on its $24,000,000 of capital, added $2,000,000 to surplus and spent as much more on plantation development which was charged off to expense. A banana plantation yields its fruit within twelve months of planting, and once established continues for ten or fifteen years, and will pay from forty to fifty per cent on the capital invested.

A cocoanut plantation yields nuts when four to five years old, and requires practically no care except the gathering of the nuts which fall from the trees for one hundred to one hundred and fifty years, and yield a profit of from fifty to one hundred per cent per annum on the total cost of bringing the plantation to maturity.

A lime plantation will produce in from four to five years, and there is a practically unlimited market for the citrate of calcium, made by boiling the juice of the ripened lime and combining it with chalk or lime. There is also an increasing demand in temperate climates for the fruit as a substitute for the lemon. Lime plantations are earning over one hundred per cent on the cost of their establishment.

Throughout the tropics, land which will produce as fine an orange as those grown on the Indian River in Florida, or the Redlands of Califrnia, can be secured for from $2 to $10 per acre, and will raise either in quality and quantity as fine an

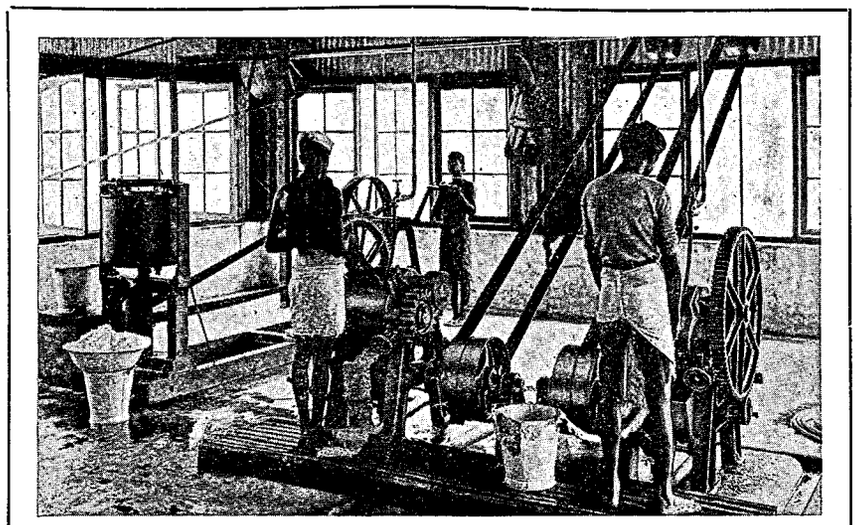
orange as is grown in Florida or California on lands which are held for as many hundreds of dollars per acre. It is only a question of time until oranges will be carried in refrigerator ships as are bananas today.

Not only have the tropics the physical conditions which go to make safe and profitable agriculture, but throughout the the tropics there is an abundance of cheap and efficient labor. The low wages paid in the tropics are not due to the inefficiency of labor, neither are they caused by oppression of the wage earner. It is the requirements of the laborer and the low cost of living which fixes the rate of wages. A laborer paid 24c to 48c a day in the tropics is receiving a larger number of days' subsistence than any farm laborer in the United States. It is to be remembered that he requires no fuel except to cook his meals, and such as is required for this purpose is at hand practically without cost. His clothing is only such as is required for the covering of the body and not for protection against the climate. His housing costs him nothing, for that is provided by the plantation, at the tenth part of what it would cost in temperate climates.

Five years ago the automobile industry did not use to exceed 10 per cent of the rubber of the world, but during 1910 it called for 60 per cent. In the United States there are about 400,000 motor-driven vehicles, and over 6,000,000 horse-driven. Does any one question that within five years there will be more than double the motor vehicles in use today?

It is less than a hundred years since rubber first became known to the commercial world. About 1820 sailors coming from the Amazon wore a peculiar elastic shoe made in one piece from a sort of gum. It was found to be proof against water or the slush of melting snow. They told how the Indians gathered a milk from trees and by smoking it got this gum and molded it on their feet. The shoes were elastic and could be pulled off and on, and they were all right in cold or wet weather, but should they get warm they would run into a solid mass. This gum was the same which had been brought to London from the East and sold by the stationers in small cubes, called Indian rubbers, for erasing pencil marks. For thirty years practically the whole importation of rubber irrespective of the purpose for which it was to be used was in the shape of these shoes.

Owing to its stickiness it was very little used by itself, but mainly for manufacturing a waterproof material consisting of two fabrics with a layer of rubber between them. In 1844 Goodyear took out his first patent for vulcanizing rubber, making an article which was not affected by heat or cold, and retained its shape under all conditions, preserving its elasticity and other valuable qualities. This invention is the basis of the whole rubber industry of today.



RUBBER WORKERS—INDIA.

The first attempt to establish rubber planting was made in Mexico. The Hon. Matias Romero, formerly Minister to Washington, after having for a considerable time agitated the cultivation of rubber, started the development of a rubber plantation in the State of Chiapas, in 1876, by planting 100,000 trees. There are many varieties of rubber-producing trees, and Romero selected Castillea Elastica, which is indigenous to Mexico, and his lead was followed by nearly all of the Mexican and Central American planters. Instead of small experiments in the hands of scientific men, the Mexican plantations were large, poorly cared for, and finally, for lack of capital, many were abandoned. It was ten to twelve years before there was any yield of rubber and the tree could be tapped only once a year, yielding but a small quantity which commanded about 60 per cent of the price of Para. In spite of these handicaps some of the Mexican plantations have survived and now show a fair agricultural return; but there is no promise in any of them of such profits as were anticipated.

It was not in such a manner that the problem was to be solved.

Agricultural products are not, like the products of manufacture, the creation of man's inventive brain and the work of his hand, or that of the machine he has made. Nature gathers the elements and herself furnishes that principle of life which is the beginning of growth and defines the broad lines on which she will permit development. Nature gives the germ and type of every plant and it is still Nature that develops and brings to perfection the wonderful products of our varied agriculture; but Nature studied, understood and helped by man.

Neither in quality nor in quantity will Nature unassisted satisfy the wants of man; but she responds richly to his aid. The agriculturist can no longer depend on what he calls common sense. In the management of his property he requires the services of the botanists to study plant life; the entomologist to tell him the life history of the insects that destroy his plants and how to cope with them; the chemist to teach him in what elements his soil is deficient and how to improve it, to analyze his products and show him how to increase their valuable qualities; the bacteriologist to study for him the harmful and the useful bacteria; and the mycologist, the plant physician, to examine his plants, when an unknown disease appears, to study the form of fungus or other vegetable growth that threatens to spread over the plantation. Each of them is studying some one phase of Nature and learning to restrain or direct her force.

Great Britain has her Department of Agriculture centered at Kew Gardens, London, and in each of her colonies there is a Director of Agriculture, a graduate of Kew Gardens, and under him a corps of trained agriculturists in charge of experimental stations. In the work of this department many things are done which would be beyond the means of the individual. Experiments are carried on from which there can be no commercial profit or other device to recompense the individual for his time and the expense of his experiments. In Ceylon they initiated the cultivation of cinchona. The tree grew in the forests of Peru, but so great was the labor of gathering its bark and so small the yield in quinine that only those who could pay $4.00 an ounce could use this specific for fevers, but when in Ceylon the tree was planted and cultivated by the advice and assistance of the Government, the planters were able to earn profits of 100 per cent while selling it for a shilling and a half an ounce.



RUBBER WORKERS—INDIA.

To the Agricultural Department of the East Indian Government is due the credit of establishing the cultivation of Para rubber; and in the thoroughness of its work, in its importance to the technical world, and in the profits it has assured to the Malayan planters it has scored one of the greatest triumphs of scientific agriculture. Careful and exhaustive experiments for over twenty years, by the agricultural department, preceded commercial exploitation.

The rubber of the Revea is the most elastic and of the quality best suited to all important uses, commanding a higher price in the market than that of any other variety. Although in the forest the tree struggling for light and food does not grow to tapable size in less than 15 to 20 years, on the plantation where each tree was given its proper light and amount of land it attained in five years a girth of 20 inches, the then accepted size for tapping.

Its most important advantage is one which it shares with no other species of rubber producing plants, that of "wound response." It has been found that if a tree is tapped, and after a few days it is again lightly tapped by scoring off a thin shaving or by pricking the tapped surface the flow of latex will be greater than at the first tapping, and that this can be continued for a considerable time.

The yield from a tree will vary with its size, and the experiments of the Government showed a yield of ¾ of a pound the first year of tapping, 1¼ pounds the second, 2 pounds the third, 3 pounds the fourth, with a steady increase.

An interesting tapping experiment with eight 17-year-old trees growing round the churchyard at Parit Buntar, in the Krian District of Perak, has given after one year's tapping every other day, an average of 29½ pounds of dry rubber per tree. The average girth of the trees was 54.87 inches at three feet from the ground.

If we admit that progression is the same whatever the age of the trees when first tapped, what is the usual progression? Is it too much to take 100 lbs. for the first year of tapping, 200 lbs. for the second years, 300 lbs. for the third, and 400 lbs. for the fourth and following years? If some think that 100 lbs. is excessive for the first year, none, we feel sure, will say that 200 lbs., 300 lbs., and 400 lbs. for the following years is too high. From personal experience we know that on several well known estates the yields from areas four years old range from 125 to 150 pounds per



TAPPING RUBBER TREE.

acre, whilst those from seven to eight years old range from 500 to 700 and even 800 pounds per acre.

As to diseases and insects attacking the plants, the only serious ones were found to be a white ant and a form of fungus. The former was bred in the stumps and trunks of dead rubber trees, where they had either blown down or had been cut out in thinning. The remedy was the complete eradication of all rubber stumps and removal of dead logs. The ants, curiously, never bred in the stumps of the other varieties of trees left in clearing the forest. The fungus was mainly due to bad drainage and was easily destroyed by removing this defect and where necessary, by spraying.

The cost of growing rubber, including all expenses of management, shipping and London expenses, is from one shilling to one shilling six pence. As the labor of tapping and gathering on an acre of trees producing one pound each in a year is little less than when the trees produce four pounds each, estate managers are predicting that in a few years the best estate will lay rubber down in London at a total expense to the plantation of six pence a pound.

A SERIOUS BLUNDER

BY

LOUIS B. BOUDIN

COMRADE BERGER has blundered seriously, dangerously. The introduction by him into Congress of the Joint Resolution on the amendment of the Constitution as to the President's veto power, the Senate, and the right of the Judiciary to declare legislation unconstitutional, is one of those unfortunate blunders easily committed but hard to retrieve. It is not the purpose of these lines to berate Comrade Berger for his mistake: that would be as useless as it would be easy. Besides, I do not consider the blunder due to Comrade Berger's personal fault, but rather to the shortcomings of our movement. For years the study of all serious subjects, historical, political and economic, has been sadly neglected, in fact discouraged, in our movement. Small wonder, then, that our representatives exhibit a woeful lack of knowledge when the occasion demanding serious knowledge arises. So I shall limit myself to a mere statement of the blunder, and a suggestion of a possible way of lessening its damaging effect. I cannot leave, however, the subject of culpability without calling attention to the responsibility of our National Executive Committee in the matter. While Comrade Berger personally may be excused because the movement has not properly prepared him for the task now thrust upon him, no such excuse can be urged on behalf of the National Executive Committee. That committee has at its command the entire resources of the whole movement. And surely, our movement as a whole is not so poor in the requisite knowledge as not to be able to deal with the subject intelligently.

That a grievous error has been committed in including the Judiciary powers in the resolution for an amendment to the Constitution is plain to any one familiar with the history of this country and the development of its institutions, and having a fair knowledge of the practical exigencies of the present political situation in the United States. The usurpation by the Judiciary, both Federal and State, of the powers of legislation, by the exercise of the power to annul legislation on the ground of alleged unconstitutionality, is the principal weapon of the capitalist class of this country in its subjugation of our working class. Unlike, however, the other and inferior weapons at its command, such as the President's veto-power and the Senate, this weapon was never given our ruling class by the Constitution itself. It is sheer usurpation. It therefore forms the most vulnerable point in its defences. Hence its great sensitiveness on this point. You can attack the veto-power, or the Senate, as much as you like, and they will complacently laugh at you. But you cannot say anything about the usurpation of the Judiciary without bringing them into a rage. Even our so-called "radicals," who glibly talk about the "treason of the Senate" and similar matters, fight shy of the question of the usurpation of the Judiciary, and never mention it, on the rare occasions when they do, above a whisper. They are mortally afraid that the people might find out the truth.

And for the same reason this is the most potent weapon we have at our command in our fight against capitalism in this country. We should, therefore, never tire of telling the working class of this country this most important truth. We should never tire telling them not only of the enmity of the courts to labor, but also that the power which gives this enmity its great importance has never been granted them by the Constitution, and is based on sheer usurpation. When the people wake up to a realization of this fact, an awakening so justly dreaded by the capitalist class, there will be no further necessity of amending the Constitution. It is around this point that the great struggle between capital and labor will be centered. And it is at this point that we must hammer incessantly.

But our blows have lost most of their power when we have admitted that it is a question of constitutional amendment. To propose a constitutional amendment involves the admission that the Constitution as it stands at present gives the Courts that power. This admission is further emphasized by the linking of this amendment with the proposed amendments abolishing the president's veto-power and the Senate, both of which were distinctly created by the Constitution. But it means more than that. It means a shifting of responsibility from the courts and the capitalist class to the people, and a long and futile agitation for an amendment which is as hopeless as was the case of the negro-slaves when left to the good-will of the masters.

No sane person now believes that any important amendment to the Constitution stands the ghost of a chance of being adopted by the regular method provided in the Constitution itself. The U. S. Constitution is for all practical purposes unamendable. Comrade Berger, with that fine revolutionary instinct which sometimes distinguishes true leaders of the proletariat, recognized this fact when he introduced his Joint Resolution for the calling of a Constitutional Convention. That was a proclamation of the fact that the present method of amending the Constitution is a mockery. He should have stuck to that position, and refrained from offering any regular amendments. The introduction of any regular amendment was a mistake. But we could stand it in the matter of the president's veto-power and the Senate. We cannot stand it in the matter of the courts. It paralyzes our striking arm.

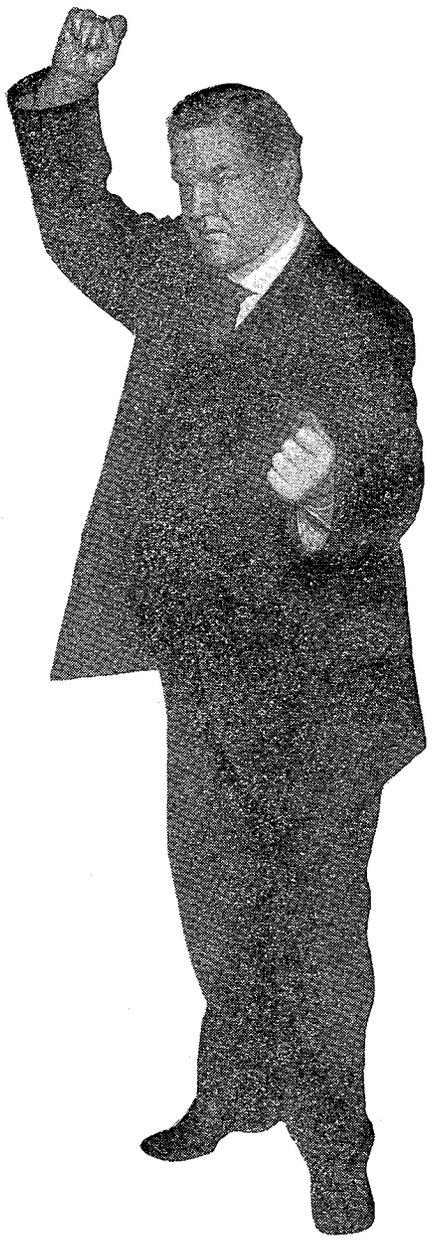
What shall be done now?—is a matter for the party to say. For my part I suggest that the National Executive Committee ask Comrade Berger to at once introduce a resolution in Congress that the Constitution never gave the Courts the right to annul legislation; that this power has been usurped; and that this usurpation should no longer be acquiesced in. This should be followed up by the introduction of a carefully prepared bill amending the Judiciary article of the U. S. Revised Statutes so as to entirely reconstruct our court system with a view to carrying out these ideas.

I know that neither such a resolution nor such a bill has any chance of being adopted. Nor has Comrade Berger's present resolution. Only Comrade Berger's present resolution is vicious in principle and paralyzes our agitation, whereas the steps I suggest are sound in principle and would greatly enliven our agitation.

There are a number of other things that I would like to say in this connection, but I consider the matter too important to obscure the main point by a discussion of minor matters.

HAYWOOD DEFENDS McNAMARA

HE GOES WEST ADVOCATING GENERAL STRIKE ON DAY McNAMARA TRIAL BEGINS



AT ONE of the greatest Socialist meetings ever held in St. Louis, William D. Haywood proposed the general strike on the day the great McNamara trial at Los Angeles opens. Comrade P. H. Rieman, the Secretary of the Haywood Meeting Committee, writes that the meeting "was a howling success in many ways. The Capitalists, the capitalist press, union and non-union men all howled in their own way. Our hall was packed to the doors and then some. It has rained continually for three days. Had it been a nice day, I have no idea what we would have done with the crowd. The interest and the enthusiasm has never been surpassed in St. Louis. And when Comrade Haywood presented his manifesto calling for a general strike the day the McNamara trial begins, the applause was simply a roar." Fifty thousand of the manifesto were ordered printed and a committee of 100 selected to attend to their distribution.

The capitalist papers of St. Louis seized unerringly upon the phase of the meeting most dangerous to capitalism. In black headlines they indicated their opinions of Haywood's proposition. The Republic and The Globe-Democrat each gave two solid columns in reporting the meeting. The Republic followed with a long editorial attacking "Mr. Haywood's Pessimism." Thus the revolutionary message of Haywood went into every home in St. Louis.

The Secretary of the local at Springfield, Mo., writes that for the first time in the history of the movement the capitalist papers were forced to take notice of a Socialist meeting. So large and enthusiastic was the meeting that the capitalist papers did not dare to attack Haywood's position outright. "The articles printed were long, but inclined to treat us fairly, or nearly so, with a lame apology for existing conditions," writes Comrade Fox.

As this copy of the REVIEW goes into the hands of its readers, Haywood will be speaking in Minneapolis. Minneapolis Comrades write that they have secured a hall with a seating capacity of 2,500, but they do not know what to do with the crowds that wish to come. From there Haywood will proceed through the Dakotas to Butte, Mont., where he speaks on "Miner's Day." "Miner's Day" is the festive occasion of the greatest mining camp in America. Ten thousand miners with their families will hear Haywood in the open air. The comrades at Anaconda, Montana, first wrote us very distressing news. The real "Crime of Amalgamated" was never told by the vociferous Tom Lawson. Some years ago the Socialist Party carried Anaconda. Amalgamated Copper blacklisted 1,000 workingmen, drove them out of town and broke up the Socialist Party there. The few Socialists at Anaconda remain incognito. Amalgamated spies infest the whole town. It was not possible to hold a meeting.

Just before going to press we received the following telegram:

> Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, Ill.:
> Butte local has exchanged dates with Anaconda. Butte local gives Anaconda June 14th in exchange for June 22nd. Letter following gives full particulars.

The whole West has recognized that the McNamara case is another Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone case. The word has been spoken. The workers must do for McNamara even more than they did for Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. McNamara must not be permitted to languish a year and a half in jail without trial. He should be at once returned to Indiana and treated with at least that degree of justice for which the capitalist law itself provides.

Haywood will hurriedly proceed through the North-West, speaking in the larger cities, and then enter California. Where halls large enough to hold the crowds cannot be secured, we urge that overflow meetings in the open air be held. The REVIEW will be quite satisfied with the subscriptions which come from those which enter the hall. If McNamara is not liberated by the time Haywood leaves California, he will proceed to the great industrial centers of the East. It was the voice of the working class of the whole Nation which sounded in the ears of the Colorado-Idaho mine owners' associations in 1906-7.

THE WORKING CLASS CAN FREE McNAMARA.

HAYWOOD DATES: May 21st, Minneapolis; 26th, Virginia, Minn.; 27th, Duluth; 28th, St. Paul; 30th, Aneta, N. Dak.; June 1st, Ellendale, N. Dak.; 4th, Pierre, S. Dak.; 6th, Grand Forks, N. Dak.; 7th, Devils Lake, N. Dak.; 8th, Minot, N. Dak.; 9th, Ray, N. Dak.; 10th, Williston, N. Dak.; 13th, Butte, Montana; 14th, Anaconda; 15th, Butte; 17th, Rigby, Idaho; 19th, Rexburg, Idaho; 21st, Great Falls, Montana; 22nd, Butte. Locals in Washington, Oregon and California desiring dates should write or wire at once.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE CALIFORNIA LABOR PARTY

BY

FRANK BOHN

In connection with this article it will be remembered that San Francisco is the only city in America in which a Labor Party of any consequence has developed. It has controlled the government of that city for several years. The first Labor mayor, Schmitz, was backed by political boss Abe Ruef, the representative of the powerful gambling, red-light and liquor elements in San Francisco politics. Both Ruef and Schmitz were sent to jail for grafting. Even this untoward event, however, did not keep the Labor Party from again controlling the city. The present mayor, McCarthy, is the boss of the building trades unions. As might have been expected, a considerable element of the Socialist Party membership in San Francisco wished their Party to be absorbed by the Ruef-Schmitz-McCarthy crowd. For an account of the struggle in the Socialist Party Local with results, readers are referred to the "News and Views" department.—EDITOR.

NEW POLITICAL PARTIES in America do not develop every time a policeman nabs a yegg for not dividing his graft with the "government." Neither do they perish each autumn from the frost and bloom anew with the spring flowers. In American history a strong national political party, competent to seize and hold the government in the interest of the people back of it, has come only once in a generation. Each time it has represented the interest of a distinct class or coalition of classes and has flourished unto victory as the class it represented has grown in numbers and wealth. Those which have weakened or perished, lost their power only when industrial evolution weakened or destroyed the class which made them necessary.

A party results from the vital forces of history. Before it can develop, the economic life of the nation must produce a social class which measures up in numbers, wealth or physical prowess, with the other social class or classes which are represented by parties. The European aristocracy ruled by the power of the sword. The modern plutocracy, in all nations, rules by the power of wealth. The power of the medieval church as a governing machine was developed largely from the influence which the only great body of trained intellect in society exerted over the blind ignorance of all social classes.

THE GREAT PARTIES.

In the United States there have been just five great parties. Each one of these represented a class which at times ruled the land and at other times divided government with an equally powerful social class or classes. These parties have been the Federalist, the Democratic, the Whig, the Southern Slavocrat, and the Republican.

The Federalist party represented the commercial capitalist class before the rise of manufactures.

The Jeffersonian Democratic party was the party of small property holders, business men and farmers, who made war on the aristocracy of finance and commerce. The Jacksonian Democratic party was this party of Jefferson, tremendously increased in numbers and power by the addition of the mighty farming class of the frontier and many of the newly enfranchised wage workers of the eastern cities.

The Whig party was the party of the manufacturing capitalists after the comparative decline of American ocean commerce.

The Slavocrat party at first "bored from within" the Democratic and Whig parties, skilfully compromising with both dominant social classes of the North. Only in 1860 did it have a party wholly its own—the southern section of the Democratic party.

The Republican party was at first a coalition of a majority of the farmers, capitalists and wageworkers of the North. The capi-

talists wanted to keep the southern markets. The wage-workers wanted the western lands kept free for their possession. The farmers wanted both the southern markets and the western lands. Since the war the wage-workers have counted for nothing in the Republican party. The farmer influence has decreased from fifty per cent to one per cent. The influence of the great capitalists has increased from fifty per cent to ninety-nine per cent.

The Northern section of the Democratic party, since the war, has been the party of the farmers and small business men when out of power, and one of the parties of plutocracy, when in power. This is proved by the present status of William Jennings Bryan on the one hand and Governors Wilson of New Jersey, Dix of New York, Baldwin of Connecticut and Harmon of Ohio, on the other.

No other classes, and hence no other parties, ever had a "ghost of a show" to rule America. A great party implies and includes various elements of power. These must be systematized into a working force by the experience and responsibility which ultimately train those who direct its course. It springs fundamentally, as we have said, from the interests of a social class. It naturally produces a system of political philosophy or quickly adopts one of long standing and bends its tenets to suit its political needs. It is absolutely essential that those who are gathered in its ranks, especially those who do its pioneering, feel themselves the equals of their opponents in the power of knowledge. Party pride must develop. Also a steady enthusiasm for party ideals. These arise from a full consciousness of the fact that the class it represents can rule the land—from a profound belief that it alone can rule the land well.

In 1828 and 1860 the Western farmers sneered at the Eastern intellectuals who declared that Andrew Jackson or Abraham Lincoln were too ignorant to be president. So even do the revolutionary workers today, when maintaining the dignity and capacity of their class.

Quite a number of small and some quite large political organizations beside the main parties have developed. But in the very nature of things these lesser movements were doomed to ultimate failure. They may be divided into four groups. It should be noted that we omit from these groups the Liberty party and the Free Soil party, which were the seed of the Republican party.

THE SMALL PARTIES.

The FREAK parties numbered two, the Anti-Masonic and the Prohibition. The Anti-Masonic party developed in the thirties of the last century and was an attempt to destroy the order of the Free Masons, which, it was thought, was dangerous to the welfare of society. The Prohibition party requires no comment.

The PARTIES OF SUBTERFUGE have also been two. They were the American or Know Nothing party and the Constitutional Union party. We do not mean by the descriptive name of this pair that subterfuge is a quality never practiced by other political organizations. But the two mentioned, the second of which in reality was but a continuation of the first, were developed for no other purpose than to dig holes in the sand for ostrich heads. The great struggle over slavery was nearing its climax. The citizens of the border states and many elsewhere, after the break up of the Whig party, dared not face the issue. So they made for themselves a house of straw and later, by changing its name and its supposed principles, tried to turn it into a bombproof. When the present class-struggle nears its revolutionary climax, similar parties will again develop. They will furnish a partial political refuge for trimming middle class elements and for hypocrites and cowards from among the classes at war.

The GREAT MAN parties have been curiously logical in their sequence. Of these there have been three. There will never be another. In an age of extreme individualism, when the farmers and small business people were independent and the individual was exaggerated in every phase of the Nation's life and thought, we find a great party organized about a really great man—Andrew Jackson. The mighty influence of the strenuous frontiersman is shown in the amazing inconsistency of policy which characterized his party. His individual prominence is proven by the fact that he was elected before his organization had crystallized. Then, in an age of democracy run mad, he reared a political despotism which

leaped from this extreme to that. This was the only time in American history when great natioinal policies were profoundly influenced by the character and acts of an individual.

The second of these movements was that of Henry George. He made an effort to form a compromise policy which would weld together the decadent middle class of the large cities and the growing organizations of labor. The middle class pulled him back and the working class was disorganized. A part was chloroformed by the American Federation of Labor. A part moved on beyond the grasp of his son and heir—toward Socialism. Timely death cut short a hopeless career. Henry George was a man of mental parts and of high character. But of the real forces which moved modern industrial society he knew as little as a Tasmanian Bushman knows of an electrical dynamo which he sees for the first time.

The DEATH-BED parties are the fourth group of minor political organizations which have developed in America, and a marvelous group they have been. The first one was the New England Federalist crowd after the complete downfall of this party of commercial capitalists and the beginning of the War of 1812. It tried to start a secession movement in New England. There were hints of rejoining the British Empire. They bitterly opposed the War of 1812 because it injured their trade. Stewing in their own gall, they died at the return of peace and five years later no one could be found who would admit that he belonged to the New England Federalist party in its last days.

The Ku Klux Klan Democrats were active during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. These tried to perpetuate slavery and prevent the Republican party from gaining a foothold in the South. They used shot-guns and bowie-knives and stuffed ballot-boxes until their various methods developed into a fine art. Their slogan was "the Negro must not rise." They have, even to the present, been more or less successful. But the slow moving forces against them are resistless. One of the blindest fallacies known to American history is the view that black slavery in the South completely perished during the Civil War. But it is now, in reality, passing. The Anti-Negro Democrats of the South are the Death Bed party of the old social system which lingers after its industrial basis has been swept away.

The Death-Bed party of the American farmers and small business classes was at first the Greenback party and later the Populist party. The Republican and Democratic crowd of "Insurgents" from the Middle West is the poodle dog heir of the Populist party. Fifteen years ago, under Bryan, this element showed fight. At present it can merely whine in the house of its master.

THE LAST OF THE DEATH-BED PARTIES.

The "Labor" party of the old time craft-unions is the last of the Death-Bed parties. It differs from its predecessors only in that it is dying in its infancy. Its first feeble efforts to clothe its hopeless soul in the flesh and blood of earthly substance resulted in still-births. When at last in California it was nursed into life, the bills were secretly paid. It was even then told about town that the paternal ancestor was quite respectable and that the swaddling clothes were of rich fabric. The "Labor" party on the Pacific Coast, as in Australia and in England, was brought forth with the collar of plutocracy riveted about its neck. Had it been launched twenty years ago such a party in America might have grown into considerable strength. But the cause of the present death rattle in the throat of the infant is not difficult to discover.

Again and again and again does the Socialist party proclaim the fundamental fact of all social and political life in this generation. Tools are being replaced by machines. The skilled workman is relegated to the scrap heap with his old fashioned means of production. Unemployment and child labor grow with the machine process. Machines make necessary great capital, the corporation and the trust. The latest product of machines is the industrial empire of America. This empire has raised into power a selfish, vulgar, insolent and brutal ruling class of the great rich. To make war upon this empire in the interest of labor we must unite the whole working class. This is easy because its old time natural divisions—craft divisions—have largely disappeared. To conquer the empire of industry we must fight with one purpose in view—its destruction. More and more are the Socialists recognizing that instead of "Join the union of your craft," we must say to the workers, "Organize one big union." Instead of singing that old song, "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work," and similar contemptible rot, we must urge the workers to take possession of their whole product. The feeble claim expressed by "let the unions run the political government," we must smother with the final message of the labor-union in this age, "Let one big union own and run the whole nation—its lands, its machines, and its industrial government."

HOW DO THE CRAFT UNIONS MANAGE TO LIVE?

Three types of the old fashioned unions have a chance to continue during the present and the immediate future. First, those which are bona fide—which are composed of members in trades where tools are still used. Second, those which, though they should long ago have been buried, are kept above ground as ugly scare-crows to frighten the workers out of really organizing. Third, those which are used either by the great capitalists to beat down the middle class capitalists, or by the middle class capitalists to make head against the trusts. The first and the third of these groups can increase wages and improve industrial conditions only by organizing job-trusts and, through high dues and high initiation fees, making war on the unorganized, the young and even upon the members of their own unions who have come from other cities.

Of the first class the plumbers, the brick layers and the cotton cloth printers may be given as examples. Of the second class, the International Boot and Shoe-workers Union. Of the third class nine-tenths of the remaining craft unions in America.

THE "TRIUMPH" IN SAN FRANCISCO.

In San Francisco the "victory" of the craft unions and their political party was made possible because of two of the conditions mentioned above. In the evolution of capitalism in that great center of the economic life of the Pacific Coast region, the struggle between the great and the small capitalist was perhaps fiercer than in any other city in the world. The anti-trust sentiment among the mass of the population was intense. The middle class laid hold of this sentiment in order to use it against the great capitalists. Then the great capitalists set to work to capture the unions. The craft union leaders were shrewd enough to play their game hard. The building trades unions, the back-bone of the San Francisco labor organizations, made a coalition at first with the small contractors against the great contractors, then with the great contractors against the small contractors. The builders association, the real estate men and the property holders in general were constantly re-aligning their forces with the fortunes of war. Now the building trades fought on this side and now on that. And they temporarily gained much.

In this, the greatest sporting city of its size in the world, the labor leaders in politics coalesced with the whole sporting fraternity. They marked the cards and won the game.

Then came the earthquake and fire. The building trades clinched their grip on the throat of the property interests. Some trades secured a dollar an hour wage. Mountain wall initiation fees and closed books shut out competition and developed the job trust in each of the building trades. To retain this position they must continue to hold political power. Incidentally they did exactly what American politicians since the time of John Hancock have done. They feathered their nests. Their enemies caught them "with the goods on," sent the leaders to jail, and thought that they had thus destroyed their power. But they reckoned without their host. The old party machines had practically ceased to exist. The rank and file of the "Labor" party could not be again led into the old ways. Capitalism, great or small, forced back on its haunches, will trim and make peace with God, Man, Devil, or all three of them at once. The predominant capitalist interests of the city were those which controlled real estate, building construction, commerce and banking. These agreed to turn down the manufacturing interests in order that San Francisco might maintain its hold on the West as the gateway to the Pacific. It conceded the eight-

hour day, high wages to the craft unionists, and political jobs to the leaders. If unemployed workers have a nickel for ferry toll when they came to town, they are permitted to enter across the Golden Gate. When they ask for jobs, however, they are told that they may leave via the land route south, that walking is good, and that their appetities will not be taken away from them on the way out.

Such is San Francisco, craft unionized and craft union ruled. This condition will undoubtedly last until the next panic. Then this house of cards will topple. Craft unionism is dependent for every source of its power upon jobs. Its idle members are not soldiers of their class fighting for principles, but beggars cringing before their masters and pleading to be again enslaved. That time will come. Then, if the Socialist party does not rise to the occasion, who will rule San Francisco?

The "Labor" party in San Francisco came into being and continues among us because of the peculiar conditions obtaining in that city. It may spring up in Los Angeles and some other Pacific Coast towns. It will never develop in other portions of the country as a real party. Of course "labor leaders" will often be used as decoy ducks by the old political machines in New York, Chicago and some other places as long as there is a craft union in existence. And some few bona fide craft unions will continue to exist until the end of capitalism. Fake unions will continue to grow only as long as any considerable portion of the working class remains in total ignorance of the causes of its social condition. But industry is too highly organized, the class struggle is too fierce, knowledge is too widely disseminated among the workers and the Socialist party is too well grounded, to permit the development of a real national "Labor" party such as now afflicts the working class movements of England and Australia.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Socialist party is the product of working class experience. Two facts gave occasion for its rise. The first was the panic of 1893-8. The second was the great A. R. U. strike of 1894. We cannot here enter into an examination of this intensely interesting period in the history of the American labor movement. Some, indeed, seek to find the beginnings of the American Socialist movement in the efforts put forth by the old Socialist Labor party. They are in error. The old Socialist Labor party was prevented from being of any large use in the growth of the American Socialist movement by the character and activities of most of the first Americans who joined the German comrades. The Socialist Party developed, not in New York, Hoboken, Jersey City and Yonkers, but in the West. The American Railway Union was at the time probably the most advanced economic organization of its size in the world. Its virile rank and file had a clear view of the nature of the organization that must bring immediate relief to the workers. When it was crushed by the political power of the capitalist class, its leadership made the error of deserting the industrial field entirely. They declared for political action only and the result was the Socialist Party. Further experience led this western movement into an understanding of the necessary relationship between industrial and political organizations.

The Socialist Party, the result of twenty years of experience, is here to stay. Its form of organization permits that degree of difference of opinion which is necessary to growth. Its educational work has brought thousands to a clear knowledge of the labor movement as a whole. Its propaganda and organization have now entered every state in the Union. Its disruptions and failures here and there are followed by re-organization and progress. As a movement it cannot be destroyed nor even temporarily checked. It has now, during the second decade of its development, become proof alike against capitalist enemies and reactionary movements among undeveloped workers. Where it develops rapidly it is at first opportunistic. Where opposing forces retard its growth it becomes strong through fighting and the intensive education of its membership. The Socialist Party is here to stay until the end of capitalism because it is the political party of the working class. There is no other

and will be no other national party of the workers. Unbalanced and uninformed individuals or groups sometimes desert its standards because they do not understand the problems attending its growth. When, at certain times or in certain places it falls into error, only the Pharisee cries that the whole movement has been destroyed.

Most of those who today decry political organization and political action by the working class were those who yesterday held the same attitude toward economic organization and action by the workers.

These Socialists who would have the Socialist party join with the "Labor" party in order to capture a city, would tomorrow have the "Labor" party join forces with the Republican or Democratic parties in order to capture a state.

The vast majority of the working class who are not in and of the Socialist Party are still uninformed of its principles and purposes. They must be reached through Socialist agitation and Socialist education, not through the surrender of Socialist principles in order to be agreeable.

Of course, there are and always will be a pack of camp following weaklings, who, when they meet the enemy, think that by turning and marching with them they are marching to a victory for the working class.

THE DIFFERENCE.

The fundamental difference between the Socialist Party and all so-called "Labor" parties, is that the Socialist Party fights not primarily for the POLITICAL supremacy of a crowd of wage-workers, but what is of real significance, for the INDUSTRIAL supremacy of the whole working class. The "Labor" Party represents but a small and diminishing part of the working class. The Socialist Party represents all workers regardless of race, sex, age, skill or labor-union affiliation.

The "Labor" Party is a party of shifting purposes. The Socialist party is a party of fundamental principles.

The "Labor" Party is temporary. The Socialist party is permanent.

The "Labor" Party demands bread and gets crumbs. The Socialist Party demands freedom for the workers and gets a fight on its hands.

The "Labor" Party draws and breeds the office seeking politician. The Socialist party draws and breeds the revolutionary soldier.

The Socialist Party and the "Labor" party are not and never can be friends. They are and must remain irreconcilable enemies.

"That we are a party of the class struggle, who have nothing in common with any other party, and who have to fight and conquer all other parties, in order to attain our goal, is something which we must never for a moment lose sight of."

From "No Compromise," by William Liebknecht.

THE CLASS WAR IN ENGLAND

BY

TOM MANN

AT THE present hour there is a strike on in the printing trades. It was thought that London and the country would have been united over this struggle, which is a demand for a 48-hour week for all in the trades working more than that number, but with an expressed willingness on the part of the unions to accept of a 50-hour week now ,and a further reduction of two hours on 1st of January, 1912. The newspaper men in London work 42 hours and operators in the general trade 48, but the case hands in jobbing offices work 52 1-2. The effort now is confined to the London men, and so far about 400 of the firms have conceded the 50 hours, but they have exacted and obtained an understanding from the men to make no further demand for a reduction of hours for five years.

These agreements, however, are likely to be properly valued when the right hour comes for general action.

The Transport Workers.

It is one of the inglorious experiences of the last 20 years that whilst it was the British trade unionists that brought into existence the International Transport Workers Federation, until three months ago there was no organized relationship between the 20 or more unions connected with the carrying industry to secure concerted action in this country. As the result of special efforts to rectify this serious weakness, the federations of the unions connected with shipping, docks and river work have now federated, and it is probable that amalgamation will follow, in some instances at least. Mr. Ben Tillett, of the London Dockers union, is the secretary *pro tem,* and there is urgent need for a vigorous organizing campaign, and this to be followed by equally vigorous fighting for general betterment. Unfortunately at present the railwaymen's union keeps aloof from this new combination of transport workers and it is vital that they should belong to it; the absence of solidarity in this regard must continue to be a source of weakness till rectified.

Looking a little ahead and asking "in what direction should concerted action be taken?" I have no hesitancy in replying, "REDUCE THE WORKING HOURS." This is the real key to the advance of the working class. Do we want the unemployed problem dealt with? Then reduce the hours of work; no "State organization of the unemployed on productive work" can make such satisfactory provision for existing unemployed, as will be provided by absorbing every available worker into the ranks of the regularly employed. Not a plutocratic state government devising means for workers to be shut off from their fellows in ordinary industrial life, still leaving them to work the present inordinate number of hours, but the industrially organized workers themselves reducing the hours, stage by stage, as often as necessary; not only keeping pace with advancing methods of production, but rapidly encroaching upon the exploiting power of the capitalists and steadily and surely taking an ever-increasing proportion of the results of their own labor until they take over the industry itself. The clarion call now is—REDUCE THE HOURS OF WORK! There is no genuine alternative.

In this regard I want to back up the stand taken by ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE in his article in the January *Review*. He there says the true "union never forgets the imperative need of reducing unemployment, and so constantly aims at the shortening of the working day; it cares more to cut ten minutes from the day's work than it does to add ten cents to the day's pay." And again on page 406: "The new unionism has ever before its eyes the shortening of the working day as a means of reducing the unemployed, as well as of giving the workers more

leisure for study and thought and organization." This is the real line of advance, instead of which many are looking to parliaments to pass measures to provide work. I am not for blaming them, but for helping on the real movement that has scored in the past, and that is destined to secure our economic redemption.

I wish also to say that I was delighted on receiving the February number of the *Review* to find a strong backing in the editorial notes of the Oregon men's demand for an eight-hour day in 1912. I congratulate the editorial writer heartily and ask permission to quote an important sentence or two that those who missed them or may have forgotten them may be put in touch with the same.

"Get together. The eight-hour day in 1912 is a possibility for all of us who stand together and demand it; and when once we have united to get that, we shall be in a position to demand more and ever more until we control the machines by which we must live. Discuss the eight-hour day in your Socialist Party Local and in your union. Talk about it to every wage-worker you meet. Write about it to the papers, speak of it from the soap-box and help start an agitation that by next year will sweep everything before it. It can be done. The time is ripe. This can be made a winning fight, and if we win, it is the beginning of the end of capitalism."

To all of which I say Hear, hear! and more. I for one will battle away to achieve the object. The only difference that may characterize my advocacy will be that while demanding authority to establish the eight-hour day for general workers, I shall continue as I have been doing for some time now, i. e., advocate a six-hour day for all workers below ground, and for workers in the chemical trades who are subjected to more exacting and exhausting toil than the average of workers. May I add that I am also persistently declaring that immediately we get power to achieve something substantial as the result of removing competition for employment by the policy of reduced working hours, the very first thing should be a "minimum wage," below which no man should work. In this country there are millions of men not receiving more than 20s a week. This should be raised to 30s at one sweep, and could be done with the utmost ease, if only solidity was a fact in our class. To promote that solidity is therefore the chief work in which we can engage; also it will be necessary to guard against the idea gaining ground that there is anything sacred in "eight" hours. The object must ever be to KEEP ALL EMPLOYED and to raise the standard of life. Of course we cannot by any possibility get ALL workers organized, but we can treble our present numbers if only the work is tackled in grim earnest. And we may be quite sure that mass action will become not merely a possibility, but an actual fact.

I urge that the reduction of hours be made an international question without delay. As the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has entered the field, would it not be possible to open up with other countries? There are many thousands in this country quite prepared to co-operate, and it would certainly help the comrades in the United States to have the same demand made here as there, but Germany and France would probably come into line, too. If all unions and societies who carry a resolution in favor of the proposed action were to inform the editor, no doubt a list could be compiled so far as that was desirable, and means could be devised of keeping in touch with important centers. I hope efforts will be made to get every labor council and every union to carry a resolution favorable to the demand. If all Socialist advocates would make a point of submitting the resolution at each of the meetings they address it would help materially in developing and focussing opinion. Comrades Debs and Haywood will be able to bring it before hundreds of thousands of energetic industrialists, and if each of the writers and speakers act as requested in the February REVIEW an enormous volume of favorable opinion will soon grow into readiness for determined action.

In concluding this little contribution, I desire to express my most hearty admiration for the tone, style and character of the REVIEW.

ITALIAN FARM LABORERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

BY

ODON POR

NEARLY two hundred thousand farm laborers were represented at the Fourth Congress of the National Federation of Italian Farm Laborers, held recently in Bologna. This federation refuses admission to such local organizations as have not been thoroughly tried in action and do not accept the revolutionary principles of the class struggle, well knowing that elements that are not class conscious always handicap the realization of daring initiatives. If the federation were not so rigorous in enforcing this criterion it could easily raise the mere number of its membership to four hundred thousand, this being the number of the actually organized farm laborers in Italy. Owing, in a great degree, to such a careful selection, this organization has been capable of evolving a class of workers which is undoubtedly the most advanced in the world, both in respect to the state of mind of the single workers in it and the various means of action adopted by them.

Those who watched this movement from its early beginnings, some twenty-five years ago, but especially since the foundation of the Federation in 1901, are struck with the great change in the mentality of the workers, developed during the last ten years. The first Congress, deliberating in the name of 227,000 farm laborers, peasants, small landowners, Socialists, republicans and what not, was dominated by an overpouring enthusiasm. These different classes, with contradicting economic and political interests and ideals, came together believing it possible to abolish the contradictions with a sentimental manifestation and by passing a resolution proclaiming the socialization of the land as the ultimate common goal. The struggles that followed, the lost battles, the victories and the tentatives have proved the sterility of sentimentalism as a power productive of united revolutionary action.

The diverging economic and political tendencies could not live side by side, soon the membership of the federation was 50,000, and many persons, who attended the first congress, came out in the open as relentless enemies of the federation. However, the real proletariat has kept joining the federation in larger and larger masses, substituting the dissident elements, so that this last Congress could be the vital expression of 200,000 men and women with homogenous wills and well defined aims, capable of mobilizing at first notice, more than a million persons.

Far from vanishing, this enthusiasm of the first years has reappeared, disciplined and conscious, reaffirming itself in this last Congress in a marvelous unison. Evidently a psychological transformation has been going on, the reasons of which we cannot find in the proceedings of the Congress but out in the movement. The Congress itself was of importance only as far as it summed up the new tendencies of the movement and gave them a national expression, marking, so to say officially, the entering of the movement into its second phase.

Characteristic of the first phase of the movement were the numberless strikes, involving from a handful sometimes as many as 50,000 or more workers, once victorious, once defeated, but, on the whole, elevating the standard of living to a very high level. It was, in short, a movement like any other primitive unional movement, determined by the industrial and agricultural conditions of a given district and confined to the same, whose success was limited by its force of local resistance and attack.

Reading the history of the early agrarian strikes or talking about them with the leaders or the workers we can reconstruct the psychology characteristic of this first period. Before the advent of any modern mass movement the peasants

competed with each other along all lines and submitted to every abuse on the part of the landowners because conscious of their individual helplessness. The first step ahead was taken when urged by insupportable conditions and the Socialist propaganda they united in smaller local organizations and began to fight a disordered battle winning many victories. Then when the farm laborers and peasants of a whole province united into one provincial organization, they were at once fired by a consciousness of enormous collective force, which appeared as if by magic.*

Naturally, the landowners who were attacked, unexpectedly, were obliged to make concessions. The peasants to whom only yesterday it seemed impossible to negotiate on equal terms with the landowners, the peasants who knew no rights and were ignored by the laws, and who were left unaided in all their troubles, found themselves, all at once, supported by the affectionate solidarity of their comrades. This sudden mutation of the situation was richer in sentimentalism than substantiated by consciousness and took away from the workers the exact notion of their real force. They began to demand too much in proportion to their actual power, moreover, the proprietors began to organize their resistance against the organized peasants and great losses on the part of the workers were unavoidable.

These defeats proved to be salutary in the long run, inasmuch as they forced the workers to concentrate all their attention on the problems of organization with the result that the provincial organizations became even vaster bodies than mere industrial organizations, embracing workers who form a substantial element of labor in a line of industries like agriculture, food industries, building industries and so on.

In these provincial organizations lies the force of the national movement. A province is a geographical unity and the crops vary to a certain extent, from province to province, so that, for instance, while in one province the harvest is already over, in the other it has just begun. Because of these conditions the strike movements in the agricultural industry cannot be started everywhere simultaneously. In other words, there is no uniformity of production determining uniformity of action. Even the provinces themselves are subdivided in many districts on the basis of the conditions of production and secular traditions. It is enough of a staff of men that they acquire mastery over all the conditions in one province and organize a homogeneous movement, for instance, by abolishing, in one district, some old traditions of work or by determining, through the pressure of organization, new uniform methods of production.

The National Federation, from its very foundation, was aware of these facts and allowed the provincial organizations a complete autonomy, reserving for itself the function of integrating the provincial movements into a national movement through emphasizing the importance of essentially similar lines of action, by bringing common aim, mutual understanding and mutual aid amongst the various provincial organizations, establishing a complete moral unity if a complete industrial unity in action is impossible.

In this the federation has fully succeeded and we see that when one province is engaged in a great struggle the others come to its aid with active solidarity. However, a strong national federation is of supreme importance from various reasons. It is the means by which the movement may be expanded into the regions where the working class is yet backward, whose backwardness, handicaps, to a great degree, the advance of those desiring to go ahead; it watches that the immature movements do not degenerate but evolve normally; it bears the successful experiments of one locality to another, creating thus a uniform method of action notwithstanding the diversity of conditions, as far as essentials are concerned; it is the medium of contact between the provincial organizations and has a moral and educational function by the force of which it prepares a nation-wide movement against the impending nation-wide resistance of the organized landowners, who are attempting to destroy the proletarian organizations with all the means at their disposal, such as

*See Nino Mazzoni, in the Giornale Degli Economisti, Rome, 1905.

mutual insurance funds against strikes, with lock-outs and by using the authority and the military force of the State.

This federation, unlike any other labor federation in the world, is, then, not ordering movements or binding locals with contracts, etc., but gives them free hand to settle local conditions in relation to national tendencies. In short, it coordinates and integrates the movement; it rather spreads its spirit than pretends to direct it in every detail or to lead it. This healthy decentralization renders the movement alive, multiform and complicated and imparts individuality to every single organization within it. Thus the movement offers not the aspect of an inert but well-regimented mass under an iron, but unproductive discipline, but of a movement in which the conditions of spontaneous generation for new actions are fostered, in which discipline comes not from enforced by-laws and resolutions, but from the sense of collectivity matured in the local organizations.

This sense of national discipline is acquired by the local groups through facing the various problems in all their aspects and in their organic nature, through the liberty of initiative, through a sense of responsibility which goes with conscious liberty, through the pride they take in forwarding the general interests of their whole movement without being forced to it.

In these local and provincial organizations, existing throughout the vast agricultural belt of Italy, the whole working class is maturing simultaneously, forging the mightiest arms against the centralized present regime. For the intensifying of the movement, through decentralization, grinds the power of the capitalist forces and of the State, both prepared for centralized action only. The ruling class with its political, administrative and military institutions, is attacked on all sides, in every locality and continuously and not only at its central point, the Parliamentary Government. This is a continuous guerilla war, which, while strengthening the militant labor-bodies, through keeping them always in action, exhausts the enemy that finds it beyond its resources to be everywhere and everywhere defend the interests of the capitalist class with the same readiness.

This independence of the local and provincial organization is chiefly responsible for the maturing of this class of workers. They learned how to manage their own movement and how to solve problems demanding immediate attention. Every organized worker in the local and provincial organizations is engaged in the struggles and must know, perfectly, the conditions upon which the action of the organization is based and, therefore, he is capable of judging the possibilities and opportunities of immediate and further progress. And these decentralized bodies, which, however, are organically connected with the national movement, contributes, to the greatest extent, to the formation of a psychology very different from the psychology of mere crowds massing together under a spontaneous impulse without consciousness of their class.

In this new psychology the forces of contagion and suggestion are reduced to a very minimal function, while the critical sense in the individual, continually called upon to decide, is the chief formative power of mass action. The critical sense far from weakening the dynamical qualities of big movements, intensifies them and gives them a determined scope. These new conscious masses, unlike to those first crowds gathered under the stimulus of enthusiasm or dire misery, know exactly what they are fighting for, what immediate results are obtainable, know the reasons of an eventual loss and therefore, know what subsequent steps are to be taken in order to assure continuous success.

Not a knowledge of general theories, ideas and conceptions—which is essentially middle-class knowledge—inspires these men of the new masses, but the valuation of their own capacities. Owing to this organic maturity we see the local groups, the obscure local men take the most far-reaching initiatives, which grow later, into provincial and even national issues. By determining issues of principles they ultimately influence the attitude of the whole working class.

This process is entirely the reverse of the processes that go on in the working class movements of other countries. The mammoth centralized trade and industrial federations in Germany never propose a new line of action. While accepting the Socialist platform they are victims of a political fetichism which makes them await the Socialist future as something that must come inevitably through the fatal evolution of the political and economic structure of society, as something the advent of which they can neither hasten nor can others prevent. They do not consider as their chief function the evolving of the economic structure of the future society, they, therefore, move always and only in the limited circle of the improving of labor conditions. They never break through this circle by assuming the functions of the capitalist class as owners and managers of industrial enterprises.

I believe that this is entirely due to the form of organization which offers no chance for the germination and bursting forth of the revolutionary consciousness in the individual workers. The numeric force is no force at all. It is the force of the individual workers that counts in the vital movements of all organizations. And this individual force can evolve only under conditions of liberty of action and initiative, which the German organizations have not. The German strikes, though involve hundreds of thousands of workers, are essentially speculative moves. The leaders of the German federations ask themselves, sure of the obedience of the mass, how many millions can they afford to spend to gain as many more?

Such reasoning is unknown in a federation like that of the Italian farmer laborers. Within this federation, when the local organizations see a good opportunity for struggle, they fight, or if there is no opportunity for a struggle then they create one. They do not fight on the basis of money, but on the basis of the consciousness of the workers. The National Federation of Farm Laborers has had an income for 1910 of less than six thousand dollars. The battles of the same year involved more than a hundred thousand workers and many millions of dollars. The budget of the local organizations is just enough to keep them going. The accumulation of strike funds during peace times is not known. The strikers have to provide for their needs themselves. And yet the intense movements follow one another. Discouragement is unknown. If the fight has to go on, the workers sell their last things, their beds and tables and keep on fighting. The women are the first in sacrificing every thing for the movement. They have been revolutionized along with the men. Besides the most important movements, even if successful in the long run, bring, rather greater immediate material sufferings than gains. However, the victorious affirmation of a revolutionary principle makes up for the loss and satisfies the workers.

In Germany the leaders do not move and the masses are satisfied. The German labor leaders do not take new initiatives feeling the impossibility of carrying them out. They are dealing with an immature mass, capable only of mute obedience when the risk is proven small. The only preoccupation on the mind of the leaders of this federation of farm laborers is that the initiatives of the locals follow one another too quickly; that a tendency in a district may go too far before the other districts are prepared to follow or come to its aid.

(To be Continued.)

EDITORIAL

Manifest Destiny. As we go to press the fighting between insurrectos and federals in Mexico has been resumed after a brief truce. The capitalist press admits the general spread of the insurrection, and all hopes of a treaty of peace between Diaz and Madero seem to be at an end. The northern half of Mexico may be completely in the hands of the rebels by the time this issue of the Review reaches its readers. Meanwhile the Chicago Tribune raises the question—a very important one to the American capitalist class—of whether Madero has any such effective control over his soldiers as to afford any assurance that he will be able to protect property interests in the event of the complete overthrow of Diaz. Truth will probably compel a negative reply. Madero himself is a capitalist and a friend of capitalists, but the rank and file of the insurrectos are either soldiers of fortune out for loot, or even worse from the capitalist viewpoint, revolutionary wage-workers with no regard for the sacredness of capitalist property. So the trend of events points strongly to the truth of a report sent out by the Socialist press correspondent at Washington to the effect that Taft had already decided on the invasion of Mexico and its occupation by an army of over 200,000 men, to include the entire national guard; that he had confided his intention to the representatives of the leading newspapers of the country, and had asked their help in preparing the public mind for war. All this is neither more nor less than we should expect. The railroads and the most important industries of Mexico are already owned by American capitalists, and the rest of the industries are rapidly drifting into the same strong hands. These capitalists already control the government of the United States. They have until lately had an excellent working agreement with Diaz, under which he, in return for a small share of the spoils, furnished the soldiers needed to overawe the slaves, and relieved his American allies of all personal responsibility for the bloody details. This agreement now becomes void by the collapse of the Diaz government. Madero on one side and Morgan on the other would no doubt gladly ratify a new agreement along the same lines. But unfortunately Madero has not the goods to deliver. What can the American capitalists do? It is no doubt embarrassing and inconvenient to come out openly as the owners of the United States government in general and of the new military government of Mexico in particular. But the sad alternative is the loss of all their Mexican investments. Better anything than that. So American capitalism must push on to its Manifest Destiny.

Workers and War. But all this does not mean that the working class of the United States should calmly accept the decision of the capitalists and approve it. True, no efforts of ours can for the time being prevent the complete conquest of Mexico by American capital backed by American bayonets. But since capital to retain its spoils is obliged to throw off the mask and stand revealed as the dictator of our so-called republic, we have an unexpected and unequaled opportunity to open the eyes of millions of hitherto contented and loyal workers. Let us speak out in no uncertain tones. This war against the workers of Mexico is a class war, a war of masters against slaves. Our masters here can wage that war against the slaves of Mexico only because we, the American wage-slaves, are ignorant and divided. So our every effort must be to unite, educate, organize.

War Upon Workers. In this task our capitalist masters have in their short-sighted arrogance found a new way to help. Elsewhere in this issue of the Review will be found details of the kidnaping of two officials of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Detectives in the employ of the Steel Trust, in flagrant violation of law, carried these men away from Indiana to California, without allowing them

any chance to appeal to the courts for protection. Moreover, the detectives forced their way into the offices of the union, burglarized the safe in broad daylight without interference from the police or courts, and carried away the records of the organization. The object of this outrage is, of course, to wreck a labor organization which stands in the way of bigger profits for the capitalists. It will fail, just as the murderous attack upon Haywood failed. Haywood was saved from death because the wage-workers of America were ready to rise in revolt to defend him. The capitalists dared not kill him, and today he is in the front of the new battle started by this new attack on labor. Little will be settled by what happens inside the court room at Los Angeles. High-priced detectives are experts in manufacturing evidence; capitalistic officials have ample experience and notorious skill in the packing of juries. Even though, as we firmly believe, the Los Angeles Times building was blown up by gas from leaky pipes, the jury will be found to convict the McNamara brothers of dynamiting unless the wage-workers of America rally to their support. But they are rallying. Craft divisions and controversies over tactics vanish in the presence of a common danger. The Class Struggle is upon us, on a battlefield greater than ever before. The capitalists realize this already, and the workers by the million are awakening to it. There can be no permanent truce until the capitalist class is destroyed. It may triumph for a moment, but it can never destroy the working class, since only by the working class does it live. The working class is the one essential class, without which this modern world could not go on. Awakened and united it is irresistible. It is awakening and it is uniting. Every ounce of effort now counts ten-fold.

The Present Need. The present need is MORE CLEAR-HEADED REVOLUTIONISTS. Without them we can do nothing; with them we can do everything. An avalanche of Socialist votes will be irresistible if there is a revolutionist behind each vote, but any votes that we may gain by emphasizing petty reforms in our electoral programs will count for nothing when a crisis comes. Capitalism is rushing headlong to its downfall, because the events of every day tend to convince every thinking wage-worker that his own life and liberty can be secured only by doing his part in the class war—only through REVOLUTION. To bring these facts home to the understanding of every wage-worker we can reach—this is the need of the hour by the side of which all else is trifling.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

SIX Socialist Congresses. Easter week is the open season for Socialist congresses. This year the comrades of England, France, Belgium, Holland, and Sweden foregathered at almost exactly the same time. The reports of so many conferences occurring simultaneously give one a birds-eye view of the state of Socialism over a large part of Europe.

A rapid reading of motions passed and speeches made leaves one with three rather distinct impressions. (1) In all of the countries represented there is a constantly growing feeling of unity and enthusiasm. There were sharp differences of opinion, but there was no division as to the fact that the enemy is capitalism and that the fight must be waged with constantly increasing vigor. (2) The traditional division between reformists and out-and-out working-class revolutonists is still the vital one within the Socialist movement. Though in general the tide is setting more and more unmistakably in favor of a clear, uncompromising attitude, the problem of tactics cannot by any means be regarded as settled. (3) Parliamentary representation can be made profitable to the working-class only at the cost of eternal vigilance. In all of the five countries in which congresses were held the facts brought out in debate went to show that merely electing socialists to parliamentary bodies is of little profit. The new experiences of the past year go to demonstrate anew the oft repeated truth that what counts is the never ending activity of the rank and file. In practically all the parliamentary groups in question there has appeared some tendency to forget purely working-class demands. It must be recorded, however, that in every case the parliamentary groups showed themselves willing to accept the rule of the rank and file as represented by the convention. An awakened proletariat has shown itself perfectly able to keep its representatives up to the mark set in party programs.

In the following brief summary it will be possible to designate merely a few of the many problems taken up for discussion.

In **England** the thirty-first annual conference of the Social-Democratic party met at Coventry. It was decided by a large majority not to take any steps looking toward union with the Labor Party. The fact was recognized that the S. D. P. had not made great progress, but the general feeling was that the organization should continue as a representative of clear, class-conscious Socialism. A resolution to call a conference to discuss forming a union of all Socialist organizations in England was carried. The problem of armaments and foreign policy called forth the warmest discussion. A resolution was submitted calling upon the organization, its executive, organ, and individual members "to combat with their utmost energy, the demands for additional armaments." The movers of this resolution bitterly criticized the members of the executive who have raised the anti-German cry and supported the government in its policy of naval expansion. Comrade Quelch, for the executive, moved an amendment which, while declaring adhesion to the anti-militarist position of the international movement, declared for "the maintenance of an adequate navy for national defence," as one of the necessary means for giving effect to the decisions of the international congresses. This amendment was carried by a vote of 47 to 33.

The Independent Labor Party held its nineteenth annual conference at Birmingham. Here the great discussion concerned itself with the attitude taken by the labor group in Parliament. A motion was introduced calling upon the members of this group to assert their independence of the accepted rules of English Parliamentary procedure and insist on presenting for action real working-class problems. George Lansbury supported this motion and Ramsay MacDonald opposed

it. Discussion developed the fact that hardly any faction of the Independent Labor Party is content with the tactics of the labor group. The form of the resolution, however, was not satisfactory to the majority, and it was finally withdrawn.

In **France** the eighth congress of the Socialist Party was held at Saint-Quentin. The principal subjects discussed were municipal socialism, the agrarian problem, and the position of the parliamentary group. The most significant debate was on the last named topic. The Socialist deputies were commended for their energetic fight against the government of M. Briand, but severely criticized for giving over much support to the comparatively liberal regime of M. Monis, the present premier. Comrade Jaurès replied that the present ministry, in part through the support of the Socialist deputies, had done much to aid the railway employes in their struggle against the companies. The group, however, declared itself willing to submit to the will of the party so soon as the party saw fit to give definite instructions.

In **Belgium** the twenty-sixth annual congress of the Labor (Socialist) Party was held at Brussels. The Socialist movement of Belgium finds itself just now in a critical position. It is making a campaign for universal, equal suffrage, as opposed to a class system, and at the same time making propaganda against an educational bill which has been introduced into the Belgian Parliament by the clerical majority. Comrade Vandervelde introduced a resolution in favor of combining with the Liberal Party in making a fight on the proposed educational measure. He was energetically opposed by a number of delegates. His resolution was finally amended so as to make it clear that beyond a united campaign against the measure in question there was to be no union with the Liberals. In its amended form it was finally carried. Plans were outlined for a vigorous independent campaign for a new suffrage law.

In **Holland** the annual Socialist Congress was held at Utrecht. Chief attention was given to the character of the party press and to plans for a gigantic suffrage demonstration. In Holland, as in many other European countries, the demand of the moment is for a democratic suffrage law.

In **Sweden** the eighteenth annual congress of the Social Democratic Party met at Stockholm. The party was reported to have made rapid progress during the past year. Strong anti-militarist resolutions were adopted and the Socialist deputies in Parliament were directed to be content with no half-way measures in their fight for disarmament.

FRANCE. The Government vs. Big Business. The sequel of the great railway strike has developed an interesting situation. It will be remembered that the strike was lost because the government placed itself at the disposition of the railway companies. M. Briand, at that time premier, called upon the strikers to do service as military reservists. And this move broke the back of the strike. This was chapter one.

In chapter two the tables were turned. At least M. Briand found that playing the brutal strong-arm man of capitalism has its disadvantages. The public became aroused. The supporters of M. Briand in the Chamber of Deputies began to think about future elections. M. Briand's majority fell off and he was forced to resign his position.

Now the tale enters upon an entirely new phase. Briand showed how effectively a government can serve the capitalists. Now we are to have a chance to see whether a capitalist government can be forced to carry out its pledges to the working-class. For M. Monis, the present premier, went into office pledged to right some of the wrongs suffered by the railway workers.

At the end of the strike last autumn 2,558 employes were refused their old positions. Some of them had served the companies for twenty or thirty years; many more possessed medals awarded for faithful or heroic service. But they were union men, they had been active in the strike; they were not wanted. Since last October most of them have lived in dire poverty.

When M. Briand broke the strike he got from the companies a promise that they would take back all except those

who had been guilty of destruction of property. Obviously this pledge has not been kept. When M. Monis went into office he was practically pledged to do something for the black-listed men. He has done nothing so far, but he has promised to try. We shall see.

The matter caused a dramatic scene in the chamber on April 14. It developed during a discussion that the Minister of Public Affairs had forced the directors of the government line to reconsider the list of black-listed employes, as a result 87 were taken back into the service and 27 were left unemployed. A motion was made calling upon all the railway companies, involved in the strike to do what had been done in the government service and instructing the Premier to see to it that this demand was heeded. M. Monis declared that if the companies refused to do as desired he would return to the Chamber and demand power to force them to submit.

Here the matter rests for the present. The situation is an interesting one, and well worth watching. The radical government has the fear of future Socialist victories before its eyes, and will doubtless do its best to make good with the working-class. It will be interesting to discover how much power it can really bring to bear on the lords of industry.

FRANCE. The Uprising in the Champagne Country. Thus far the riots in the departments of Marne and Aube have led to nothing but misery. The government has offered no relief. On the contrary it has sent soldiers into the regions affected. More than a hundred arrests have been made. The population is more than ever wrought up.

Meantime numerous investigations have been made and the exact nature of the uprising has become clearer than ever. M. Pierre Menatte, editor of La Vie Ouvriere, has recently made a tour through the Champagne region, and his investigations throw a flood of light on the situation. He reports the most pitiable poverty, peasant huts bare of the necessities of life, the people starved and disheartened. When he asked them how they had plucked up courage to refuse to pay their taxes they informed him that it took no courage. Not one of them had the necessary money. Their property is mortgaged and their crops are claimed by creditors before they have been marketed.

It goes without saying that the wage-earners are worse off than the proprietors. Wages have necessarily fallen with the price of grapes and wine.

Under these circumstances the poor tillers of the soil, proprietors and wage-earners together, rose like the peasants in the middle ages. Blinded by rage, by mere brute instinct, they rushed to the cellars of the great wine merchants. They smashed presses and broke bottles till wine ran in floods down the streets.

Repeated efforts have been made to educate the wine-growers, to make them see their class interests and defend them in an organized and effective manner. So far these efforts have not succeeded. Readers of the REVIEW will recall the attempts to organize the wage-earners in the wine producing regions of southern France. In 1905 the proprietors and many of their employes joined in an organization known as the Confederation Viticole. This organization was organized to protect the interests, not of a class, but of a region, of an industry. It soon came to be dominated by the largest proprietors. Its activity has naturally tended to obliterate class interests. The syndicate of agrarian wage-earners, known as Travailleurs de la Terre, has done its best to free rural proletarians from the bourgeois organization under the influence of which they have fallen. But it has had a long and hard fight.

The situation in the champagne region is much the same. In 1904 was organized the Federation Viticole, with the ostensible purpose of defending the interests of the wine growers of this region. But from the beginning it has been dominated absolutely by representatives of the great concerns. Its first president was M. Chandon of the house of Moet and Chandon. Nevertheless it has been practically impossible to tear the small proprietors and wage-earners from the grasp of this organization. The means it advocates are absolutely inadequate. If the government accedes to all its demands the lot of the workers will not be in the least improved.

Nevertheless when Emile Moreau was asked about his efforts to start a revolutionary movement among the workers in the vineyards he answered: "It has all been in vain. They have not wanted to understand us. Everyone is afraid. The notes of the wine growers are bought up by agents who have no difficulty in instilling caution into their victims. Nothing is lent to those who make propaganda against the merchants."

Of course this situation will clear itself sooner or later. Soemtime the poor small "proprietors" and their poorer employes will see that their only salvation lies in an organized political and industrial effort of their class. But that day is not yet.

Meanwhile the situation has its lessons. The agrarian problem is ever pressing upon us. In this case, at least, it appears clearly enough that capitalism produces on the land much the same results as in centers of industry. The only really important distinction seems to be that the agricultural workers are more difficult to organize than their fellow proletarians who work in factories and live in cities.

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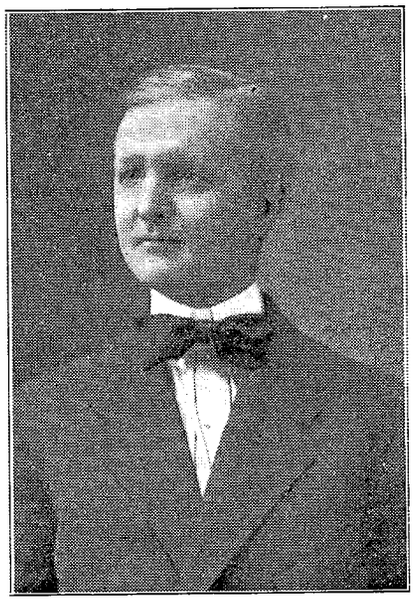
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NEWS AND VIEWS

"World of Labor" Discontinued.—With this issue we discontinue the "World of Labor" department which has been a feature of the Review from the beginning. Comrade Max S. Hayes finds it impossible, through pressure of other work, to continue as editor of the department, and in view of this we have decided that it will be better to combine our labor news with other news in one department. We are sure that the readers of the Review will join us in hearty appreciation for the work Comrade Hayes has done on the Review for nearly eleven years, and in the best of wishes to him in the plucky fight he continues to put up from within the American Federation of Labor.

Now Convalescent.—Many comrades in the Eastern and Middle Eastern states will recognize the picture of Comrade Leslie H. Marcy of the Review staff, who is just now slowly convalescing from a season of severe illness which for a time caused great concern among his friends. Comrade Mrs. Mary E. Marcy, well known to all readers of the Review, has been so completely occupied in the care of her husband that her course in economics was unavoidably omitted from this month's Review. Her eighth lesson will, however, appear in the July issue. Only those friends of the Review who have been close to it during the past three years can realize how great has been the service rendered by the Comrades Marcy. When the present revolutionary character of the Review was determined upon, and its literary form made popular, the Marcys were called upon to assist both in the editing of the Review and its circulation. Their success needs no comment. The Review has increased its circulation from 3,000 to 45,000. But the improvement of its contents in value to the movement cannot be expressed in figures. We are sure that all who have worked with us in arriving at these large results will rejoice to learn that on the day the June number goes to the printer, Comrade Marcy again appeared at his desk in the office. Both are now prepared to take up again the direction of that mighty campaign of the Review which all realize has just begun.



Leslie H. Marcy



MARY E. MARCY.

Buttonworkers' Strike Settled.—Buttonworkers of Muscatine, Iowa, on strike for a number of weeks, have reached an agreement with their employers, and have returned to work. The agreement includes an increase in wages

and readjustment of a number of grievances relative to the weighing of the product produced by the workmen and workwomen. Over 1,000 were involved in the controversy.

San Francisco Revolutionary!—(By Cloudesley Johns, Editor of Revolt.)—By an overwhelming majority in one of the largest business meetings ever held in San Francisco, the Local rejected the recommendations of the Campaign Committee (elected five months ago by an Opportunist majority) to expunge or alter the following sections of the party platform: "We stand in absolute antagonism to the Capitalist Class and to every candidate of that class, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor Party.

"We call attention to the failure and neglect of the McCarthy administration to advance the interests of the working class in San Francisco."

Subsequent motions to add a paragraph and to make a transposition were voted down two to one after discussion in which it was pointed out that the leaders of the Union Labor Party would be glad to have even the chance to say that the Socialist party had "changed its platform." They would not need to say in what respect it had been changed, and the repeated recent publication in the capitalist press of reports that the Socialist party was considering the amendment of the platform by eliminating the anti-McCarthy planks would provide the desired inference.

The recommendation of the Campaign Committee that William McDevitt, candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, be removed from the ticket and some member who could "qualify" if elected be substituted, also was rejected, by a vote of 138 to 60 (two of the minority voting in the affirmative in the hope that reconsideration might be effected if ever the revolutionary majority should be missing from a meeting). Argument tended to show that there was every probability that McDevitt could qualify if elected (the point being a question of what constitutes legal residence for five years), but the greatest stress was laid upon the fact that McDevitt as candidate stands for a campaign of propaganda for revolutionary socialism, to develop Socialist voters, and not to win non-Socialist votes for our candidates in this election at the expense of propaganda. This position of the advocates of McDevitt as candidate was cheered to the echo by the great gathering of party members and onlookers which filled the hall. Many applications for membership were received from men who have been out of the party for months or years because it had shown a tendency toward compromise.

Whatever may happen in California (and the slogan of "elect our candidates at any cost" will meet a ready response, undoubtedly, for some time to come), San Francisco, at least, bids fair to remain a revolutionary oasis even if in a desert of worthless opportunism.

Socialists Object to Legislative Caucus.—The following resolutions were passed by the General Membership of Local Allegheny County (Pa.) of the Socialist Party, Sunday, April 23, and are here published by request of the local:

Whereas, Victor L. Berger, representative of the Socialist Party in the United States Congress, entered into a legislative caucus with Republican and Democratic trades unionists upon the invitation of Samuel Gompers, and

Whereas, it has always been one of the cardinal principles of the Socialist Party that its nominees should not confer or caucus with nominees of other parties, to the end that the elected officers of the Socialist Party shall not fuse or compromise with the legislators of other parties, and

Whereas, Samuel Gompers has repeatedly made outrageous attacks upon the Socialist Party, one of these attacks within the last few weeks, and

Whereas, Samuel Gompers is a member of the Civic Federation of Labor, a body devoted to the purpose of defeating the working class on the economic and political fields, and

Whereas, trade unionists who are elected on the Democratic and Republican tickets are worse enemies of the working class than capitalists elected on these tickets, and

Whereas, the effect of such caucuses is to compromise the Socialist Party in taking part in legislation with members of the Republican and Democratic parties, and

Whereas, it will make it extremely difficult to elect Socialists in the districts from which these labor representatives come if they can claim they have caucused with Comrade Berger,

Therefore, be it resolved by Local Allegheny County, in convention assembled, that we deeply regret the conduct of Comrade Berger in this matter, and call upon the National Executive Committee to call Comrade Berger's attention to this as a compromise and request him to desist from entering into caucuses or conferences with members of other political parties than the Socialist Party.

Growth of Party Membership.—From recent bulletins issued by the National Secretary of the Socialist party we learn that the membership dues received at the National Office during April, 1911, amounted to $3,942.95, indicating a membership of 78,859. The actual membership is always in excess of the number who pay dues in any one month, and it is safe to say that we have already 100,000 members who have paid dues since the first of 1911. An analysis of the receipts and expenditures in the monthly financial report will make it clear that the National Office has more money than it can spend to good advantage, and every active member is well aware that practically all the state organizations are in urgent and pressing need of more money to enlarge their work. As we stated last month, the Twenty-first ward branch of Local Cook County has initiated the constitutional amendment proposed on page 638 of the April Review. Some time is, however, required to bring the matter to a referendum in Cook County, and time might be saved if other locals would initiate the same

motion independently. Local Washington County, Pa., has already done this, but unfortunately not in the form of a constitutional amendment, so that it will be far better if other locals will initiate the amendment as first published rather than second the motion from Pennsylvania. The second clause as published in the April Review increasing the percentage of dues to be set aside for convention expenses is necessary if special assessments are to be avoided.



HARRY SIBBLE.

A Successful Literature Seller.—In Harry Sibble, whose portrait is given above as he appears in his full war paint, the Socialists of British Columbia believe they have the champion literature seller of the movement. For eight years he has peddled socialist literature into almost every nook and cranny of this big province wherever a few workers may be found gathered together, relying almost entirely on foot transportation. In the winter months he naturally seeks the large cities, in fact there is only one date in the year he feels he has to keep, and that is to be in Victoria when the Provincial Parliament opens in the middle of January so that he may spoil the Egyptians, represented in this case by the Conservative members, by selling them the real dope. There is no explanation of the fact, but by some piece of good luck or good guidance Harry has the privilege of displaying his wares in the lobbies of the house, where he makes hay for himself by taking orders for red literature in the form of books and magazines. No other individual is so favored.

By the first of March Harry starts on his summer tour. Generally he works his way northward about 80 miles to Nanaimo, calling on the farmers and wage earners. But nothing need be said about his route, the outstanding feature of his career is this, he sells enough socialist books to make a living, and has done so for eight consecutive years. In 1910, the only year he kept strict account, he disposed of 1,206 socialist books, ranging in price from 25c to $3.00. Of Ancient Lowly he placed 150 sets, which sold readily to wage-earners, preachers, lawyers, and business-men. He says it is very easy to sell this book to clergymen.

Between Vancouver Island and the Mainland of British Columbia lie many small islands which Harry considers as being in his territory. A year ago he conceived the idea that he ought to have a gasoline launch to do them justice, and now he is the proud possessor of one fully equipped on which he has spent all told $280. This summer he will work his way as far north as Prince Rupert, a distance of 300 miles, making calls wherever white folks are to be found. The women of Victoria Local have presented him with a large red flag bearing the well known legend "Workers of the World Unite," which he will fly from the stern.

If it be true that 67 per cent of all conversions to socialism are made through the reading of literature on the subject, then it must be admitted that Comrade Harry Sibble is one of the most efficient workers for the cause. In his steady plodding way he is reaching thousands that can not be got at otherwise. Furthermore his long career is a proof of the increasing interest in Socialism, for during it all he has never received one cent of financial assistance from the party.

F. Dundas Todd.



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National Referendum "A" Carried.—By a vote of 9,050 to 8,511 the Socialist party of America has decided to add a new section to the constitution, as follows: "All national party officers shall be elected annually and shall not hold the same office longer than two terms." This action is, we believe, a happy solution for a number of vexatious questions.

The Western Federation of Miners has finally received a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The most revolutionary of the great labor organizations of the United States has technically come under the jurisdiction of Samuel Gompers and his conservative associates. This news, however, is not half so alarming as might appear at first sight. Fortunately, Mr. Gompers will have little power to shape the tactics of the western miners, while their entrance into the A. F. of L. may soon bring about a closer union between the metal miners and the coal miners. Moreover we predict that unless the tactics of the A. F. of L. are radically changed the miners will not long remain inside.

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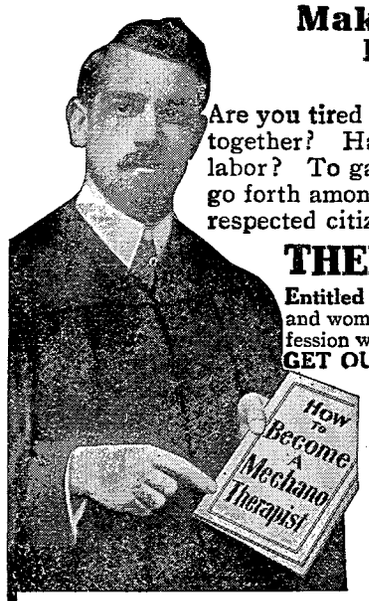
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R. F. D. or St. No.....State.....
(Write name, town and state very plain)